

rendered at discretion ; and the English marched to Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy. This city was both rich and populous, but without fortifications. Persuaded that the wealth of Caen would induce the English to plunder the city, Philip dispatched the count de Eu, constable of France, and the count de Tankerville, at the head of a considerable body of troops, for its defence. The English approached the suburbs ; and the inhabitants, elated with the reinforcements they had received, sallied out upon the enemy, contrary to the advice of the constable. The consequence was what might naturally be expected when undisciplined multitudes attack a regular army ; they were totally defeated, and the counts d'Eu and Tankerville taken prisoners. The English entered the city with the fugitives, and a dreadful massacre began : neither age, nor sex, nor condition, were spared : all fell a sacrifice to the sword of the English. Edward at last put a stop to the slaughter ; the inhabitants laid down their arms, and the city was deliberately plundered. The booty was prodigious ; and the whole was embarked, together with three hundred of the richest burghers, and all the prisoners of distinction, and sent to England.

Edward now marched with his troops through the bishoprics of Lisieux and Evreux towards Rouen, the capital of Normandy. In his route he took the towns of Louvere and Lisieux ; but on advancing to the banks of the Seine, he found the bridge already broken down, and the French monarch posted on the opposite side of the river, at the head of a prodigious army. Edward did every thing in his power to provoke Philip to a battle. He laid the whole country waste, and burnt the suburbs of Pont l'Arche, Vernon, and Mullien. The same fate attended the noble palace of St. Germain ; and some of the light troops carried their ravages to the very gates of Paris. Edward made another attempt to pass the Seine at Poissy, but met with the same disappointment ; the bridge was broken down, and Philip's army appeared on the opposite bank of the river. Some stratagem was therefore necessary to elude the vigilance of Philip. Accordingly the English monarch marched, with great rapidity, farther up the Seine ; but by a sudden countermarch during the night, returned to Poissy, repaired the bridge, routed the militia left to guard the passage, crossed the river, and advanced, with quick marches, towards Flanders. In his route he burnt the suburbs of Beauvais ; and defeated, with great slaughter, the inhabitants of Amiens, who were marching to reinforce their king's army. But he soon found himself in the same dangerous situation as before : all the bridges on the Somme were either broken down, or strongly guarded. The country was ruined. Philip was advancing against him at the head of an hundred thousand men ; and Godemar de Faye was stationed on the opposite side of the Somme, with a numerous army, to observe his motions.

In this alarming crisis, Edward offered a reward to any person who could lead his army to a place where he might pass the Somme ; and a peasant of Normandy, preferring riches to the safety of his country, pointed out a ford below Blanchetague, where the stream was not above a foot in depth at low water. This discovery revived the courage of the English ; they decamped at midnight, and reached the ford about sun rising the next morning, a little before the tide of flood made up the river. The place exactly answered the description given of it by the peasant ; but the opposite bank was guarded by Godemar de Faye, at the head of twelve thousand men. This opposition was not, however, sufficient to intimidate Edward, who was always master of his passions, and maintained a remarkable coolness and presence of mind in the midst of the most furious battle. He

plunged himself into the stream, calling out, " Let all who love me follow my example."

Animated by the presence and example of their sovereign, the soldiers threw themselves into the river with the most amazing intrepidity. The French made a noble opposition ; but nothing was capable of stopping the career of the English ; they were not intimidated by any opposition ; and after a bloody dispute, they put the enemy to flight, and gained the opposite bank, just as the van of Philip's army, under the command of the king of Bohemia and John de Hamault, appeared.

It is impossible to express the vexation of Philip in being thus disappointed of his revenge. He had traced the English above fifty leagues by the smoking ruins left behind them, and now thought himself here of overtaking the invaders. But it was in vain to repine ; the tide of flood was made up the river, and rendered a passage impossible, while the English pursued their march with great tranquillity.

Notwithstanding Edward had thus escaped the danger of being attacked in his late alarming situation, yet he was convinced it would be impossible for him to pursue his march over the extensive plains of Picardy, without exposing his van to inevitable destruction by the perpetual attacks of a numerous cavalry ; he therefore determined to wait for the enemy, and venture a general engagement. He accordingly chose an advantageous spot of ground near the village of Cressy ; and to secure his flank from the furious attacks of the French horse, he threw up a large entrenchment, and extended it round a small wood, where he deposited his baggage.

Having taken these necessary precautions, he drew up his army on a small eminence, and divided it into three lines. The first was commanded by the prince of Wales, assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Geoffrey Hartcourt of Normandy, the lords Stafford, Chandois, Delaware, Holland and Cobham, and several other persons of distinction. This line consisted of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welshmen. The second line was commanded by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, assisted by the lords Willoughby, Roos, Basset of Sapeote, and Malou, and consisted of eight hundred men at arms, two thousand four hundred archers, and four thousand bill-men. He himself commanded the third line, which consisted of seven hundred men at arms, two thousand archers, and five thousand three hundred bill-men.

Philip, whose army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, determined to take the revenge on the English, who had laid his country waste, and insulted the standard of France. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Cressy, he detached several of his officers to reconnoitre the position of the English. They readily obeyed, and faithfully described, at their return, the admirable order of Edward's forces. The count de Balche, one of his best soldiers in Philip's army, added, that there was not the least danger of Edward's declining a battle, and therefore he advised, that instead of attacking the English immediately, the engagement should be deferred till the next morning, that the troops might rest themselves after their fatiguing march. But he was over-ruled. The force of numbers was thought sufficient to balance every inconvenience, and he determined to begin the action immediately.

As soon as the French appeared in sight, Edward that he might still farther animate his men, rode through the ranks, and urged every motive that had a tendency to raise their natural valour, and inspire them with the noble resolution of remaining conquerors, or falling in the glorious attempt. He told them



that the number of the enemy should be so far from intimidating, that it should inspire them with courage; that confusion would be the inevitable consequence of such multitudes of undisciplined forces; and that the order in which he had placed them, added to their own resolution, would be abundantly sufficient to repel all the attacks of the French army. Adding, "I request nothing from you, but that you imitate my example, and that of the prince of Wales." The troops caught the courage and noble intrepidity of their sovereign; and appeared anxious for the commencement of the battle.

In the mean time Philip endeavoured to marshal his army; but this was impossible. He sent orders, indeed, for the lines to halt till they received farther instructions; but his commands were very imperfectly obeyed. His army being composed of a great number of princes and noblemen, jealous of each other's honour, and most of them strangers to military subordination, pressed forward to begin the attack; so that when the van halted, pursuant to the orders of Philip, the succeeding ranks continued to move forward with great impetuosity, till the whole became one enormous body moving towards Cressy in great confusion; nor was it in the power of Philip to remove the disorder till they came near the English army, when they stopped of themselves, and gave Philip an opportunity of drawing them up in some order. He divided his army into three lines, conformable to that of the English. The first was led by John de Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, and composed of three thousand men at arms, twenty-nine thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi. These were placed opposite to the English archers. Charles, count of Alençon, brother to Philip, led the second division, consisting of four thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand infantry. The third division was headed by Philip in person; and formed a body of reserve, amounting to 12000 men at arms, and 50000 foot.

These dispositions took up so much time, that it was near three in the afternoon before the French army was ready to engage, when Philip gave orders to the Genoese to begin the battle; but a sudden shower of rain having fallen a little before the engagement, their bow-strings were relaxed, and their arrows fell short of the enemy. The same misfortune did not, however, attended the bows of the English archers: they were preserved in cases, whence they drew them, and poured in such a dreadful shower of arrows, that the Genoese, unable to support the shock, were thrown into disorder, and fell back upon the count d'Alençon's cavalry. The prince of Wales, who observed the confusion this accident had produced, ordered some battalions of guards to advance and charge them in front, which was done so critically, and with so much fury, that both the first and second lines of the French were thrown into the greatest confusion.

As soon as the count d'Alençon had disengaged himself from the flying Genoese, he made a circuit with his cavalry, and fell upon the flank of the first battalion of English archers. The battle now became desperate and bloody. The French opened a passage through the archers, and advanced against the prince of Wales, who received them with such firmness and resolution, that numbers of them were slain; but the prince himself was still in the greatest danger of being surrounded by the superior numbers of the enemy. He calls of Arundel and Northampton perceived this situation, and detached a body of troops to his

assistance. Philip took advantage of this motion, and sent three squadrons of French and German knights to the aid of his brother. The prince was now attacked both in front and rear; and a messenger was dispatched by the earl of Warwick to the king, to inform him of the danger of his son, and desire him to order a body of troops to his assistance. The king asked the messenger if his son was still alive? and being answered that he was, and that he had performed feats of the most astonishing valour, he bid the messenger depart, and tell his generals from him, "That they should no more send to him while the prince was alive, he being determined that the honour of the day should be wholly his; and that he must now, if ever, win his spurs." This answer being delivered to the prince in the hearing of his followers, they seemed to be inspired with fresh courage: they were more than a match for the increasing numbers of the enemy, who exerted all their efforts to break again the compacted phalanx of the English, who, in their turn, attacked the French with such impetuosity, that they were unable to stand the shock. A dreadful carnage ensued, princes, peers, generals, knights, and common soldiers, fell promiscuously, and formed a frightful heap of slain.

Philip, enraged to see the first two lines of his army totally defeated, advanced at the head of the body of reserve, which the confusion that reigned in the French army had hitherto prevented from engaging; but there was now no longer any equality in the action. Confounded at the sight of seeing such numbers of their countrymen slain, and the whole plain filled with fugitives, the troops answered not the courage of their leader, who gave signal proofs of his valour and capacity as a general, but it was too late. The French refused any longer to face the English, and a general flight ensued. Philip himself was wounded, and carried off the field of battle by John de Hainault. The standard of France was thrown down, and the whole French army dispersed, every one providing in the best manner for his own safety.

Edward, finding the victory complete, moved from his station, and, taking his helmet from his head, ran to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in the most affectionate manner in sight of the whole army, saying, "My gallant son, heaven grant you may persevere in the glorious course you have begun! The heroic manner in which you have acquitted yourself to day, sufficiently proves you deserve the crown you are born to wear."

Such was the issue of the famous battle of Cressy fought on the twenty-fifth of August 1346; when, by a moderate computation, there fell by the swords of the English, twenty-four baronets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand infantry; together with the principal nobility of France, among whom were the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the counts of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Reaumont, Harcourt, Auxerre, St. Pol, and Sancerre; with the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. The former had been long famous as a general, but age had now deprived him of his sight. He could not, however, be persuaded from engaging in the hottest part of the battle. He caused the reins of his bridle to be interlaced with those of two valiant knights, and rushed between them to the spot where young Edward fought in person, and with whom he exchanged two or three random strokes. But he was soon after parted from him, and, together with his valiant companions, fell among the slain.*

Though

* The crest of the king of Bohemia consisted of three ostrich feathers; and as he had acted in the capacity of a volunteer, he bore the motto *ten vens*, which, in the German language,

signifies "I serve." This device young Edward assumed to himself in memory of this celebrated victory, and the princes of Wales have ever since retained it in their arms.

Though no mercy had been shewn by Edward to the living at the battle of Cressy, yet he treated the dead with peculiar humanity: he sent back the body of the king of Bohemia to his family; he caused the field of battle to be consecrated, attended in person the funeral of the noblemen who had lost their lives in the action, and ordered the common soldiers to be decently interred.

Edward now employed his time in making the best advantages he could of the great success thus obtained over the French. He had observed and regretted the great length of the voyage to Guienne, the only method by which he could send troops to defend his provinces, or attack the monarch of France. His great object was, therefore, to secure an easy passage into that kingdom; the death of Ardevelt having destroyed his authority in the Low Countries. He had now an opportunity of making himself master of some part on the French coast opposite to England, and Calais seemed the best adapted to answer his designs. Accordingly he led his victorious army thither, and invested the place on the third of September. But as this siege continued near a twelvemonth, we must for the present leave Edward with his army before Calais, in order to attend the war carried on in other quarters.

History can scarcely produce an instance of a year more glorious to England than that at present under consideration: the armies of Edward were every where victorious. The duke of Normandy was recalled from Guienne, on the landing of Edward in Normandy; no army was left to oppose the progress of the earl of Derby; nor did that able general fail to improve so favourable an opportunity. He took Maribeaucourt and Lusignan by assault; Taillebourg, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Poitiers, opened their gates at the first summons. These acquisitions opened him a free passage into the adjacent provinces, and Derby extended his incursions to the banks of the Loire, spreading terror and desolation through all that part of the French dominions.

At the same time the war was carrying on in Brittany, and the countess of Montfort continued to display her heroic virtues. Charles de Blois, at the head of a numerous army, invested the fortress of Roche de Reen, and pushed the siege with the utmost vigor. The place was of too much importance for the countess to suffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without making one attempt for its relief. She put herself at the head of her little army, and having received a reinforcement of English troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the French during the night, routed the whole army, and took Charles de Blois prisoner. This misfortune called another heroine from obscurity. The countess of Blois, in whose right her husband claimed the duchy of Brittany, seized the reins of government, and became a powerful rival to the countess of Montfort. She was her equal both in the field and the cabinet; and the war was carried on with the same vigor as before the captivity of her husband.

In the mean time the queen of England shewed herself to be no ways inferior to these illustrious heroines, and, during the absence of her husband, prepared fresh wreaths to adorn his temples.

The Scots had some time recalled their king, David Bruce, from France; and at the instigation of Philip, took the opportunity of invading England during the absence of Edward, at the head of an army of 50,000 men. David, whose sole intention was to ravage the country, levied the most oppressive contributions, and committed the most dreadful disorders in his march, which he extended to the gates of Durham. The distresses of the people animated queen Philippa to march in person to their defence, and

having collected an army of twelve thousand men, led them against the Scottish invaders. Her army was divided into four bodies: the first was commanded by lord Piercy; the second by the archbishop of York and lord Neville; the third by the bishop of Lincoln and lord Mowbray; and the fourth by Baliol in person. In this order the English approached the camp of Bruce encamped at Neville's-Cross, near the city of Durham. Bruce drew up his army in three lines: the first, consisting of French auxiliaries and the flower of the Scottish nobility, was commanded by the king in person; the second by Robert, high-steward of Scotland and the earl of Marche; and the third by the earls of Murray and Douglas.

Previous to the commencement of the battle, queen Philippa rode through the ranks of the English, exhorting every man to do his duty, and to take revenge on the barbarous ravagers of their country, after which she retired to some distance to behold the action, with a kind of reserve body, and attended by the archbishop of Canterbury.

The battle was begun by a troop of Genoese crossbowmen, who served in the division under Robert, but they were soon routed by the more experienced English archers. Robert perceived the superiority of the latter, and pressed on furiously with his army at arms, to begin a close fight with the detachment under lord Piercy. The English archers opened on the right and left, to let the enemy pass, but closed again immediately, and galled them dreadfully with their arrows in flank, while they were engaged in front with the English infantry. Robert, however, maintained the fight with the greatest intrepidity; and it was for some time doubtful to which side fortune would give the victory. Baliol saw the danger, and led up his division to the assistance of lord Piercy. The Scots were now struck with a panic, and immediately betook themselves to flight. Baliol, who was not deficient in military abilities, instead of pursuing the fugitives, wheeled suddenly about, and fell with the utmost impetuosity on the flank of the division commanded by the king. David fought with great intrepidity, and, assisted by his barons, made a noble stand against the attacks of the English; but the contest was unequal; the whole division was broken and put to flight, and the king himself taken prisoner. The third division, under the earls of Murray and Douglas, still stood firm, but were soon broken and attacked by the whole force of the English. Murray was slain in endeavouring to rally his men, and Douglas was taken prisoner.

The English now remained masters of the field of battle; and this victory would, in all probability, have determined the fate of Scotland, had not Robert rallied his men after he had given way to the attacks of the English, and retreated in such a disorder, that the other fugitives had time to join him, and form a body which the victors did not think proper to pursue.

In this battle, which was fought on the 23rd of October, 1346, there was not less than 10,000 Scots slain; and by the list of the killed and prisoners, there appeared scarce a noble family in Scotland who did not share in the public calamity. About and about thirty-six noble prisoners, were sent to the Tower of London; after which queen Philippa leaving the care of the north to the lords Piercy and Neville, embarked for Calais on the 29th of October, and repaired to the king's camp before that place, where she was received with all the respect and honors that her high rank, her great merit, and her successful claims from an affectionate husband and grateful people.

Edward had hitherto made but little progress in the siege of Calais. John de Viennes, a knight of the

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of England.



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QUEEN PHILIPPA entreceding
for the strengthening of peace.

gundy, who commanded there, was a person of approved courage and fidelity; so that the English monarch, sensible of the difficulty of taking the place by force only, had, from the very beginning of the siege, determined to reduce it by famine. He accordingly blocked up the place both by land and sea; so that, after a siege of some months, the place was in want of provisions; and the governor, in order that the garrison might subsist the longer, was obliged to force all those to retire who were useless; but Edward, with a generosity not common in this age, not only suffered these distressed people to pass unmolested through his camp, but also supplied them with money to relieve their urgent necessities.

A. D. 1347. The French monarch, sensible of the importance of Calais, and desirous of succouring a garrison that had so nobly exerted themselves in defending that fortress, determined to attempt their relief, and approached the place at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men. But he soon perceived that it would be madness to attack the English camp, and therefore had recourse to negotiation. He offered to cede Guienne, together with the earldom of Ponthieu; but these offers were rejected. On this Philip dispatched a herald to Edward, offering to decide their quarrel in the open field; but the English monarch was too prudent to risk the whole upon the uncertain issue of a single combat; and Philip was obliged to decamp, and disperse his numerous army.

The besieged now despairing of relief, and almost wholly destitute of provisions, desired to capitulate. John de Vienne accordingly appeared upon the walls, and made a signal for a conference; and Edward sent Sir Walter Manny to hear what he had to propose. The governor told him, that having now no farther hopes of relief, he was willing to surrender the place, and desired no other conditions than that the lives and liberties of the garrison should be secured. Manny answered, that Edward was so exasperated against the inhabitants of Calais for their pertinacious resistance, that he was sure he would receive them on no conditions that should confine him with regard to their punishment. "Is this," replied Vienne, "the treatment to which brave men are entitled? Would not your king have expected the same conduct from any English knight in my condition, which I have performed for my sovereign? The noble defence made by the inhabitants of Calais certainly merits the esteem of every prince, much more of so gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we must perish, we shall not perish unrevenged; and that we are not yet to be reduced, but we can sell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is, doubtless, the interest of both sides to prevent these desperate extremities; and I expect that you yourself, brave knight, will interpose your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny, sensibly struck at the justice of these sentiments, exerted all his interest with Edward in behalf of the brave garrison of Calais. He represented the dreadful consequences that might result from so dangerous a precedent, which could not fail of increasing the miseries of war, already sufficiently severe. Edward felt the whole force of his observations, and thought proper to mitigate the severity of the conditions he had intended. He consented to spare the lives of the garrison on condition that six of the principal citizens should repair to his camp with the keys of the fortress, bare headed and bare footed, with ropes about their necks, to be disposed of as he thought proper.

These severe conditions excited the utmost horror and confusion in the breasts of the inhabitants of

of Calais. They endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of the victor by the most humble submissions and affecting remonstrances. But Edward was inflexible; and it was resolved by the garrison to submit to the massacre that must follow from their refusal, rather than devote six of their brethren to an ignominious death, for no other reason than that of having done their duty to their king and country. But before the council broke up, Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, stepped forth, and offered to lay down his life for the safety of his friends and companions. Affected with this uncommon instance of magnanimity, three of his own relations declared themselves ready to share in the glorious sacrifice; and two others were quickly found who followed their example. These willing victims marched out of the town, barefooted, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, and, when they came to the English camp, presented the keys of their city, and prostrated themselves at the feet of Edward, who, still burning with resentment, gave orders that they should be carried to immediate execution. Their backs were already turned on the remorseless master of their fate, and they were proceeding, mournful though determined, to meet their doom, when the queen, who was then big with child, pierced with the afflictions of virtue in distress, fell on her knees before Edward, and besought him with tears to spare the lives of those brave men, whose only crime was their attachment to their sovereign. Edward could not withstand the force of conjugal affection; he relented, and the heroic burghers were pardoned. But the compassion of Philippa did not terminate here: she carried the almost famished victims to her tent, ordered them a noble repast, made them a present of money and clothes, and sent them back to their friends in safety.

A. D. 1348. Edward being now master of Calais, took every precaution in his power to secure his conquest. He knew that it would be impossible for him ever to make the inhabitants real friends to his government, and therefore obliged them all to leave the town, and re-peopled it from England.

Having thus secured his new acquisition, Edward listened to the mediation of the pope, and concluded a truce with Philip; but the terms of it were very ill observed, and an attempt was made to recover Calais by corrupting the governor.

One Aimery de Pavia, an Italian knight, brave and intrepid in war, but a stranger to every principle of honour and fidelity, was entrusted by the English monarch with the command of this important fortress. Geoffrey de Charni, governor of St. Omer's found means to open a negotiation with Aimery; who, in consideration of twenty thousand golden crowns, promised to admit a certain number of Frenchmen into the fortress; and the most proper methods were accordingly taken to insure the success. Edward, informed of the design by Aimery's secretary, prepared to turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. He sent for the governor to London, and reproached him with his crime; but promised to spare his life, if he would assist him in taking vengeance for the perfidious attempt. Aimery readily agreed to this double treachery; a day was appointed for the admission of the French; and Edward having prepared a force of a thousand men, under Sir Walter Manny, departed secretly from London, taking with him the prince of Wales, and without being in the least suspected arrived at Calais in the evening before the day appointed for delivering up the place. He immediately made a proper disposition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces, as well as the garrison under arms. On the appearance of Charni, a chosen troop of French soldiers was admitted at the postern, and Aimery receiving the stipulated sum, promised that,

with their assistance, he would immediately open the great gate to the enemy, who were waiting with impatience for the fulfilling of his engagement. But a very different fortune attended them. All the French that entered by the postern were immediately slain or taken prisoners; the great gate opened; Edward rushed out with cries of battle and of victory: the French, though astonished at this event, behaved with valor. They found they were betrayed, but determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Accordingly a fierce and bloody engagement ensued. As the morning broke, Edward, who was distinguished by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Eustace de Ribaumont, who exerted himself with singular vigor and bravery, and was seized with a desire of engaging him in single combat. He accordingly stepped forth from his troop, and challenging Ribaumont, began a sharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beat to the ground by the valor of the Frenchman, and as often recovered himself. Blows were redoubled with equal force on both sides, and the victory remained undecided, till Ribaumont, perceiving himself almost alone, surrendered his sword into Edward's hand. Most of the French being overpowered by numbers, and intercepted in their retreat, were either slain or taken prisoners.

All the French officers, who had fallen into the hands of the English, were conducted into Calais, where Edward discovered to them the antagonist with whom they had been engaged, and treated them with great respect and courtesy. They were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales, and the English nobility; and after supper, the king himself came into the apartment, passed round the table, and conversed familiarly with many of his prisoners. He even addressed himself in an obliging manner to Charni, and avoided reproaching him with the treacherous attempt he had made upon Calais during the truce. But Ribaumont was distinguished in a very particular manner; the king bestowed the highest compliments on his intrepid behaviour; called him the most valiant knight he was ever acquainted with, and confessed that he never was in so much danger as when he was engaged with him in single combat. Then taking a chaplet of pearls from his own head, he placed it upon that of Ribaumont, desiring him to wear it for his sake, and consider it as a testimony of his esteem for true valor; adding, "You are, sir, no longer a prisoner; I acquit you of your ransom, and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself in whatever manner you may think proper."

As for Aimery, Edward did not think him, after his double treachery, a fit person to entrust any longer with the custody of so important a place; and therefore made Sir John Beauchamp governor of Calais. He then returned to England, with the prince his son and Sir Walter Manny, whom he liberally rewarded, together with all those who had distinguished themselves in this expedition.

A. D. 1349. The king had proposed, at his return, to hold a parliament, which he had summoned to meet on the 19th of January; but as the plague, which had, at the latter end of the last year, broke out in the west of England, had now reached London, a prorogation was thought necessary, nor was any parliament held, or any court of justice opened, for two years after; for so long this dreadful scourge lasted, and with such unremitting fury, that there hardly remained the tenth part of the people in most parts of the kingdom. In the first six months of this year, no less than 37,000 persons are said to have died of it in London and Norwich.

This dreadful visitation occasioned a general inactivity, except with the Scots, who availed themselves

of the opportunity of distressing the English. They had hitherto escaped the plague, but making an incursion upon the English borders, they caught the infection, of which no less than 5000 of them died, and the rest returned home to carry the seeds of pestilence among their countrymen.

A. D. 1350. This year was ushered in by a negotiation between the French and English commissioners for settling a final peace; but the conferences were soon broken up by the deaths of the king and queen of France. Philip de Valois, in the beginning of his reign, had acquired the name of Fortunate, which, however, he did not carry with him to his grave: not that he was wanting in military or political abilities, but these were obliged to give way to the superior genius and success of Edward. He was succeeded on the throne by his son John, duke of Normandy, a prince possessed of many virtues, but rather of a private than public nature. With a heart full of the justest sentiments of honor and sincerity, he was, of all others, the most improper person to sway the sceptre of France in these turbulent times; he wanted that masterly prudence and foresight, that penetration and sagacity, which the situation of his affairs required. His kingdom was filled with domestic commotions, which greatly favoured the views of the English. His relation, Charles, king of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, threw the kingdom of France into confusion by assassinations and perfidies. He entered into a private treaty with the English, and even seduced the dauphin to engage in his intrigues; but the prince being at last convinced of the folly of such destructive connections, invited the king of Navarre, and the noblemen of his party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were all betrayed into the hands of king John. Some of the most obnoxious were led immediately to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into prison.

A. D. 1356. Edward availed himself of the dissensions that had continued for some time in France, by investing various parts of it with troops. The prince of Wales, generally known by the name of the Black Prince, from the colour of his armor, having the preceding year made a successful expedition into Guienne, now advanced into Quercy, at the head of two thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, and four thousand foot. The success of this young warrior was astonishing: he wasted Quercy, the Limosin, and Auvergne, advanced to Berry, and after some unsuccessful attempts upon Bourges and Blois, took Vienne in storm. Here he refreshed his army, and here he received the first intelligence that the king of France was posted at Chartres, on the other side of the Loire, the fords of which were strongly guarded. Edward now perceived it was impracticable to advance, and therefore resolved to retreat to Bourdeaux. He perceived his intention, crossed the Loire, and marched with such expedition, that he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Poitiers. Edward perceived that a retreat was now impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander. He posted his handful of men in a place of difficult access, full of hedges, bushes, and vineyards, where neither the enemy's cavalry could attempt to pierce, nor their infantry attack him without great disadvantage: at the end of a narrow lane, the only avenue by which the French could advance to attack his main body, he placed a square battle of the flower of his English archers, nor could the enemy avail themselves of their vast superior numbers, while this place continued thus secured.

The French army, which consisted of above 70 thousand men, was encamped between Bourdeaux and

Maupertuis, and had John known how to have made a proper use of his numerous forces, his success had been infallible without hazarding a battle. Prince Edward was already so distressed for want of provisions, that a few days would have been sufficient to have forced him to surrender at discretion. But the imprudent ardour of the French nobility would admit of no restraint; they imagined themselves sure of victory, and advanced immediately to attack the English. Just before the charge was sounded, the cardinal of Perigord reached the French army; and at his intreaty the battle was deferred till he had visited the English prince, and endeavoured to save the farther effusion of human blood, by an advantageous peace.

Edward, conscious of his own dangerous situation, told the cardinal that he would agree to any terms consistent with his own honour, and that of his country. He offered to purchase a retreat to Bourdeaux, by resigning all the conquests he had made, during this and the former campaign, and by stipulating not to serve against France during seven years. These offers were haughtily rejected by John, who peremptorily insisted, that the prince himself, together with an hundred of the chief nobility in his army, should surrender themselves prisoners; and on these conditions he offered a safe retreat to the English army. The answer of the prince was that of an hero, who fears death much less than dishonour. He declared that neither himself nor his knights should be taken but in battle; and that he would rather sacrifice his life than consent to such infamous terms.

The important contest was now to be decided by the sword, which was to take place the following morning. No advantage was omitted by Edward: he employed the night in strengthening the posts he had so judiciously chosen, with new intrenchments; and detached a body of chosen men under the command of de Greilly, with orders to make a compass round the hill, and keep himself concealed under covert of the hedges and ditches with which it was surrounded, till the battle should begin, and then to fall with the utmost fury on the French rear. He then divided his troops into three distinct bodies, but ranged them in so close a manner, that they seemed to form only a square battalion: the front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges; and the flanks were secured on one side by a steep hill, and on the other by a morass. The earl of Warwick was stationed on the side of the hill, with the troops which composed the van; the rear, commanded by the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury, was posted behind a hedge about a stone's cast from the lane through which the French must march to the attack. At the end of this lane was a pretty large gap, where Edward took his post at the head of the main body, which extended itself among the vines and bushes; the weaker part of the field being inclosed by the carriages and baggage waggons.

The French army was also divided into three bodies; the first was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by the dauphin of France, assisted by his two brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the third, which consisted of forty thousand of the best troops in France, was led by the king in person.

The battle was begun about nine o'clock in the morning by three hundred chosen Frenchmen, who marched up the lane towards the main body of the English; but were so galled by the archers, who lined the hedges, that more than one half of them were slain before they reached the front of Edward's division, where the rest were cut to pieces by an advanced party commanded by lord Audley. The marshals Clermont and Andriehien, who with a body

of chosen cavalry had advanced close behind the men at arms to support them, met with so warm a reception from the earl of Warwick, and at the same time so impetuous an attack from the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury, at the head of a detachment from the rear, that Clermont was killed on the spot, and Andriehien obliged to surrender himself prisoner: most of the corps shared the fate of the former. The first attack of the French being thus rendered abortive, the dauphin advanced to the charge, but not without great difficulty; his men, dispirited at the fate of their companions, were not ready to follow their leader. In this critical moment de Buche fell with the utmost impetuosity upon their rear, and threw them into terrible disorder: the English archers plied them with incessant showers of arrows from every quarter; while the other infantry with swords and battle-axes rushed upon them and made the most dreadful slaughter. The French threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight, while the lords of Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of the dauphin and his two brothers had been particularly committed, carried them off the field of battle, and the whole division followed their example.

The grand division, however, which was composed of the household troops, and headed by their king in person, assisted by his principal nobility, stood firm, and seemed determined to dispute the victory with the English, who were far inferior in number. They were, however, greatly dismayed at the precipitate flight of their companions. The lord Chandois called out to the prince that the battle was won, and Edward immediately mounted his horse, and advanced at the head of his army to attack the main body of the French. The dreadful struggle for victory now began; all that had passed before seemed only an exercise of arms, in comparison to the violent shock which now ensued. John exerted his utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what he had lost by his imprudence. The prince of Wales fell with the most amazing impetuosity on a body of German cavalry placed in the front, and a stubborn contest ensued. Nor did the Germans give ground till their three leaders, together with the duke of Athenes, constable of France, were slain; but being left without a commander, they quitted the field of battle, leaving the king himself and his young son Philip, exposed to all the fury of the enemy.

John now saw himself reduced to a small battalion of faithful friends, who were continually lessening by the swords of the English. At last, wearied out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with numbers, he wielded the sword but faintly, and he might easily have been slain, but every one was emulous of so noble a prize, and therefore as they approached, called out to him to surrender, and offered him quarter; but unwilling to yield himself a prisoner to any person of inferior rank, he cried out, "Where is my cousin the prince of Wales; to him only I will yield." Being informed that Edward was in another part of the field, he still persisted obstinately to defend himself, till Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, made his way through the croud of assailants, and requested John to yield himself his prisoner; and John, after being assured that he was a knight, threw him his gaudet as a signal of surrender, and both he and his son Philip were made prisoners.

The prince of Wales, who had been led a considerable distance in pursuit of the flying enemy, was reposing himself under a tent he had ordered to be pitched for that purpose, when advice was brought him that the king of France and his sons were surrounded, and either slain or taken prisoners. Edward immediately dispatched the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham, at the head of a small detachment, to

enquire into the fate of the French monarch, and, if possible, to rescue him from the hands of the soldiers. Warwick happily arrived soon enough to save his life. The English had taken the royal prisoners from Morbec: the Gascons claimed the honour of detaining them; and some of the brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, threatened to put both the illustrious captives to death. Both parties were over-awed by the presence of Warwick, who approaching the monarch with the greatest marks of respect, offered to conduct him to Edward's tent.

The behaviour of the prince was even, if possible, superior to the ability and valour he had discovered in the battle. Instead of indulging a supercilious pride, too commonly the attendant on youthful warriors, he came from his tent to meet the captive king with all the marks of a sincere regard. He sympathized with his misfortunes; he comforted him in his afflictions; he paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory to capricious fortune, or to the superior power of an over-ruling providence. He ordered a magnificent repast to be prepared in his tent for the royal prisoner, and he himself waited on him at table, as if he had been one of his retinue; and when pressed by the king, he declared with the greatest modesty, "That it was not for a subject like him to sit in the presence of so great a monarch."

The whole army imitated the example of their prince; and the French prisoners were every where treated with the greatest tenderness and humanity. The spoils taken in the French camp were so great that the meanest individual in the English army found himself placed beyond the reach of want during the remainder of his life. Indeed the ransoms of the noble prisoners alone were more than sufficient for that purpose; though these were very moderate. The extent of the fortunes of all were considered, and no more was exacted of them than they could easily spare; no man was that day impoverished for his misfortunes; they had still sufficient to perform their military service for the future in a manner suitable to their rank and quality. And after a solemn thanksgiving was performed in the English camp for their late victory, Edward marched at the head of his army to Bourdeaux.

A. D. 1357. Pope Innocent VI. who was a Frenchman, and consequently very zealous in the interests of the king of France, hearing of this fatal defeat, and that John and his son were prisoners, sent the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital to Bourdeaux, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to bring about a peace; but, failing in their negotiation, they confined their requests to the obtaining a truce for two years. The prince of Wales, who was sincerely disposed to heal the wounds which both nations had received in the course of their bloody contest, joined his endeavours to those of the legate, and wrote over to the king his father, then in England, in such pressing terms, that the latter sent him full powers to conclude a truce by sea and land for two years, which was accordingly agreed upon at Bourdeaux on the 23d of March.

As soon as this truce was concluded, the prince of Wales, having settled the affairs of Gascony, embarked with his royal captives for England, and landed on the 5th of May at Sandwich in Kent. He was received at every place through which he passed with the greatest expressions of joy; but constantly refused those honors which were offered him, desiring that the respect intended for him might be transferred with every mark of attention and civility to the French monarch. He was met in Southwark by

a thousand of the principal citizens of London on horseback; and the mayor displayed, on this occasion, all the pomp of the city. The entry was truly magnificent. John was dressed in his royal robes, and mounted on a stately white courser, remarkable for its size and beauty, as well as for the richness of its furniture. Young Edward rode on the left-hand of his prisoner, on a little black palfrey, and in a mean dress, as if studious to avoid every mark of distinction. The streets through which they passed were superbly adorned with plate, tapestry, and armour. The procession reached Westminster-hall about noon, when king Edward, surrounded by a splendid circle of nobles, and other great men, received his royal prisoner, in all the pomp of state, but at the same time with all the courtesy as if he had been a neighbourly prince, who had come voluntary to pay him a friendly visit. All the pretensions of Edward to the crown of France seemed to be forgotten, and John in captivity received the honors of a king, which were refused him when seated on the throne. The French monarch behaved with so much propriety on this occasion, as to shew himself truly deserving so generous a treatment: though conquered and a prisoner, he still preserved the dignity of a king. The French nobles and knights met with the same generous and humane treatment.

Edward at this time enjoyed a glory which appeared the more dazzling from its being so very uncommon he had in confinement two of his most potent enemies; namely, the king of France in London, and the king of Scotland at Odiham in Hampshire. The latter, indeed, would have received his liberty long before, had not his subjects refused to pay his ransom. At this juncture he seemed to have little cause to expect any favour from a victorious enemy, who had reduced his country to the greatest distress, and whom, from the late amazing success of his arms in other parts, might, according to the usual frame of the human mind, be supposed not very ready to listen to the dictates of humanity. But he was deceived. Edward, moved by the intreaties of his sister, the queen consort of Scotland, agreed to a negotiation for setting her husband at liberty. The conferences were opened at Berwick, where it was agreed, "That David should be set at liberty, and acknowledged king of Scotland, and an independent monarch, on his giving hostages for the payment of one hundred thousand marks sterling in ten years, by equal portions; and that a truce should subsist, and be mutually observed by both nations, till the whole should be liquidated." This treaty being ratified, David returned to his kingdom, after a captivity of eleven years.

The affairs of Scotland were hardly finished, before the two cardinal legates, who had negotiated the truce with prince Edward, arrived in London, with proposals for a peace: but of so strange a nature, that Edward refused to return them any answer. Baffled in this attempt, they demanded, in the name of holiness, the arrears of the tribute formerly paid to the see of Rome, amounting to a thousand marks. Edward treated this demand as an obsolete and ridiculous claim; and bid them tell the pontiff, "That he held his kingdom of God alone, and acknowledged no other superior, nor would he pay tribute to any mortal upon earth."

A. D. 1358. The captivity of John produced a universal confusion in France. Charles the dauphin was declared regent, and had the mortification of seeing almost the whole kingdom revolt against him. Paris, at that time, began to be a formidable city, it contained fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms. Charles found himself obliged to retreat the

ing of Navarre, whom his father had confined. This was, in fact, letting loose an enemy upon himself. The king of Navarre no sooner obtained his liberty, than he came to Paris to blow the coals of sedition, already sufficiently kindled. Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, entered the Louvre at the head of the male-contents, where he caused Robert de Clermont, marshal of France, together with the marshal of Champagne, to be massacred in presence of the dauphin. In the mean time, the peasants tumultuously assembled from all parts, and, in the general confusion, attacked every gentleman they met with, treating them as revolted slaves behave towards those who were masters who happen to fall into their hands. They revenged themselves, by a thousand cruel punishments, for the means of their condition. In the midst of these convulsions of state, Charles of Navarre aspired to the crown; and a war was carried on by him against the dauphin, till the latter was obliged to dissemble his resentment, by agreeing to a suspension of hostilities, and pardoning this too powerful and rebellious vassal. The other cities of the kingdom followed the example of the capital: they shook off the dauphin's authority, took the government into their own hands, and spread disorder into every province. The nobles, whose inclinations led them to adhere to the crown, and who were naturally disposed to check these tumults, had lost their influence; and being reproached with cowardice, on account of their base desertion of their sovereign in the battle of Poitiers, were treated with universal contempt by the inferior orders. The abandoned foldiers, and the peasants, who had learned something of the art of war, formed themselves into armies in the different provinces, especially beyond the Loire. One of their chiefs called John of Gouge, a burgher of Sens, was declared king of their banditti, and did almost as much mischief by his depredations as the lawful sovereign had done in the defence of his kingdom.

While these dreadful scenes were transacting in France, a treaty was concluded between the kings of France and England; by which it was agreed, that, in consideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs should enjoy Guienne, the Angoumois, Naintonge, Perigord, Quercy, the Limousin, Poitou, Touraine, Calais, Guines, the Boulonnois, and the county of Ponthieu, free and independent of the crown of France: and that John and the French nobles, who had been taken prisoners with him, should pay, for their ransom, four millions of golden crowns, upwards of a million and a half sterling money. These articles were sent over to France, and laid before a meeting of the states, by whom they were rejected with disdain, as destructive at once of the honor and safety of the nation. Edward was highly exasperated at this refusal, and determined to renew the war as soon as the truce was expired; flattering himself that he should succeed better by arms than by negotiations.

This year was distinguished by the death of two

princesses nearly related to the king of England. The one was Isabella, his mother, widow of the unfortunate Edward II. whose lust and ambition had not only proved fatal to her wretched husband, but had given rise to a long and bloody war. She died at the castle of Risings on the 12th of November, aged 63, after a confinement of 28 years. The other princess was Joan, queen of Scotland, who also paid the debt of nature much about the same time, at Hertford in England. She was buried by the side of her mother, in the choir of the Grey Friars, now called Christ Church, in London.

A. D. 1359. The truce expiring at Midsummer, Edward determined to prosecute the resolution he had formed of invading France. No sooner were his intentions known than the splendor of his former victories induced a prodigious number of adventurers to flock to his standard; and he crossed the sea to Calais with an army of an hundred thousand men*. This force was irresistible, and the dauphin was too prudent to hazard a decisive battle. He allowed the enemy to spend their fury in the open country, while he employed himself to put all the considerable towns in a posture of defence. It had been determined in a council of war called by Edward near Calais, to penetrate immediately into the heart of France, without losing time in taking places: a wise resolution had it been punctually observed. But after waiting the province of Picardy, and entering Champagne, Edward was desirous of being dignified with the royal diadem of France in the city of Rheims. He accordingly invested the city, where three months were spent without effect, while his army daily diminished by sickness, and he was obliged at last to raise the siege.

A. D. 1360. Edward, failing in this attempt, conducted his army into Burgundy, which, together with the Nivernois, were preserved from his ravages, by paying the contributions he demanded. The Brie and the Gatinois he plundered with the utmost cruelty. He advanced to the gates of Paris, burnt the suburbs of that city, and challenged the dauphin to give him battle; but not being able to make that prudent prince change his plan of operations, he spread his army into the provinces of Maine, Beaulle, and the Chartraine. Here he was overtaken by so dreadful a hurricane, as seemed to threaten the dissolution of the universe. The shock of the elements, in thunder, lightning, and hail-stones of a prodigious size, struck the boldest with terror. No less than six thousand horse, and a thousand foot, were killed on the spot. Edward, with all his courage, was not proof against this dreadful scene: he considered it a warning from heaven to him, to sheathe the destructive sword of war upon equitable terms. Penetrated with these sentiments, he leaped from his horse, and prostrating himself on the ground, with his arms extended towards the church of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, he vowed to agree instantly to a peace with France, if it could be obtained upon just and honourable terms.

This storm has been considered by most historians as the cause which inspired Edward with pacific dispositions;

* While Edward was making preparations for this expedition he took care to keep up the good humour of his subjects by every kind of popularity he could devise. Among others there is one which is strongly marked, the persons of his court and the times, but we presume an account of it will not be unacceptable to the reader.

About the latter end of May a solemn joust was proclaimed to be held at London for three days together. The challengers in the proclamation were, the lord mayor, the two sheriffs, and twenty-one aldermen, who undertook to maintain the field against the king. But matters were managed with such secrecy, that the king performed the lord mayor, and his four sons, with nineteen

of the principal nobility in England, the sheriffs and other aldermen, being all dressed in complete close armour, on which the arms and other distinctions of the city were painted. The defeat was not even so much as suspected by the citizens themselves, who were charmed to see their magnificates (as they thought) acquit themselves in arms surpassing that of the bravest knights in Europe. But they were still more charmed when, at the end of the three days, the braver being then listed up, they found, instead of their mayor and court of aldermen, who remained all that time concealed, the greatest personages of the court of England.

positions; while others (and indeed with great probability) imagine, that, mortified at the little progress he had made with so numerous an army, and to hide the shame of not being able to do any thing more than destroying the open country, he was disposed to a reconciliation, and was glad that this event furnished him with an opportunity of effecting it. But whatever gave rise to these pacific sentiments, a negotiation was opened at Bretagne, where a treaty was concluded; by which it was agreed, that France should pay, at three different times, three millions of crowns of gold (about a million and a half sterling) for the ransom of king John: That the king of England should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Tourain, and Anjou; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, Perigord, the Limosin, Agenois, Quercy, Bigone, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rouergue; and enjoy these territories in the fullest manner, and without any feudal subjection or homage. That the dispute between Charles de Blois and John de Montfort, with regard to the duchy of Britany, should be candidly discussed, and referred to arbitration, under the sanction of both kings; but if their good offices proved ineffectual, neither should take any part in the quarrel, though the sovereignty of Britany should remain to the king of France, and John de Montfort be restored to the possession of all his estates in that kingdom: That the king of France should renounce alliance with the Scots, and Edward his connections with the Flemings. Forty hostages, among whom were the two sons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many of the chief nobility of France, were given as securities for the performance of these conditions.

In consequence of this treaty of peace, the king of France was set at liberty. He immediately went over to Calais, where Edward also soon after arrived, and both parties there solemnly ratified the treaty.

About the latter end of October, Edward embarked for England, and landed at Dover, with all his hostages, on the first of November. From hence he proceeded to pay his devotions at Canterbury, giving orders, pursuant to an obligation he had entered into, that the hostages should every where be treated with all the respect due to their high quality, and that they should be admitted upon their parole of honour, to all the liberty of exercise and diversions.

A. D. 1361. The peace between the two kingdoms being concluded in France was productive of dreadful disorders in that kingdom. Great numbers of adventurers, who had enlisted in Edward's army, joined the band of robbers that had for some time desolated the provinces. Habituated to pillage, and strangers to fear, they committed the most dreadful ravages, and were known by the name of "The Compagnes." At length John, marquis of Montferrat, being at war with the Viscounts, lords of Milan, took the Compagnes into his pay, and freed France from these formidable bands of ruffians.

A. D. 1362. In the beginning of this year a dreadful pestilence broke out in France, which carried off upwards of 30,000 inhabitants in Paris, and spreading into England, raged with equal violence in London. Among others swept away by this contagion was Henry duke of Lancaster, who, from his great humanity, had obtained the surname of the Good Duke. His only surviving sister became his heir: she had been some time married to John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth son, who, in right of his brother in law, was the following year created duke of Lancaster.

This year is also remarkable for the marriage of

Edward the Black Prince with his cousin, Joan Kent, the young and beautiful relict of the late earl of Kent, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the present reign by the intrigues of queen Isabella and the infamous Mortimer; and for her exquisite beauty, she was generally known by the appellation of "The Fair maid of Kent." The young hero, who had raised the honour of the English so exalted a pitch, was now created prince of Aquitaine, and invested with the property of many of the noble possessions ceded to the English by the treaty of Bretagne. He soon after crossed the sea, and fixed his residence at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, beloved and respected by all the people.

A. D. 1363. The French hostages, who were in London, began now to grow weary of their confinement, and the duke of Anjou broke his parole and escaped to Paris. This act, so contrary to the principles of honor and justice, filled John with the utmost concern; and he determined, at all events, to execute the conditions of the treaty. His council in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his design: his purpose was fixed, and every argument lost its force. "If justice and good faith", said he, "were banished from the rest of the earth, they ought yet to retain their habitation in the breasts of princes." This noble way of thinking, incompatible with the maxims of policy, induced him to return to England in order to substitute himself in the place of his late duke of Anjou. But he did not long survive this action, which he thought absolutely necessary. He died soon after, in the palace of the Savoy, where he had been royally entertained at the king's expense, and the ransom was never paid.

A. D. 1365. In the month of January this year a parliament was held at Westminster, when several laws were enacted which tended to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. Edward also issued an edict for the apprehending a number of robbers and lawless banditti that infested the kingdom, consisting chiefly of soldiers that had been disbanded at the conclusion of the peace with France; and that these delinquents might be more easily and speedily brought to trial, he enlarged the judicatory powers of the court of London. He next applied himself to the removal of another evil, namely, the corruption of the judges. The lord chief justice Sir Henry Green and Sir William Skipwith, one of the judges, were for their partiality and extortion, imprisoned, severely fined, and rendered incapable of holding any public employment.

A. D. 1366. Edward the Black Prince had now lived near three years in his principality of Aquitaine, without having an opportunity of exerting his valour, and, indeed, without any prospect of doing it for a considerable time. On a sudden, however, he was called forth from this state of inactivity by an event which must lead us to a country far from France and England, namely, that of Spain.

The throne of Castile was filled by Peter, named the Cruel, from his sanguinary and revengeful disposition. He was placed in the seat of power while a minor, and in very unfavourable circumstances. His father, Alphonso XI. had several natural children by his mistresses, Eleanor of Guisnes and settled such considerable fortunes on them, that they defied the royal authority; while their mother, who enjoyed still more power, insulted the queen dowager. Castile was therefore divided into two parties, one of whom joined the queen mother, the other Eleanor. When Peter came of age, he took the reins of government into his own hands, but was obliged to maintain a war against the faction of his natural brothers. Being victorious in a dreadful battle

attle, he took Eleanor prisoner; and, to satisfy his mother's revenge, put her to death. Soon after, he married Blanche of Bourbon, who falling in love with the grand master of St. Jago, one of those very bastards who was then at war with her husband, she joined the faction, and Peter shut her up in a castle. This greatly augmented the fury of the faction, and Peter was obliged to fight against the king of Arragon and his natural brothers at the same time; but victory still followed his standards, and he made a cruel use of it. He seldom forgave a crime; so that all his relations who had appeared in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment, and among the rest the grand master of St. Jago. During these troubles, Blanche of Bourbon died in confinement; and it was universally reported, that she fell by the detested arts of poison. Henry of Transmare, one of those bastards, animated with a desire of revenging at once both the death of his mother, and that of the grand master of St. Jago, entered into a treaty with Charles V. king of France, and a powerful army was soon raised, under the command of John de Bourbon. Bertrand du Guesclin, a native of Britany, famous for his military abilities, was appointed general in this expedition; and had the address to engage the Companies, now returned from Italy, to follow him into Castile. They had been excommunicated by the pope, and were deeply affected by that sentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any maxims of justice and humanity; though it was not sufficient to make them abandon a life of rapine and extortion.

Du Guesclin advanced with his army first to Avignon, where the pope then resided, and demanded, sword in hand, an absolution for all his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The former was very readily promised; but more difficulty was made with regard to the latter. "I believe," replied du Guesclin, "my fellows may make a shift to do without an absolution, but the money is absolutely necessary." The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighbourhood, the sum of an hundred thousand livres, and offered the money to du Guesclin. "It is not my intention," replied the generous warrior, "to oppress the innocent people; the pope and the cardinals themselves can easily spare me that sum from their own pockets. This money, I insist, must be restored to the owners, and should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrennees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope saw the necessity of submission, and paid him, from his own treasury, the sum demanded. The army, hallowed by the blessings, and enriched by the spoils of the church, proceeded on their expedition, and passed the Pyrennean mountains.

It is natural to imagine that such experienced and hardy soldiers, headed by so able a general, must easily alarm the king of Castile, whose subjects, instead of supporting their oppressor, were ready to join the enemy against him. Peter, therefore, thought it most advisable to fly from his dominions. He had repaired to the frontiers of Portugal; but being denied entrance into that kingdom, he repaired to Bourdeaux, to implore the aid and protection of the Black prince.

A. D. 1367. Edward promised his assistance to the fugitive monarch; and having obtained the consent of his father, he levied a great army, and set out upon his enterprise. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

Edward's army passed the Pyrennees in three divisions, each consisting of 10,000 horse. At his approach all the Companies left du Guesclin's army,

declaring they would never draw their swords against their native prince. But notwithstanding the desertion of the Companies, Henry de Transmare and du Guesclin were still at the head of an hundred thousand men. Both armies were now in sight of each other, and soon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro near the village of Navarette, the famous battle of that name, between Peter and the Black Prince on one side, and Henry de Transmare and du Guesclin, on the other. Edward acquired more honour in this battle than Cressy and Poitiers, because the contest was much longer disputed. The victory was complete; above twenty thousand of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and Bertrand du Guesclin and the marshal of Ardennen were taken prisoners.

Peter was re-established on the throne of Castile, and Henry de Transmare obliged to fly to Arragon. But gratitude was not one of Peter's virtues: he deceived his benefactor when he had no longer any need of his assistance. He refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, perceiving that his men daily perished by sickness, found himself under a necessity of leading them back to Guienne. Peter, however, enjoyed not long the good fortune he owed to the person he had so ungenerously treated. The Black Prince had no sooner crossed the Pyrennees, and Bertrand du Guesclin paid his ransom, than the bastard of Transmare revived the party of the malecontents, and du Guesclin began to raise a new army. The forces of Arragon, the rebels of Castile, and the French auxiliaries appeared on the side of Transmare: while Peter's army consisted of the greater part of the Castilians, the troops of Portugal, and the Moors of Spain; but his new allies rendered him still more odious, and were of very little service in the day of battle. Transmare and du Guesclin having no longer the genius and fortune of young Edward to contend with, obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Toledo. The tyrant Peter was again dethroned and taken prisoner, when his brother, in revenge, murdered him with his own hand, and was afterwards placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity.

A. D. 1369. Prince Edward, during his campaign in Castile, had contracted, besides a very dangerous disorder, an enormous debt, which Peter had refused to pay. This obliged him to have recourse to methods not consistent with good policy. He totally alienated from him the affections of the French, by imposing on them an unusual and heavy tax. The nobility of Guienne made strong remonstrances against this imposition, and even carried their complaints to the king of France as their lord paramount. The principal articles in the treaty of Bretagne, regarded the renunciation of the sovereignty, and were to have been made respectively by John and Edward, but had remained unexecuted, though the failure in exchanging these renunciations was wholly owing to the chicanery of France. Charles, who directed all his affairs by the principles of policy rather than those of justice, admitted the appeal of the nobility of Guienne, and summoned the prince of Wales to appear personally in his court at Paris. The prince, exasperated at so insolent and unjust a message, answered, with all the spirit of a young warrior, that it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. Charles was not, however, intimidated; he knew the declining years of Edward, the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health, and the extreme animosity which the inhabitants of the conquered provinces had expressed against the English, would all very powerfully in his favour. He therefore immediately declared war, and sent a letter of defiance to the English monarch.

An event happened about this time, which greatly affected Edward, namely, the loss of that illustrious princess Philippa, queen of England, who died on the 15th of August at Windsor, after a long and very severe illness. Her death was in a particular manner lamented by her royal consort, with whom she had lived forty years in perfect union and had brought him twelve children. Nor was her death lamented only by her family and relations; all ranks of people were sharers in this calamity, especially the poor, to whom she had been a most liberal benefactress. She was buried in Westminster abbey under a tomb of black touchstone, on the top of which was her portraiture in alabaster admirably executed.

A. D. 1370. The French began now to be very active in carrying on the war, which was commenced in Ponthieu, where they met with very little opposition. The dukes of Berry and Anjou, brothers to Charles, assisted by du Guesclin, invaded the southern provinces, and soon produced an important revolution. The state of the prince's health would not permit him to mount on horseback, or exert his usual activity. The brave Chandois, governor of Guienne, was slain in one action, and du Buche in another. Young Edward saw the progress of the French with the utmost regret; but his distemper increased so fast upon him, that he was obliged to throw up his command, and return to England.

Edward, incensed at the injuries he had received from Charles, meditated a severe revenge, but the infirmities of age suffered him not to head his armies in person, with that vigour and activity which attended him in the field of Cressy. Sir Edward Knowles was for some time very fortunate. He marched from Calais at the head of thirty thousand men, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Paris, but without being able to bring the enemy to a general engagement. He entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and laid them both waste: but part of his army being there defeated by the admirable conduct of du Guesclin, now created constable of France, the rest were scattered and dispersed, so that instead of reaching Guienne, they took shelter in Britany, whose sovereign had entered into an alliance with England. The duke of Lancaster, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, made, soon after, the same attempt, and marched the whole length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux, but his rear was so dreadfully harassed by flying parties of the enemy, and his foraging parties so frequently cut off, that hardly half his army reached the place of their destination. One province after another fell into the hands of the enemy, till Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais only remained in the hands of the English, when the necessities of Edward obliged him to conclude a truce with the enemy.

A. D. 1376. The military glory which the great Edward once possessed was now buried in the grave of voluptuousness. His whole attention had been hitherto engrossed in the pursuits of war and ambition; but those passions were now totally extinguished. He began, at a very unreasonable time of life, to indulge himself in amorous dalliance, and was dwindled into the contemptible slave of an infamous woman, called Alice Pierce, who, to the scandal of all government, was suffered to sit in the public court of justice, and even appeared decked in the jewels of the virtuous queen Philippa, which the now fallen Edward had the weakness to make her a present of, with

all the other moveables of that worthy lady: in short, the regal authority seemed wholly consigned to the hands of this strumpet, who placed and displaced every great officer as she thought proper. The people were no longer able to bear such proceedings, and the parliament, which met on the 24th of April, declared their sentiments on this subject with such freedom, that before they broke up they obliged the king to issue a sentence of banishment against the said Alice, and to confiscate her estate. At the same time, to shew that they retained a warm and loyal affection for their sovereign, even in the midst of his weaknesses, they granted him a very considerable subsidy.

During this session of parliament, the nation suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Edward prince of Wales, who expired at Windsor on the 18th of June, in the 46th year of his age*. The character of this prince is truly amiable. His valour and military talents, which procured him the admiration of all Europe, form only a subordinate part of his merit. His humanity, generosity, affability, and moderation, gained him the esteem of all the world; even the most shining period of ancient or modern history would have received a lustre from his virtues; they were celebrated by his greatest enemies. Charles of France, though his kingdom had suffered so severely from his valour, gave a noble mark of his highest esteem for this distinguished hero. He caused a solemn service to be performed for the repose of his soul, in the church of Notre Dame, and assisted himself in person, with the principal part of the nobility of France.

The death of the prince was greatly lamented by the people, who had flattered themselves with the prospect of uninterrupted happiness and glory under his reign. Their concern was likewise increased by the jealousies they had entertained of the great power of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, whom they were apprehensive might seize the crown on the death of his father. To remove these fears, before the prince was buried, the commons petitioned the king, "that, for the comfort of the nation, his eldest son Richard of Bourdeaux, might be brought into parliament, and acknowledged as the true heir apparent to the realm." Edward not only readily complied with this request, but also created the young prince duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester, and soon after conferred on him the title of Prince of Wales.

The grief which Edward felt for the loss of his son, added to the weakness that had for some time obscured his great talents, rendered him now in manner unfit for government, and he retired to a solitary life at Eltham in Kent, one of his country seats. The duke of Lancaster availed himself of this opportunity so favourable to his ambition, by getting himself declared regent of the kingdom with the approbation of the princess dowager and young prince Richard, whom he had gained over to his interest; and, the more effectually to remove from Edward the thoughts of returning the reins of government, he contrived to have Alice Pierce called again about the royal person, and she again gained such an ascendancy at court, as to produce the disgrace of every one suspected by, or obnoxious to, her, or the duke her patron.

Lancaster, on being invested with the government, made it his first business to wreak his vengeance on the earl of Marche and the bishop of Winchester

* He was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb, with an inscription in French, is still to be seen. He had three sons, viz. Edward of Angoulême, who died in

France, and Richard of Bourdeaux, who succeeded his grandfather on the throne of England. He had three daughters.

both men of great power and abilities, and the constant opposers of his ambitious measures: the former of these he obliged to resign the staff of earl-marshal; and the latter was forbid the court, after having all his temporalities seized.

Lancaster's next step was, to procure a parliament that would, without hesitation, grant large supplies. This was easily effected; and the assembly meeting on the 27th of January, 1377, the lords and commons very readily granted the king four-pence, by way of poll-tax, from every person in the kingdom above fourteen years of age. The commons also, to show their eagerness to oblige the court party, revoked the sentence of confiscation and banishment which had been passed against Alice Pierce; and she was reinstated in full possession of all her former rights, privileges and estates.

These measures, with the laying on the poll tax, occasioned the greatest discontent among the people; and the haughtiness of the duke of Lancaster and his friend the lord Piercy, on whom he had bestowed the staff of earl-marshal, taken from the earl of Marche, served to increase the flame which soon broke forth into the most unwarrantable excesses.

About this time John Wickliff, doctor of divinity in the university of Oxford, began to publish his belief upon several articles of religion, wherein he differed from the common doctrine. He soon gained a number of followers in the kingdom, and among others the duke of Lancaster and the lord Piercy, earl-marshal. Wickliff being summoned to appear before the bishop of London at a synod held by that prelate in St. Paul's cathedral, the duke and marshal accompanied him thither, thinking their presence would be a powerful protection; and, in the course of the examination, the duke and marshal insulted the bishop, and even proceeded to threats, upon which the synod broke up in great confusion. The populace of London, who adored the bishop, and were glad of any opportunity to be revenged on those whom they thought their oppressors, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and, running to the Savoy, the magnificent palace of the duke of Lancaster, they rilled the house, and searched every where for his person, which, in all probability, they would have sacrificed in their unbridled fury; but, on advice of the danger that threatened him, he had escaped, with the lord Piercy, to the court of the princes of Wales, then at Kennington in Surrey, where they remained till the tumult was subdued. The duke was so provoked that he could not be pacified but by the removal of the then mayor and aldermen, whom he accused of not having done their endeavours to quell the rioters. But this severity served only to render Lancaster more odious and contemptible in the eyes of the people.

The truce with France expiring on the 1st of April, hostilities were again begun between the two crowns. The French laid siege to a strong fort near Calais, which was delivered into their hands by the treachery or cowardice of the commanding officer. On the other hand, the brave Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, made an incursion into the French territories, from whence he returned with a great booty to Calais.

This was the last of the numerous military operations which distinguished this bustling reign; as the following was of the public acts of the great Edward. In an assembly of the knights companions of the Garter, on St. George's day, he conferred that order on his grandson Richard; which was the only honor he could give him, after declaring him his successor.

A few days after this the king removed to Shene, where he was seized with a distemper called the engles (kind of St. Anthony's Fire that encompasses the

body like a belt) which quickly encreased to so dangerous a height as to leave no hopes of his recovery. In this situation all his infamous courtiers and attendants forsook him, Alice Pierce alone excepted, who watched with care the royal body so long as she thought any life remained in it; but when she beheld him in the agonies of death, she stripped him of his rings and jewels, and then left him without a single friend or domestic to close his eyes.

Thus deserted and forlorn lay the once great, but now expiring, Edward. At length, a priest of his household, passing by accident through the room where he lay in a condition the most abject that can befall the human race, had the humanity to approach the bed-side, and, finding the poor king yet breathing, addressed to him some pious exhortations, to which the latter endeavoured to reply, but in words too inarticulate to be understood. At last, however, making a final effort, he pronounced the word Jesus! and closed his eyes upon this world and all his former glories.

Here let humanity take its sympathizing stand! here let ambition drop its aspiring head! and contemplate (in the deplorable exit of this conqueror of nations) the vanity of all sublunary greatness! while the historian, turning his eyes from this humiliating object, endeavours to trace the lineaments of a character so conspicuous in the English annals.

Edward III. was in person tall of stature, but so justly proportioned, and of so noble and majestic an aspect, as at once engaged affection and commanded respect. He was gracious and obliging to the virtuous and deserving; stern and inexorable to the bad and faithless. In conversation he was affable and communicative, nor did he disdain to receive instruction from those beneath him, in instances where they were enabled to give it: at the same time he was possessed of so just a discernment, that few princes ever made a more happy choice of servants, either in the domestic, the civil, or the military departments. He was a friend to the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and when he relieved, it was as a king, by putting them above the return of their miseries. In the distribution of rewards and dignities, he showed a distinguished judgment, and an invariable regard to merit. He had a taste for the liberal arts, much above what could be expected for the age in which he lived; witness the edifices of Windsor Castle, King's Hall in Cambridge, and the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen (now the room where the commons of Great Britain assemble) all which he built, and the two last endowed.

It remains now that we should say something of his political character. If we view him in this light he will appear to us one of the greatest princes that ever swayed the English sceptre, whether we behold him as a warrior, a legislator or a monarch. It must, indeed, be confessed that the love of glory was his predominant passion, and that, on several occasions, he scrupled not to indulge it even at the expence of humanity, the lives of his subjects, and the interest of his country; but then it must be considered that he was but a man, and, as such, liable to errors; and that the distracted state of affairs on the continent, and the jarring interests of its princes, concerned in flattering his ambition, and inspiring him with views which otherwise, perhaps, he might never have conceived. His conduct with regard to Scotland, and his claim to the succession of France, involved his subjects and himself in many difficulties; but these very difficulties served in the end to wear them from the vain notions they had entertained on their king's amazing successes, and at the same time taught them that victories may, under certain circumstances, serve only to distress, and conquests to encumber. The obtaining of conquest, however, seems to have had

but a second place in Edward's glory : he was a true lover of the constitution of his country, with which he was intimately acquainted, and shewed himself on all occasions as anxious to defend the privileges of the people, as to preserve the prerogatives of the crown.

As to his weakness at the close of his life, in suffering himself to be made the dupe of an artful and worthless woman, we may in some measure excuse him, by supposing that his passion might at first be only an amusement to divert the melancholy reflections arising from the disappointments with which his latter days were clouded ; and considering, that he who had not had leisure in his youthful hours to be acquainted with the power of love, was the less able to guard against it in his old age.

This great prince died at Shene (now Richmond) on the 21st of June, 1377, in the 65th year of his age, and the 51st of his reign. He was buried in Westminster-abbey near his queen Philippa, by whom he had the following issue :

1. Edward the Black Prince.
2. William of Hatfield, who died in his infancy.
3. Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence ; who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster. After her death, he married Violante, daughter to the duke of Milan ; and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that prince.
4. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, from whom sprung that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. He first married Blanche, daughter and co-heiress of Henry duke of Lancaster, to whose title he succeeded. His second wife was Constance, eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, in whose right he assumed the arms and title of that kingdom. After her death, he married Catherine Swinford, who had already bore him several illegitimate children.
5. Edmund de Langley, earl of Cambridge, constable of Dover-castle, and afterwards duke of York.
6. William of Windsor, who died an infant.
7. Thomas of Woodstock, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and duke of Gloucester from his nephew.

The daughters were,

1. Isabella, married to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford.
2. Joan, who died of the plague at Bourdeaux.
3. Blanche, who died in her infancy.
4. Mary, married to John de Montfort, earl of Brittany.
5. Margaret, married to John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke.

The remarkable occurrences that happened in the reign of Edward III. were as follow :

In the fourth year of his reign, on the 10th of July, there happened a great eclipse of the sun ; and the rains were so violent this year, that the harvest did not begin till Michaelmas. At Christmas, a violent westerly wind overthrew several private houses and public edifices, tore up trees by the roots, and did other considerable mischief.

In his ninth year, the rains were so fatal, that the corn was spoiled ; a dearth ensued, wheat being sold for forty shillings a quarter, (as much as two shillings a bushel now) and the cattle was destroyed by a murrain.

In his twelfth year, it rained almost continually from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, and then came a frost upon it, which lasted twelve weeks ; yet, though the corn was destroyed by it in a great measure, the war with Scotland made money so scarce, that all sorts of goods were sold at a reasonable rate.

In his thirteenth year, an hundred and twenty laymen, and several priests, besides women, were drowned, by an inundation of water, at Newcastle upon Tyne.

While the battle of Cressy was fighting, in the twentieth year of his reign, there fell a violent storm of hail, accompanied with an eclipse, and terrible thunder, at which times prodigious flights of crows hovered over the English and French armies.

In his twenty-second year, it rained from Midsummer to Christmas so constantly, that there was not one day or night dry together. This wet season caused great floods, and a pestilence, which raged for a whole year. The earth was, at the same time, barren, and even the sea did not produce such plenty of fish as formerly. The mortality was so great, that, in the city of London, two hundred corpses were buried every day in the Charter-house-yard, besides those interred in other common burying-places ; and this lasted from Candlemas to Easter.---This year was also remarkable for the institution of the Order of the Garter, which probably owed its origin to the love Edward bore to the countess of Salisbury. That celebrated lady, at a court ball, dropped her garter, which the king took up ; and observing that some of his courtiers smiled, as if he had not obtained that favor merely by accident, he called out, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*" Evil be to him who evil thinks. These words became the motto of the order. It consisted at first of no more than twenty-four persons besides the sovereign ; though it soon became a capital object of ambition to courtiers.

His twenty-seventh year was remarkable for the scarcity of corn and provisions in England and France, occasioned by a great drought. It was called the Dead Summer. Rye was brought out of Zealand to support the poor, who otherwise must have perished for want of sustenance.

In his thirty-fourth year great destruction was made both among men and beasts by dreadful storms of thunder and lightning ; and to add to these calamities, the plague again broke out with great violence, which was distinguished from that already mentioned by being called the Second Mortality.

In his thirty-ninth year the rains were again violent, and a great dearth and pestilence followed. Flights of sparrows fought in the air, and prodigious numbers of them were found dead on the ground.

In his forty-second year a comet appeared in March, between the north and west ; the beam was directed towards France, and were thought to presage new troubles to that kingdom in the following year. The western parts of England, and particularly Oxford, were greatly afflicted with a pestilence.





S E C T I O N IV.

R I C H A R D II.

ON the death of Edward III. his grandson Richard succeeded to the throne; and was immediately proclaimed king by the name of Richard II. at which time he was only in the eleventh year of his age. The beauty of his person, joined to the enthusiastic fondness of the people for his illustrious father the Black Prince, occasioned his accession to be celebrated with universal joy throughout the whole kingdom. And so impatient were the people to see their new monarch decorated with the ensigns of royalty, that the day of his coronation was fixed for the 15th of July, when the ceremony was performed with the greatest magnificence*. On this occasion the young king created his uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester; and conferred the honour of knighthood on several of the young nobility.

A few days after the king's coronation, the parliament established a council of regency; and the commons proceeded to increase their influence, and to confirm their privileges. But the greater power of the king's uncles directed the measures of government. Lancaster in particular, though very unpopular, and of a genius not at all adapted to any bold enterprise, yet having been accustomed to govern during the latter part of the late reign, took upon himself the chief direction of affairs, though, what is very remarkable, neither himself or his brothers were named in the council of regency.

The war with France was still carried on with vigour on both sides, and several places were taken, though no action of real importance had happened between the two kingdoms. In the month of October the parliament assembled at Westminster, in order to devise the proper means of checking the progress of the French arms. The commons declined giving their opinion in a matter of such moment without the advice and assistance of the duke of Lancaster; but as that nobleman, for various worthy reasons, excused his attendance, the commons granted a considerable supply for the service of the public on condition that the money should be lodged in the hands of two trustees, John Philpot and William Walworth, merchants of London. These private citizens had fitted out several ships at their own expence, which sailing in quest of one Mercier, a Scottish merchant, who had greatly annoyed the English vessels, took him, together with fifteen Spanish ships which had entered into his service.

The Scots had not only made captures at sea, but commenced hostilities by land, in violation of a truce which had been lately concluded between the two kingdoms. They surprized and took the town and castle of Berwick, on which the earl of Northumberland, armed with an army of 10,000 men, and summoned the fortrefs to surrender, was answered by Ransey, captain of the garrison, that the place had been taken by virtue of a commission from the king of

France, in whose name he would defend it to the last extremity. An assault was therefore immediately made, and the place being taken, the whole garrison were put to the sword. The earl, after this, sent Sir Thomas Musgrave with a party of 600 men to reconnoitre the country that he might make farther advances; but Sir Thomas's party being totally routed, and himself taken prisoner, the earl, who was fearful of not getting subsistence for his men, thought proper to return to England.

A. D. 1378. In the month of March, Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, burnt upwards of twenty ships in the port of Boulogne, which town he laid in ashes, and carried off a considerable booty. In his return to Calais he was informed that the people of Picardy had betrayed to the French the castle of March, a fort of great consequence not far from Calais, in the absence of the governor; but Sir Hugh attacked the place so vigorously, that he soon retook it, and hanged up all the Picards who had betrayed it, as guilty of treason.

About the same time Richard entered into a treaty with the duke of Bretagne, who agreed to deliver up into the hands of the English the strong town, castle and harbour of Brest, on condition that the same should be restored to him in case of a peace, that he should raise the sum of 1000l. sterling, and be allowed a pension of 800l. per annum. He also engaged to bring about an alliance between the courts of England and Flanders.

A. D. 1379. In the spring of this year, a dreadful plague broke out in the north of England, which depopulated the greatest part of the country. The Scotch took advantage of this calamity by making a furious irruption into that part of the country, where they not only plundered many towns and villages, but committed the most shocking barbarities on the helpless inhabitants.

In the month of September, in the following year died Charles V. king of France, leaving his throne to his son Charles VI. a minor under twelve years of age. This event might have proved of considerable advantage to the English, had the duke of Bretagne continued firm to his engagements; but thinking it the safest way to take advantage of the confusion of the court of France in the beginning of a minority, he quickly concluded a treaty with the new king; so that all expectations of assistance from him were totally annihilated.

In the mean time the Scots continued their depredations in the northern counties, which they ravaged with fire and sword; and the English government, instead of exerting themselves to punish those insolent and cruel invaders, meanly proposed a treaty of peace, which was gladly embraced by the Scots, and was concluded for three years by the duke of Lancaster (who

* It is at this coronation that history first mentions a champion, armed completely armed, in Westminster hall, where his duty was to defend the king. He was attended by the high constable and marshal of England, and preceded by the heralds. When the champion reached the middle of the hall, he threw his gauntlet on the floor, and challenged all persons whatsoever, who should dare dispute his majesty's title to the crown. The origin of this

custom, which is still preserved, is, however, utterly unknown; for though this is the first time we find it mentioned by historians, it is, doubtless, of a much earlier date, since Sir John Dunscombe, who performed the office at the coronation of Richard II. was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to the manor of Berwethby, in Lancashire, held by him in right of his wife, the daughter of Sir John Marmion.

(who had had a commission for that purpose) on the 6th of September.

Though no action of importance had yet been performed in the war against France, yet the great expence attending the several expeditions had quite exhausted the treasury; and the parliament, in order to raise the necessary supplies, imposed a new and extraordinary tax of three groats on every person male and female, above fifteen years of age; but they ordained, that in levying this tax, the rich should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. As the money was immediately wanted, and the common method of gathering it would require some considerable time, the court farmed out the grant to a set of rapacious collectors, who extorted it with the utmost rigor from the people. This imposition, added to the cruelty and presumptuous behaviour of the tax-gatherers, occasioned one of the most singular mutinies recorded in the annals of history. The people had already acquired some idea of independence, and given several indications of their desire of breaking those chains which had so long been imposed upon them by a haughty nobility. Enthusiasm also assisted to augment this desire, and make the populace acquainted with their own importance.

One John Ball, a turbulent but popular preacher, visited various parts of the kingdom, and every where inculcated on his audience the maxims of equal right and liberty to all the goods of nature; and the tyranny of artificial distinctions introduced by a few insolent rulers, in order to aggrandize themselves, and degrade the more considerable part of the species. Doctrines like these, so agreeable to the populace, were embraced with avidity, and kindled in the minds of the vulgar those sparks of rebellion which the insolence of the tax-gatherers blew into a flame.

A. D. 1381. The insurrection began at Deptford, in Kent; where one of the collectors came to the house of Walter, a tyler by profession, afterwards better known by the name of Wat Tyler, and demanded three groats for one of his daughters. The peasant refused to comply with the demand, urging, that she was under the age prescribed by act of parliament. The insolent tax-gatherer not only refused to acquiesce in this decision, but offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary; and, at the same time laid hold of the girl. Enraged at this insolence, Tyler beat out the fellow's brains with his hammer. The action was highly approved by the populace of the neighbourhood, who instantly flew to arms. Their example was followed by the peasants of Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Hertfordshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Lincoln, so that even before the government had any warning of the danger, the disorder was become too great for opposition.

The insurgents having appointed Blackheath as the place of general rendezvous, they accordingly assembled there, to the number of an hundred thousand men under their principal leaders, Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw. The duke of Lancaster was now on the borders of Scotland, and the number of regular troops in the kingdom very inconsiderable; so that the government was thrown into the utmost confusion, as having every thing to fear from this lawless assembly. A council was called in the Tower, where a resolution was taken to send a messenger to the insurgents, to enquire the cause of this tumultuous meeting. The mutinous rabble received the messengers with the most haughty insolence; and returned for answer, "That they were come to speak to the king about certain important affairs; and desired he would repair to the camp in person, and hear what they had to propose." Many of the council, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, opposed the king's going in person to treat with the

rebels; thinking it at once both derogatory to his dignity, and dangerous to his life. But it being presented to the council, that the insurgents were full march for London, and that it would be impossible to prevent their gaining admittance into the city, the king went down the river in a barge, as far as Rotherhithe; but on approaching the shore, he perceived such symptoms of tumult and insolence, that he put back, and returned to the Tower.

Exasperated at this disappointment, the people, who were by this time joined by the city rabble, advanced to the bridge, and threatened to burn the suburbs first, and then the capital itself, if the gates were not immediately opened. Intimidated by the threats, which they were able to carry into execution, their demand was complied with. They entered the city, and immediately gave a loose to every species of excess. They plundered the houses of the most wealthy citizens, and abused their persons, together with those of their wives and daughters. A party of them ran immediately to the duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy, and soon reduced that magnificent structure, together with all its splendid furniture, to ashes. Another party set fire to the church of John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, near Smithfield, and burnt the whole structure, together with all the books, records and papers. They beheaded all gentlemen that fell into their hands, and put to death all attorneys and those who had any connexions with law.

Early the next morning they divided themselves into three bodies. The first division, under Jack Straw, marched to Highbury-manor, about two miles to the northward of London. The second retired to Mile-End. And the third, under the command of Wat Tyler himself, took up their station in St. Katherine's, and round the Tower, to prevent the escape of the ministers and noblemen who had taken shelter in that fortress, and whom the rabble had devoted to destruction. The king, who had retired thither for safety, finding the fortress, which was but weakly garrisoned, and almost destitute of provisions, incapable of making any long defence, and means to escape during the night; and hearing that the rebels at Mile-End were the most tractable, and had expressed a desire of treating with the government, he repaired thither, and demanded to know the reason for this tumultuous assembly; telling them that he was their king, and that he was come to redress their grievances. They insisted upon a general amnesty; the abolition of all slavery, and of the trade in all market towns, without paying duty, or impost; and that a stated rent should be paid for lands, instead of the service imposed upon vassals. These requests the king granted very readily, and insisted on their laying down their arms immediately. They made no difficulty of obeying; and returned very quietly to their own houses, leaving each parish to carry down with them the general pardon, and charters of their freedom.

The rebels, however, under Wat Tyler were not so easily pacified. They were determined to avenge the evils they had suffered on the head of the nation, and if possible, carry the romantic notions of government they had formed into execution. Accordingly, while the king was treating with the insurgents, Wat Tyler demanded admittance into the Tower; and the garrison, intimidated by the multitude of rebels, that he refused to defend the place, and the gate was accordingly thrown open.

This pusillanimous conduct raised the rage of the rabble to the highest pitch; and their behaviour was at once brutal and barbarous. The king



Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor, dragged him to Tower-hill, and beheaded him with the utmost cruelty. Sir Robert Hales, old treasurer, and Legg, the Flemish farmer of the land-tax, suffered the same fate; and a Franciscan friar was put to death merely because he had been intimate with the duke of Lancaster.

The deeper these rebels plunged themselves into guilt, the more their views of murder and confusion were enlarged; every person of note that fell into their hands, was sacrificed as a victim to their lawless barbarity. The citizens now saw their error in admitting such a turbulent multitude into the city. Their savage practices roused them to revenge, and recovered them from their consternation. Walworth, the lord-mayor, and Philpot one of the aldermen, promised the king, that they would support him against the rebels, provided some method could be found to muzzle them with proposals. Sir John Newton was therefore sent to acquaint them, that the Essex men had accepted certain conditions from the government, in consequence of which they had retired peaceably to their habitations; and that he was empowered to offer them the same terms, on their making the same submission. But the savage plebeians, flushed with their late success, had now formed the most chimerical designs; they proposed to murder the king, together with all the whole nobility, and bury all government in general anarchy, in order to destroy every species of subordination, and render all men equal. Tyler, therefore, made no other answer to the king's message, than that he would consent to a peace if he liked the terms.

Three different charters were sent successively to Richard, in the space of a few hours, but were rejected with the most provoking insolence. The mob and principal men of the city were now thoroughly exasperated, and Richard, attended by the lord-mayor, and chief officers of London, rode to Smithfield. Sir John Newton was again sent to the demagogue, inviting him to a conference with the king, in order that his majesty might know his demands, and, if possible, give his consent to their being granted. Tyler now seemed to be alarmed, and moved towards Smithfield, at the head of the mob, with a very slow and desultory pace. Newton told him the king was waiting for him, and desired he would quicken his march. "Make what you please yourself," replied the insolent rebel, "I shall take my own time." The true reason for the delay in the demagogue arose from his expectation of a large reinforcement from Hertfordshire and adjacent counties, and therefore he would willingly have deferred the conference till their arrival. The government was now in a capacity to defeat all schemes, and therefore unwilling to suffer them to exercise their savage barbarity any longer. The gildates of London had assembled a large body of well-armed and well-affected citizens, and Sir Robert Knowles was just arrived at the head of a thousand veterans. When Tyler came into Smithfield, where the king waited for him, Sir John Newton told him that both decency and duty required that he should be uncovered in the presence of his sovereign; but the traitor, instead of complying, was so highly offended, that he would have sheathed his dagger in his heart, had not the king suddenly advanced, and diverted his attention, by asking what he had to request. Tyler was greatly disconcerted; and made extravagant proposals, and delivered himself in incoherent a manner, that the king could make no sense of. He demanded that all the ancient laws should be abolished, that all bondmen should be free; that warrens, parks, and chases should be laid open, and every person, the poor as well as the rich,

should have free liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt in every part of the kingdom. He added several other particulars relative to the levelling scheme he had formed, but in so confused a manner that they were not understood. The king not being able to comprehend the meaning of what this illiterate leader had advanced, returned no answer, which Tyler considering as a contemptuous refusal, raised his dagger, and at the same time laid hold of the bridle of the king's horse. Walworth, the mayor, who had with difficulty curbed his resentment at the behaviour of this audacious rebel, was now so exasperated that he rode up to him, and discharged so violent a blow on his head with the mace he carried in his hand, that Tyler fell senseless from his horse, when Philpot with his sword immediately dispatched him.

The Kentish men seeing their leader fall, cried out, "Our Captain is killed; let us revenge his death!" and bending their bows, prepared to let fly a shower of arrows against the king and his attendants, which might have slain the greatest part of them, had not young Richard, with an admirable intrepidity and presence of mind, rode up alone to the incensed multitude, whom he addressed with a cheerful yet resolute air, saying, "What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? what are you about to do? Would you kill your king? Give yourselves no concern about the death of that traitor; I will be your captain: follow me, and you shall have whatever you can reasonably desire."

After the king had thus addressed them, he gently turned his horse, and putting himself at their head, rode towards the fields of Ilington. The mob was so confounded at the bold action of Walworth, and death of their leader, and at the same time so overawed with the presence and magnanimity of the young king, that they implicitly followed him, without knowing whither they were going. They had no sooner left the city than they perceived a large body of forces marching towards them, under the command of Sir Robert Knowles: this sight struck them with such terror that they imagined the whole city was in arms to attack them; and the foremost ranks, throwing down their weapons, called out for mercy. This so frightened the rest, that they immediately followed the example, and falling on their knees begged for quarter.

Sir Robert Knowles would have persuaded the king to put a number of them to death, in order to strike a terror into their companions in other parts of the kingdom; but Richard, with equal justice and lenity, observed, that as many had joined them more from force than inclination, he was not willing to confound the innocent with the guilty by an undistinguished carnage; and granting them the same charters with which he had indulged the Essex men, the whole multitude dispersed without the effusion of any blood except that of their leader.

The king afterwards returned to the city, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on Walworth the lord-mayor, John Philpot, Nicholas Braubre, and Robert Laud, aldermen, for the signal service on this occasion; and likewise bestowed grants in land of 1000. per annum to the first, and 400. to the others, to them and their heirs for ever.

The overthrow of the Kentish rebels had such an effect on those in the other parts of the kingdom, that after some little resistance, they were very glad to lay down their arms, and submit to the king's mercy. The charter of enfranchisements and pardon were revoked by another charter, dated the 2d of July; the common people were reduced to the same state of submission and dependence in which they had formerly been placed, and several of the most leaders were executed in different parts of the kingdom.

On the 2d of May, this year (1381) a treaty of marriage was concluded between young Richard and Anne, daughter of the late emperor Charles IV. and sister to the reigning emperor Wenceslaus king of Bohemia. In this treaty the king's council appear to have had more regard to the merit of this princess than to her fortune; for instead of Richard's receiving any thing with her as a dowry, he gave the emperor her brother no less than 10,000 marks for his alliance, and was also at the whole expence of her coming over to England, where she arrived about the latter end of December, and was married to the king, in the chapel royal at Westminster, on the 14th of January 1382, at which time she was also crowned with great solemnity.

The remarkable intrepidity and conduct of Richard in suppressing the Kentish rebels, had inspired the people with the highest expectations of his future behaviour. But the prefaces of early youth are often deceitful. As Richard advanced in years, his conduct abundantly demonstrated that their hopes were built on a delusive foundation; and it was soon evident, that he wanted both judgment and capacity. What rendered this want of ability the more alarming to the English was the unsettled state of affairs on the continent, and which threatened to involve all Europe in confusion. On the death of Gregory X. Brigano, Bishop of Barri, was elected pontiff, and took the name of Urban VI. But his passionate and turbulent disposition rendered him a very improper person to be placed at the head of the church. He had not long been seated in St. Peter's chair, before he declared, in full consistory, that he was determined to punish the kings of France and England, as the disturbers of the peace of Christendom. Cardinal de la Grange, a Frenchman, and equally passionate with the pope himself, rose from his seat, and shaking his fist at the pontiff, told him that "he lied." This rash expression involved all Europe in confusion.

The greater part of the cardinals, shocked at the brutal disposition of Urban, withdrew to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the late election void, and proceeded to the election of a new pontiff; and Robert, son to Amadeus III. count of Geneva, was elected, and took the name of Clement VII. The new pontiff was a person of great parts, eloquent, polite, liberal, and allied to most of the princes of Europe. England, Flanders and Hungary, declared for Urban; France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorrain, for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors and universities joined also in the contest. The two popes bestowed on each other the appellations of Antichrist and Usurper, and proceeded to mutual excommunications. A civil and religious war was kindled in Europe, and the most horrid cruelties committed by the advocates of both parties.

Clement preached up a crusade against Richard and his subjects; while Urban not only fulminated his excommunications against all the adherents of Clement, but also sent over a commission to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, nominating him the leader of a crusade against his rival. With this commission the pope sent him plenary powers, as his legate, to grant the same indulgences to all who engaged in this expedition, as to those who carried arms against the infidels. The publication of this crusade in England answered the most sanguinary wishes of the pontiff. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and almost all ranks of people, engaged in it with the same ardour and alacrity as if they had been going to fight against an enemy that threatened to put a period to the christian name.

A. D. 1382. All necessary preparations being made, the bishop of Norwich embarked for the continent, and landed at Calais on the fourth of May at

the head of 50,000 foot and 2000 horse. His attempt was upon Gravelines, which he carried by assault. Intimidated by this success, the inhabitants of Dunkirk opened their gates to the victor. Bourbourg, Cassel, Berg, Furnes, Nieuport, Oost Blankenberg, and all the towns on the sea-coast far as Sluys, followed the example of Dunkirk. Alarmed at this progress of the English, the count of Flanders determined to give them battle. Not depending on the enthusiastic disposition of his followers, marched to meet the enemy, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the count was totally defeated. The king of France, at the head of an army of an hundred thousand men, now advanced to check the progress of the crusaders. The prelate, on a general muster of his forces, found that they amounted to ninety thousand men, occasioned by the continual arrival of fresh reinforcements from England, many of these were the very dregs of the people, at once ignorant of discipline and impatient of command. It was, however, resolved in a council of war to fight the French army; but this was opposed by a large party of the troops, who insisted on their besieging Ypres, where they expected to acquire immense booty. It was in vain to oppose this determination; and the bishop, in order to prevent a mutiny in his army, was obliged to undertake the reduction of that place; a step which ultimately proved fatal to his enterprise. The approaches were carried on with great intrepidity; but he was obliged to raise the siege, and send to England for reinforcement. But so many difficulties occurred, that the season was lost before any thing could be effected; and the bishop returned to England with the poor remains of his army.

Thus ended this memorable crusade, undertaken for the sole interest of Urban, without that point of England receiving the least benefit from it. The carriage of the prelate did not, however, put an end to the schism of the church; for it lasted in a greater or less degree for upwards of forty years, and in which space of time, religion was made a pretence for the greatest enormities.

A. D. 1384. During these transactions on the continent, the Scots had made the most horrid devastations in the northern counties; and a considerable army was now raised to chastise their insolence. Richard headed his army in person. He crossed Scotland by Berwick; while the Scots, who drew a pitched battle with the English, abandoned their country, crossed the English borders on the west, and plundered the counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire.

Richard, in the mean time, advanced to Edinburgh, and destroyed all the towns and villages that lay in his rout. He reduced that city to ashes, and treated in the same manner Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low country. But when he was about to march towards the western coast, in order to wait the return of the enemy, and take a full revenge on them for the devastations they had committed, his impatience to be in England, and his usual pleasures and amusements, were so prevalent; and he came back with his army, without effecting the intended purposes of his expedition.

A. D. 1385. The court of France had been victorious of wresting then sea ports out of the hands of the English, and they were persuaded that the opportunity now offered for that purpose, the king of Lancaster having carried into Spain all the best of the English military force, in order to prosecute his empty claim to the crown of Castile. Great preparations were therefore made in France for an invasion of England as the most proper method of recovering their design. They collected an immense

army at Sluys. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprize, and the English were kept for some time in perpetual alarms. The French army, when reviewed at Arras, consisted of eighty thousand men at arms, with their followers on horseback, besides a prodigious number on foot. Twelve hundred and eighty-seven vessels of all sorts were ready at Sluys to carry over this numerous army; and several warlike engines of a new construction were put on board the fleet.

This amazing armament engaged the attention of all Europe. The English were intimidated, particularly the citizens of London. The militia of the kingdom were ordered to the sea coast; the ports and harbours were put in a posture of defence; and all the beacons on the coast prepared for giving the alarm, whenever the enemy should appear. A fleet was also fitted out to guard the channel, and every prudent measure was taken that could be projected for the safety of the kingdom.

The great preparations, however, which France had made against England proved of none effect. Envy and ambition, so often the destruction of public undertakings, had poisoned the French councils. The duke of Berry, a prince of a covetous and aspiring disposition, was no friend to this undertaking, in which he thought neither his dignity nor interest had been sufficiently consulted, and therefore determined to render the whole abortive. In order to this, he proceeded so slow in assembling the troops, that it was the middle of September before he joined the army at the head of his division. The forces were, however, embarked, and the fleet sailed out of the harbour with a fair wind. But they had not left their own coast above two hours before the wind changed to the opposite quarter, and a dreadful storm succeeded, which, in a few hours, scattered the whole navy. Some of the ships were driven back into the harbour of Sluys; some were dashed on the rocks, others foundered at sea, and many of the stragglers were taken by the English. Such was the end of those mighty preparations which had held all Europe in suspense.

A. D. 1386. Richard, like most weak princes, was fond of pomp and ceremony. He had for some time considered the restraint he was subject to from his uncles with regret, and now determined to break these ignoble chains. Accordingly, he placed his whole confidence in Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, but of very dissolute manners, more calculated to corrupt the prince than to govern the kingdom. This favourite engrossed the affection of Richard, who knew not how to set bounds to his liberality. He created him duke of Ireland, and conferred on him for life the sovereignty of that island; even the whole authority of the government was by degrees lodged in his hands. Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, whom he had lately created earl of Suffolk, was another of his favourites. He was possessed of great military talents, and had served in the army with applause. He had also been employed in several embassies and treaties of peace, in all which he had distinguished himself by his prudence, integrity, capacity and judgment; but his particular friendship for the duke of Ireland rendered him obnoxious to the people.

The king's uncles, and the chief nobility, who now saw themselves stripped of their power, determined to attack the favourites, and recover their former influence. An impeachment was accordingly drawn up against the chancellor, and Gloucester undertook to carry it to the house of lords. It was, however, thought proper to observe the appearance of decency at court, and accordingly the commons sent a message by their speaker to the king, importing that unless the

chancellor was removed, they could not proceed in the dispatch of public business.

Richard, who little expected a motion of this nature, received the address with an indignation he could not conceal. He told the speaker very sharply, "That it would better become the parliament to attend to the business for which they were summoned, than to concern themselves with his servants." Nor did he give them leave to renew their address: he set out immediately for Eltham in Kent, lest his presence should be construed as a sanction to the proceedings of the parliament, who he plainly saw were bent upon the ruin of his favourites.

As soon as it was known that the king had withdrawn himself from the national council, a message was sent him by the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Ely, desiring him, in the name of the Parliament, to return: declaring, in case of refusal, that they would immediately dissolve themselves. Richard finding himself unable to resist, agreed to the impeachment being carried on against Suffolk; but at the same time it was stipulated that no attack should be made against any other of his ministers. The accusation was at once both frivolous and unjust; but innocence was but a poor defence against the turbulent envy of the barons, Suffolk was convicted, and adjudged to pay a fine and ransom to the king; and in the mean time was committed to the custody of the duke of Gloucester, who, as constable of the kingdom, sent him to Windsor Castle.

The fall of the earl of Suffolk was only a prelude to greater excesses. Gloucester and his associates, indeed, observed their stipulation with the king: they attacked no more of his ministers; but they went much farther by attacking the regal power. The king was deprived of his authority, and the exercise of the sovereign power intrusted to fourteen commissioners, whose jurisdiction was limited to a twelve-month, though it was sufficiently evident, that the party of Gloucester never meant to reinstate their monarch in his prerogatives. This was not all; they furthermore obliged the king not only to grant a commission, under his own hand and seal, for vesting this committee with the necessary powers, but also to give his assent to a statute, by which any person who should dare to propose a revocation of the powers granted to this committee should, for the first offence, forfeit his estate; and for the second be punished as a traitor.

Richard, however, pusillanimous as he was, protested against this violence at the end of the session, and declared in full parliament, "that the prerogatives of his crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should be deemed entire and unimpaired."

A. D. 1387. The commissioners, however, paid no attention to Richard's protest: they immediately proceeded to the exercise of their office, and the king found himself destitute of all authority. Richard was, however, determined to make one attempt for the recovery of his power. He assembled the judges and lawyers, who made no scruple of declaring, that the commission was derogatory to the royal authority, that those who procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death; that those who compelled him were guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of dissolving parliaments when he pleases; that the parliament, while they sit, must proceed first on the king's business; and that they cannot, without the king's consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges.

No sooner were the duke of Gloucester and his party informed of this secret consultation, than they immediately had recourse to arms, and demanded that the persons who had seduced the king by their

pernicious counsel, should be delivered up as traitors to the state. A few days after they appeared in his presence armed, and attended by their followers; where they accused the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brambre, as public and dangerous enemies to the kingdom. The duke of Ireland saved himself by flight; but the others were condemned and executed. Force became the only rule of law in those unfortunate times, when the passions of the great seemed to have annihilated every idea of justice.

A. D. 1388. While the English government was thus in a mere state of anarchy and confusion, the Scots took the advantage by making the most horrid depredations in the northern counties. In the beginning of August they entered Northumberland with a small army, consisting of three hundred horse and two thousand foot, all veterans, and commanded by the two Douglasses, the earls of Fife, Murray, and Dunbar, the most celebrated commanders in the Scottish army. They ravaged the whole country through which they passed, and advanced as far as the gates of Newcastle, where the lord Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, son to the earl of Northumberland, first opposed them. But his troops were defeated, and himself unhorsed in single combat by the younger Douglas, who having seized his lance, vowed to carry it to Scotland as a trophy of his victory. Inflamed with rage at his late misfortune, Hotspur vowed that Douglas should never carry his lance to Scotland in triumph. He accordingly collected a body of six hundred horse and eight thousand foot, and putting himself at their head marched in pursuit of the enemy, without waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were hastening to join him under the command of the bishop of Durham.

The Scots, elated with their late success, had undertaken the siege of the castle of Otterburn, and were lying before that fortress when Percy, by forced marches, reached their camp. Rage had stifled prudence in the breast of Percy: he would not delay the engagement for a moment, though his troops were so greatly fatigued with their long marches, and though night was approaching when he came up with the enemy. He attacked the Scots with all the fury of a disappointed warrior, but the darkness rendered it impossible to continue the contest, and they separated without either obtaining the victory. The moon rising at midnight, however, occasioned the battle to be renewed with great fury, and at last victory declared for the Scots. The younger Douglas was slain in the battle; Percy, with upwards of an hundred gentlemen and officers of distinction were taken prisoners; and above twelve hundred of the English were left dead on the field.

The bishop of Durham, who was on his march with 10,000 men to Percy's assistance, hearing of the defeat of the English, immediately made the best of his way to Newcastle, leaving the Scots at liberty to return home, enriched with a great booty, and exulting in the triumph over an enemy, before whom they had so often fled.

A. D. 1389. The authority of Richard appeared now to be totally annihilated: the combination of the princes of the blood and chief nobility had so far engrossed the royal power, that a revolution was apparently inevitable. But the event proved otherwise. Richard, who was now in his twenty third year, declared, in a full council held at Basset, his intention of directing the affairs of his kingdom and household by his sole authority, and taking into his own hands the reins of government. No opposition being made to so reasonable a design, Richard immediately demanded the great seal from the archbishop of Canterbury, and gave it to William of Wickham, bishop of

Winchester. He removed the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Warwick from the council-board, and supplied their places with others whom he thought more worthy of his confidence. The bishop of Hereford was deprived of his office of treasurer, and the earl of Arundel of that of admiral. These changes were made without the least opposition; the dukes of Gloucester and York affected to return to their duty; and Richard, by passing a general amnesty, and remitting some subsidies which had been granted him by parliament, acquired the affections of the people, who easily pass from one extreme to another.

From this period the kingdom enjoyed tranquility for a considerable time. A truce of twenty-five years was concluded with France, which was followed with the restitution of Brest and Cherbourg; and Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to the daughter of Charles VI. though at this time only a child of seven years of age.

A. D. 1397. The strong alliance which Richard had formed with France, by his marriage, gave great offence to the English, who had contracted a violent antipathy against that nation; and the conduct of Richard was not calculated to procure the respect of his subjects. A slave to pleasure, and incapable of applying himself to business; under the dominion of favourites, on whom he profusely lavished the revenues of the crown and the grants of the people; and fulfilling the dignity of his rank by admitting persons of very mean condition to his familiarity; he was considered as totally unworthy of swaying the British sceptre.

The duke of Gloucester availed himself of the king's weakness. He absented himself from the court, hardly ever appeared in council but to oppose measures of the administration; and exerted all his abilities to cultivate and increase his popularity with the nation. The invectives he made use of against the government, against the long truce concluded with Charles, and against the marriage of Richard, joined to his address in fomenting the hatred against France, and in reviving the desire of ravaging a neighbouring hostile kingdom, made the deepest impressions on the minds of a people disposed at all times to revolt, and ever impatient under imaginary distresses.

Richard, whose precipitate temper admitted of little deliberation, was so enraged at Gloucester's conduct that he ordered him to be unexpectedly arrested. An attempt was made with success; the duke was seized and hurried on board a ship which lay in the river ready to receive and carry him over to Calais where alone it was thought he could be safely detained in custody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the lord Cobham, Gloucester's associates, were arrested the next day, and all of them committed prisoners to the Tower of London.

In order to prevent all possibility of their making the least resistance, a parliament was immediately summoned at Westminster, and the members were introduced with violence into all the measures of the court. It annulled the act of amnesty, which Richard had voluntarily confirmed: they prosecuted the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and other noblemen, several of whom were condemned and executed, for having been engaged in some attempts against the crown, notwithstanding the promises they had received.

The prosecution against Gloucester was just as to be commenced, when intelligence arrived of his death. It was pretended that he died suddenly of an apoplexy, but it was the general opinion that he had been murdered in consequence of orders from his nephew, and in the succeeding reign, undoubted evidence was produced in parliament of his being

been suffocated with pillows by those who had the care of his person.

Thus fell Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the victim of his enemies treachery, and of his own imprudent conduct. With many great and good qualities, he joined an inordinate thirst after popularity, in the pursuit of which he too often lost sight of that respect which should always be preserved to majesty; and whatever advantages he might intend to procure to his country, the measures he took for that purpose were such as no court, that had the least regard to its own honour or consequence, could implicitly admit.

No sooner was Gloucester's death known, than his brothers, the duke of Lancaster and York, hastened to London at the head of a numerous body of forces, threatening to take the most severe revenge on the authors of this execrable tragedy, not excepting even the king himself. Richard had, however, taken all the precautions necessary to divert the force of the expected storm. He had not only gained over the parliament to his devotion; but also collected an army of twenty thousand veterans, and stationed them in the neighbourhood of London. Nor did he depend on the forces he had raised; he had recourse also to the milder methods of negotiation, and the two brothers, finding that all resistance would be in vain, listened to an accommodation.

A. D. 1398. The duke of Gloucester's party was hardly suppressed, before another arose which proved fatal to Richard. The principles of honour were at this time so little known among the nobility, that Henry earl of Hereford, son to the duke of Lancaster, accused, before the council, the duke of Norfolk, of having spoken in private many slanderous words against the king. Norfolk gave him the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by single combat, a method of trial then authorized by the laws of the kingdom. The challenge was accepted, and the dispute ordered to be decided according to the laws of chivalry, in presence of the king and his whole court.

On the day appointed, both the noblemen appeared, the trumpets sounded, and they were preparing to rush against each other, when the king interposed, to prevent the effusion of noble blood, and commanded them to depart the kingdom; but their sentences were unequal; the exile of Norfolk, was for life; but Hereford only for ten years. Both, however, obeyed the royal mandate. Norfolk, who knew he had nothing to expect from Richard, retired into Germany, and afterwards to Venice, where he soon after paid the debt of nature: he did not live to see the revolution which soon happened in his country. The earl of Hereford was more resigned to his fate; he waited on the king to take his leave before he quitted the kingdom, and this submissive and respectful behaviour had such an effect upon Richard, that he remitted four years of the time assigned for his banishment; and also empowered him, by letters patent, to enter into immediate possession of any estates that might fall to him during his exile.

A. D. 1399. The earl of Hereford had left the kingdom but a few months, when his father John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, paid the debt of nature*; and his son, in consequence of his rights, and the

letters patent he had received, desired to be put in possession of the estate and jurisdiction of his father. But Richard, to the eternal stain of his memory, denied this request, revoked the letters patent he had given to Hereford, decreed his banishment should be perpetual, and confiscated all his paternal estate.

It is little to be wondered at that a nobleman of Hereford's rank and character should be desirous of resenting such a complication of injuries. He was of a bold and enterprising spirit; he had signalized his courage and intrepidity both at home and abroad; he was beloved by the people, and adored by the soldiers. He was always cool, sedate, and prudent; and was considered as the only English prince that deserved the public confidence and esteem. His misfortunes were lamented, and the injuries he had received complained of by all ranks of people. He was secretly invited to return to England, and assured of being sufficiently supported in the recovery of his lawful inheritance.

Hereford, (now duke of Lancaster) determined to accept this generous offer; and an event soon happened which gave him all the advantages he could desire. Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, lord lieutenant of Ireland, had been lately killed in a rencounter with a small party of the Irish; and Richard, in order to reduce the rebels to subjection, and revenge the death of Mortimer, resolved to pass over into that island, and head his army in person. He accordingly embarked at Bristol, and after a short passage landed at Waterford, at the head of 2000 men at arms and 10,000 archers. Struck with consternation at seeing the king of England at the head of so powerful an army, the most considerable part of the rebels submitted, and the rest were soon reduced to obedience.

While Richard was in Ireland the duke of Lancaster embraced the opportunity of returning to England. He embarked at Nantz with a retinue of sixty persons, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where he was immediately joined by the lords Willoughby, Roos, D'Arcy, and Beaumont, and several gentlemen of distinction, attended by a numerous body of vassals and adherents. A few days after, his party was increased by the arrival of the earl of Northumberland, with his son Hotspur Percy, and his brother the earl of Westmoreland, at the head of such a numerous body of forces, that Lancaster's small retinue was increased to an army of 60,000 men. The duke now took a solemn oath, that his sole design in this invasion was that of recovering the duchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him. At the same time, he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of equity and their country, to second him in this reasonable and moderate pretension.

The duke of York, who was left guardian of the realm, during the king's absence, assembled an army of 40,000 men, and marched at their head to St. Alban's; but, upon reviewing his forces, the soldiers declared to a man, that they would not draw a sword against Henry of Lancaster. The guardian himself did not indeed, seem to be well affected to the cause he had undertaken to defend: he made no difficulty of declaring, that he would second his nephew in recovering his just rights. It is, therefore, no wonder that he listened to a message sent him by Henry, who

intreated

* On the 23d of February 1392, as some labourers were breaking up part of the ground in the cathedral of Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, they discovered a leaden coffin, which on examination appeared to contain the remains of Thomas Beaufort, third son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and son to king Edward III. The body was entire, the features and lineaments of the face quite perfect, the hair brown intermixed with grey,

and the nails on the fingers and toes complete. The body was about six feet in length, and the face was covered with a mask. In the coffin were several materials belonging to embalming, as also a silver crucifix. He died at B. Greenwich in 1394, in the reign of Henry VI. and was buried in the cathedral, to which he was a preacher of St.

intreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble suppliant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. The guardian was so far from opposing, that he joined the party of Henry; and the soldiers joyfully followed the example of their leaders.

Henry, now finding himself master of the kingdom, marched to Bristol, where some of Richard's ministers had shut themselves up, in order to defend the castle against the attempt of an enemy whose favour they had no hopes of obtaining. The garrison, however, made but a poor defence; they soon surrendered; and Henry, yielding to the request of the people, ordered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, and Sir John Green, who were taken prisoners, to be executed immediately, without even the form of a trial.

As soon as Richard received intelligence of this invasion, he hastened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-haven with a body of twenty thousand men. But his soldiers, like the rest of their brethren, were so strongly attached to the fortunes of Henry of Lancaster, that his army melted away like snow before the sun; and he soon perceived that he was in no condition of meeting the enemy.

Richard, distracted with a variety of thoughts, knew not what course to pursue. Wavering and irresolute, he knew not whom to trust, or whom to fear. At length he determined to desert his forces, and take refuge in Wales. Accordingly he retired, with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the bishop of Carlisle, and a few other attendants, to Conway-castle; proposing to take the first opportunity of embarking for Ireland or France, and there wait for some favourable crisis of recovering his crown, which he was now incapable of defending.

Henry, sensible of his danger, should Richard find means to execute his design, dispatched the earl of Northumberland to him, with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; when that nobleman, by the most infamous treachery and false oaths, made himself master of the king's person, and carried him to his enemy at Flint-castle. Henry lost no time in conveying his royal captive to London, where he was received with the most barbarous insults, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

But though Lancaster had acquired possession of the person of his sovereign, he was very uneasy with regard to the best method of disposing of that unfortunate monarch, and several councils were held on that subject. At last it was resolved to persuade Richard to make a formal resignation of his power, and to procure an authentic confirmation of the deed by the parliament. For some time Richard refused to submit to so humiliating a circumstance; but at last, finding himself abandoned by all his friends, and sensible of his incapacity to resist the torrent of popular hatred, or, perhaps, desirous of gaining time to save his life, and procure assistance from France, Richard submitted; and, in the presence of a great number of lords assembled on the occasion, the king surrendered up the crown, sceptre, and other ensigns of royalty; and then taking the signet ring from his finger, he presented it to the duke of Lancaster. At the same time he desired the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Hereford, to notify to the parliament his resignation of the crown; and to acquaint them, that he wished his cousin the duke of Lancaster, might be chosen his successor.

Lancaster, however, well knowing that this resignation would plainly appear the result of force, proposed, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent to himself and his posterity, to have the king solemnly deposed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and misconduct. Accordingly a charge, consisting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up against him, and

presented to that assembly; who, without examining one of the articles, though many of them were false in fact, deposed their sovereign. Nor was there more than one man who had courage and virtue sufficient to stand up, and plead in defence of the unhappy matter. This was the bishop of Carlisle, who nobly sustained the cause of fallen majesty; but his eloquence was exerted in vain; and Lancaster executed at the bold truths he uttered, committed the prisoner to the Tower.

As soon as the assembly had pronounced the deposition of the king, they declared the throne vacant, upon which the duke of Lancaster arose from his seat, and after crossing himself on his forehead and breast, declared, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," that the vacant throne belonged to him as the descendant of Henry III. and "through the right which God had sent him with the assistance of his friends, to recover a kingdom which was on the point of being ruined by misconduct and oppression."

In order to conceive the meaning of these perplexed and obscure expressions, it must be observed, that Henry of Lancaster, supposing the throne vacant, was not the immediate heir. The duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaster, had left a grandson, whose title was undoubtedly preferable to that of Henry. He therefore went back as far as Henry III. in order to avail himself of an absurd but popular tradition, which supposed that Edmund, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I. but that, by reason of some deformities, in his person he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed upon the nation instead. This pretence, however, was destitute of the least foundation; but the parliament made no enquiry; the most palpable absurdities were passed for truths; and Henry was, in the presence of the whole assembly, formally placed on the throne of England.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. a prince who, in the beginning of it, had filled all his subjects with the most pleasing hopes of his future government; but, by suffering himself afterwards to become corrupted by flattery, lost all their affections, and by aiming at a power greater than the constitution of the kingdom permitted, forfeited a crown which might otherwise have worn with honour and felicity.

Notwithstanding that Richard, in general, led a dissolute life, he was never known to be engaged in any private amour that produced illegitimate children; this might, perhaps, be owing to some natural defect, especially when we consider that he had no children by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Charles V. emperor of Germany, who was an amiable person with whom he lived twelve years in the utmost conjugal harmony. As for his second wife, Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. king of France, her union with him were never actually consummated, for he was but just turned of ten years of age at the time of his death, the particulars of which will be related in their proper place.

The remarkable occurrences that happened during the reign of Richard II. were as follow.

In the fifth year of his reign, when his first wife Anne came from Bohemia, she had no sooner landed than such a tempest arose as had not been known for many years: several ships were dashed to pieces in the harbour, and that in which the queen came was sunk. It is further observable, that his second wife brought with her a storm to the English coast, in which the king's baggage was lost, and nearly his fleet call away.



On the 21st of May, in the 6th year of his reign, there happened a dreadful earthquake in London, which threw down many churches and other public edifices; and on the 24th of the same month, the water in the river Thames was so agitated, that the vessels beat against each other with such violence, that some were sunk, and others received considerable damage.

About this time the use of cannon was projected; and Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, was the first that employed them in the English service.

In his tenth year wine was so cheap, that the best was sold for 20s. a tun; and the more indifferent sort at 13s. 4d.

In his thirteenth year there happened a violent hurricane, which threw down many houses, tore up trees by the roots, and destroyed a great number of cattle.

On the 9th of July, in his fifteenth year, the sun appeared to be obscured by thick and dreary clouds between that and the earth: its beams seemed of the colour of blood, and gave little or no light from noon till it set: these clouds rose daily for almost six weeks together.

About this time the north and east parts of England were greatly afflicted with a pestilence; insomuch that in the city of York only upwards of eleven thousand souls perished in a few weeks.

In his sixteenth year wool was so cheap, that in some places it was sold for 22d. the stone. The same year a dolphin was taken near London-bridge ten feet long. His coming so far up the river was considered as an ill omen; which was in some degree verified by the national confusion that happened a short time after.

The most remarkable men that lived in England from the accession of Edward I. to the deposition of Richard II. were as follow:

Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Edward I. He was a prelate of eminent learning, and wrote several theological tracts, which were of infinite repute. Being made a cardinal, he resigned his archbishopric, and died at Rome.

In this reign flourished the learned and ingenious Francis Bacon (a Franciscan Friar of Oxford.) His great skill in mathematics brought on him the character of a magician, in an ignorant age, insomuch

* Though this custom is still nominally observed, yet, for some years past, in lieu of the butt of wine, the sum of 26l. is al-

that he was sent to Rome by the general of his order, where he was imprisoned; but afterwards he cleared himself, and returned to England. He died in 1284, leaving several works behind him, of which some are still preserved in manuscript at Oxford. He is said to have been the first that invented spectacles.

Nicholas Trivet, prior of a monastery of Dominican Friars in London. He wrote a general History of Europe, beginning with king Stephen, and continued down to the year 1307. This work is chiefly valuable for the excellent Chronological Tables, shewing, at the beginning of every year, the year of Christ, the year of the reigns of the popes, the emperors, and the kings of France and England.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, was a great enemy to the Mendicant Friars, whom he attacked vigorously by his preaching and writings. He translated the bible into English, and wrote two treatises, one in defence of parish priests against the friars, and the other on auricular confession.

Geoffrey Chaucer (the greatest poet of his time) was a man of quality, and made a considerable figure in the courts of Edward III. and Richard II. In 1374 we find Edward III. allowing him a pitcher of wine a day from his cellar, and a yearly salary; which is supposed to be the origin of the butt of wine and salary allowed to the king's poet laureat*: both these were continued to him by Henry IV. Chaucer possessed an admirable fund of humour, painted the manners of life with great strength of colouring, and helped to improve and purify the English language. But it was the fate of this great poet, (though possessed of an ample fortune, and a more ample genius; though loved by his prince, who employed him in many honourable posts; though admired by his countrymen, who were enamoured with his writings) to fall into misfortunes in private life. He died in the year 1400, and was buried in Westminster-abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory.

The last person we shall take notice of among the learned men of this age was, John Gower, the friend and companion of Chaucer, and assistant to him in his attempts to bring the English language to a greater purity. His genius was less extensive than that of Chaucer; but his language is remarkably pure for the time in which he lived.

lowed, which, added to the fixed salary, makes the whole 126l. per annum.

B O O K VIII.

From the Accession of Henry IV. (the first English King of the Line of Lancaster) to the Deposition of Henry VI.

S E C T I O N I.

HENRY IV. SURNAMED *of* BOLINGBROKE.

THE Parliament had no sooner acknowledged Henry of Lancaster for their king, than every necessary preparation was made for the ceremony of coronation, which was performed with great magnificence at Westminster, on the 13th of October, the crown and all the coronation jewels having been put into the duke of Lancaster's hands on Richard's return from Scotland.

Henry, on the very day of his coronation, issued a proclamation, declaring that he ascended the throne by right of conquest, the resignation of Richard in his favour, and as next heir male to the late king, thus he excluded the very title of which he ought to have availed himself, namely, the content of the people; and, with a shameful impudence, trampled upon the rights of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who

who yielding to the torrent of Lancaster's fortune, retired to a private life, in his castle of Wigmore, on the marches of Wales.

Henry's usurpation was so palpable, and the earl of Marche's right so clear and evident, that it required all the courage, discernment and capacity of the new monarch to secure that crown he had so illegally obtained. The city of London, indeed, and the adjacent counties, were, in general, well affected to him: but Wales and its marches, where the Mortimer interest lay, and which had been always distinguished by Richard, wanted only an opportunity of breaking out into rebellion. Several consultations were held for restoring of Richard, who was now removed from the Tower of London, to the castle of Leeds, and afterwards to that of Pontefract in Yorkshire.

A. D. 1400. The parliament had scarcely finished settling the business of the nation before a conspiracy was formed to deprive Henry of a crown to which he had no legal claim. Several of the principal nobility of the kingdom were engaged in this design; and in order to render their undertaking successful, they prevailed on one Maudlin, a priest, who greatly resembled Richard both in shape and features, to personate him; and that this part of their plan might have the greater effect, they agreed to dress him in royal robes, and carry him to different parts of the kingdom till the real Richard could be released from his confinement.

The conspirators were persuaded that it would not be difficult to surprize Henry, who was at this time in a bad state of health at Windsor, attended by a few of his nobility. It was therefore agreed, in order to assemble a sufficient number of persons without suspicion, to propose a tilting-match of twenty-one on a side to be held at Oxford. Henry was to be invited as a spectator of this manly exercise. If he accepted the invitation, they imagined it would be very easy to seize his person: if he refused it, they were to march secretly to Windsor-castle, where they flattered themselves with obtaining an easy admittance.

The conspiracy being thus digested, the members entered into a solemn association, and six several copies of an indenture for that purpose were taken, and delivered to the six principal noblemen concerned in this dangerous undertaking.

Henry, not suspecting the treacherous designs of his nobility, accepted the invitation of being present at the Oxford tournament; but was prevented from attending by a circumstance of the most singular nature, and which rendered the whole plot totally abortive. The earl of Rutland had no sooner received the copy of his indenture, than he left Westminster to pay a visit to his father the duke of York in his way to Oxford. While he sat at table, the duke, observing a parchment with several seals appended to it, hanging out of his sons bosom, was very desirous of knowing the contents, which the latter absolutely refused. This alarmed his father, who snatched the writing from his son, and, on perusing it, discovered the whole conspiracy.

The duke of York, who had pledged his own life to the king for the loyalty of his son, sharply upbraided him for the unnatural and ungrateful part he had acted, by exposing, at once, the life of his father, and abusing the goodness of his prince. It was in vain for the son to offer any defence against the charge, and finding his father had ordered his horses to be saddled, in order to inform the king of his danger, resolved to prevent him, by being the first messenger and informer of his own treason. Accordingly he mounted his horse, arrived at Windsor before his father, and, gaining admittance to

the king, ingenuously discovered the whole conspiracy, and obtained the promise of a pardon.

Henry immediately set out for London, and was sure of being supported by the citizens, who would therefore be in a condition of giving the rebels battle, in case they ventured to approach the city. In the mean time the conspirators, suspecting their design discovered, marched immediately to Windsor and surprized the castle, but were confounded when they found that Henry had made his escape. He appeared next day at Kingston upon Thames, at the head of twenty thousand men, mostly drawn from the city; and the rebels, unable to resist his power, dispersed themselves with a view of raising their followers in the several counties, where their interest immediately lay. But they were so closely pursued by the royal party, that the earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester by the soldiers, and beheaded the next day without farther ceremony.

The earl of Huntingdon and several other noblemen, were taken prisoners, and suffered death by express commands of the king. As for Maudlin, after being publicly exposed on the pillory to the insults of the populace, he was taken out at night and carried to the gallows, where he was hanged by the heels till he expired.

This conspiracy greatly alarmed Henry, who could not think himself safe while Richard was alive. The unhappy prince was still at Pontefract castle, where he was shewn some small remains of royal respect. Sir Peirce de Exton, one of those wretches whose ambition or that of their master, determined to destroy Richard, and free Henry from the uncertainty that he could not conceal. Accordingly he imparted his design to eight ruffians, who all agreed to execute the unhappy prince, not doubting but they should receive a noble reward, as the action was not too detestible for the king to command, and too dangerous for any but abandoned ruffians like themselves to undertake.

The horrid design being formed, Exton and his ruffians set out for Pontefract castle, in order to execute their barbarous intentions. On the day of their arrival Richard perceived, at dinner, that his victuals was not tasted as usual: enquiring the reason, he was told by the person who used to perform that duty, that the king had ordered it to be so, upon which Richard, losing all patience, struck Exton on the face with his knife, saying, "Thou shalt take Henry of Lancaster and thee!" Exton fell in at the instant, with five of his attendants attempted to lay hold of Richard, who, on seeing this design, wrestled a pole ax out of the hands of them, and defended himself so bravely that he slew four of the ruffians: but at length he fell upon a chain behind him, the villain drew him down, and gave him a blow with an ax upon his head, that he lay dead at his feet.

Thus fell Richard in the thirty third year of age, condemned to perpetual imprisonment by parliament, removed from his friends, and surrounded by his enemies. The injuries he did in his life, seem to have perished with him; but his death, his elegant person, and the misery of his country, enured in the breasts of the English, all the honour so naturally due to majesty in distress, then considered as a prince misled by his nobles, than cruel by disposition, as one who might have been fortunate had he not been a king, and who might have held the reins of government till old age, but he not being called to it in early youth, the history of his parliament was the most deplorable, and he fell in the person that into created his reign, and laid the foundation to his own power as a king. Henry

Engraved for
Raphael's History
of England.



The Assassination of
RICHARD II.

peated acts of the legislature, raised himself above the law; but he had not learned that maxim so necessary to all princes, that principles give way to feeling, and professions to safety. Had he acted with moderation, he might have held the substance of arbitrary power; but the violence with which he grasped it, dissolved it in his hand. The allegiance of his subjects melted before the heat of his government, and Richard became a melancholy instance, that those men who abandon the interest of their country, will also forsake their sovereign in the hour of danger.

Henry now saw himself in a very dangerous situation. He well knew that the death of Richard, and the late executions, must give rise to animosities that are always injurious to the royal authority; and therefore determined, if possible, to gain the clergy over to his interest. It was suspected that he had imbibed all the opinions of his father in favour of Wickliff's doctrine; but he now made no difficulty of sacrificing his principles to his interest. He caused a law to be passed by the parliament, whereby it was enacted, that when any heretic, who had relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular power, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate, before the whole people. This sanguinary statute was the source of additional distress to the people, who were already sufficiently acquainted with misfortunes. Nor was it long before this execrable law was carried into execution. William Soutre, rector of St. Olithe's in London, having embraced the doctrine of Wickliff, was condemned by the synod of Carbury, and the unhappy man was immediately committed to the flames.

A. D. 1401. In the beginning of this year one Owen Glendour, a descendant of the ancient princes of Wales, made various incursions into the English territories. In consequence of this a troublesome and tedious war was kindled, which the Welsh prince long sustained by his valour and activity, assisted by the natural strength of that country, and the untamed spirit of the inhabitants. In one of these encounters the earl of Marche, who had armed his followers in defence of Henry, was taken prisoner, and committed to a loathsome and strict confinement. But notwithstanding his loyalty, Henry, with unpardonable ingratitude, suffered him to remain in captivity; nor would he permit the earl of Northumberland, to whose assistance he was indebted for his crown, to treat with Glendour for his ransom.

The successes of the Welsh gave encouragement to the Scots, who committed the most dreadful ravages in the northern counties. The largest division of them, consisting of 12,000 men, was headed by the earl of Douglas. Hotspur Percy attacked the invaders at Homeldon, or Haly-down hill; and, after a furious engagement, obtained a complete victory. Above 7,000 Scots were killed on the field of battle; and the earls of Douglas, Eile, Angus, Athol, and Monteth, with a great number of other officers of distinction, were taken prisoners.

As soon as Henry received intelligence of this victory, he wrote a letter full of the warmest expressions of gratitude to the Percies; but at the same time strictly enjoined them not to ransom any of their prisoners, but to keep them to be disposed of as he should think proper. This injunction was considered as an arbitrary usurpation of power, all prisoners being by the laws of war which then prevailed, the sole property of those by whom they were conquered.

A. D. 1401. The commands of Henry relative to the Scotch captives, highly exasperated the Northumberland family, who had been materially instrumental in placing him on the throne. Besides the pecuniary aid offered them by Henry on this occa-

sion, Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, brother to the earl of Northumberland, had other causes to excite his resentment. He had been made vice-chamberlain and admiral by Richard: he loved the person of his old master and benefactor while living, retained a grateful sense of his benefits after his death, and could not but detest Henry, as the author of his murder, and the usurper of his crown. He therefore joined his brother, to drive from the throne a person who had no title to fill it, and whose power was founded on the blood of his master.

Preparations were made by the powerful family of the Percies for wresting the scepter from the hands of Henry. An alliance was concluded with Glendour; and Hotspur offered earl Douglas his liberty without ransom, if he would join the Northumberland army; a proposal which that martial nobleman very readily accepted, as he had long borne an inveterate hatred to the whole house of Lancaster.

In a short time a very considerable army was assembled; but before the troops were ready to take the field, the earl of Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick, and the chief command devolved upon Hotspur Percy, who led his forces to Shrewsbury, in order to join the troops of Glendour.

Percy now sent a manifesto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, and set that prince at defiance. He likewise enumerated all the grievances of which the nation so loudly complained, and which he was now determined to redress. He accused Henry of perjury: for soon after his landing at Ravenspur, he had sworn upon the gospels, in presence of the earl of Northumberland, that his sole intention was that of recovering possession of the duchy of Lancaster, and that he would ever remain a faithful subject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in first dethroning, and then murdering that prince; and in usurping upon the title of the house of Mortimer, to whom the crown justly belonged both by lineal descent, and the declaration of parliament. He complained loudly of the cruelty exercised against the earl of Marche, who was suffered to remain a captive in the hands of the enemy, nor were any of his friends permitted to treat for his ransom. He charged him with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having sworn, that, without the utmost necessity, he would never levy any impositions upon his subjects.

Henry, in order to exculpate himself from the crimes with which he was charged, immediately sent an answer to the manifesto, in which he accused the Percies, in his turn, of having excited an untimely rebellion against the established government, and against him, who had, on all occasions, distinguished them from the rest of his subjects by every act of munificence and friendship that a sovereign could bestow upon his most favourite counsellors. He offered to lay aside every privilege of prerogative, to grant the Percies a free conduct, and suffer them to lay all their complaints before their peers, where they should be candidly heard, and, if well founded, by them and the public grievances redressed.

Henry, however, was not sensible that remonstrances were of very little use among his ferocious nobility: fortunately for him, he had at that time, an army which had been assembled against the Scots, ready to take the field; and he immediately set out on his march in order to give the rebel battle.

Percy, who did not so soon expect to be opposed by a royal army, was obliged to abandon the boys at Shrewsbury, which he had just invested and prepared for an engagement. He encamped at Harthfield, where he resolved to hazard a battle, though he had not yet been joined by Glendour's forces. The great bravery of the two leaders promised an obstinate

contest for the palm of victory; and the equality of the two armies, each being about 12,000 men, gave sufficient reason to expect, that the field of battle would be deluged with the blood of the contending parties.

The shock was at once both dreadful and constant. Henry's infantry immediately gave ground, and the whole army would have been thrown into confusion, had not the impetuous valour of Piercy and Douglas given the royalists an opportunity of rallying. These two chiefs fought side by side, and opened themselves a passage to the spot where the royal standard was erected, and where they knew Henry fought in person, both contending who should have the honour of encountering the royal warrior. Piercy supported that renown which he had acquired in so many bloody combats; and Douglas, his antient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amidst the horrors and confusion of the battle. Their ardour, however, proved fatal to their cause: they charged with such desperate fury, and pierced with such rapidity the ranks of the enemy, that few of their men could follow them. They performed such prodigies of valour, that they were soon surrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and the royal standard was thrown to the ground. Nor did Henry flinch from the storm of battle; he exposed his person in the thickest of the fight. His gallant son, whose military achievements afterwards became so famous, followed the example of his father; and even a wound, which he received in his face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Henry, however, in order either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief that he was present every where, had dressed several persons in the royal garb; and the sword of Douglas, who seemed determined that the king of England should fall by his arm, rendered that honour fatal to many.

But while both armies were contending in this furious manner, Piercy fell by an unknown hand. This accident decided the victory in favour of the royalists. About two thousand five hundred gentlemen are said to have perished in this sanguinary contest; but the persons of the most distinction in the royal army were the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gansel Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Massey, and Sir John Caverly. About 6000 private men were slain, of whom two thirds belonged to Piercy's army. The earls of Douglas and Worcester were taken prisoners, the former of whom was dismissed without ransom on account of his distinguished valour; but the latter, with several others, was beheaded at Shrewsbury. The body of Hotspur Piercy was at first buried in the field of battle; but it was afterwards dug up by order of Henry, and sent in quarters to the chief towns in the kingdom, while his head was carried to London, and there exposed on the bridge.

At the time the above victory was obtained, the earl of Northumberland, being recovered from his illness, was advancing at the head of a very considerable body of troops to reinforce his son's army; but hearing of the total defeat of his son, and that the king was advancing against him at the head of his victorious troops, he shut himself up in Warkworth-castle. He afterwards dismissed his army, and came to the king at York. Northumberland pretended that his sole intention of raising an army was to mediate a peace between the two parties, and Henry, unwilling to drive so powerful a nobleman to despair, admitted his apology, and granted him a pardon.

A. D. 1405. The Piercys, notwithstanding their defeat at Shrewsbury, remained still in great power and credit with the public, and the earl of Northumberland acquired an additional esteem on account of the sufferings of his family. Thomas Mowbray, earl

of Nottingham, son to the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry, while only duke of Hereford, had accused of high treason, and by that means procured his perpetual banishment, and Richard Scroope, archbishop of York, still continued to harbour an implacable rancour against Henry. The duke of Northumberland also, who well knew that he should never be cordially forgiven, was still determined to procure redress for the wrongs his family had received. Accordingly he joined these malecontents, and a plan was concerted for taking the field against Henry. The conspiracy soon after received an additional strength by the junction of the lords Bardolf, Hallings, and Fauconbridge, and a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their respective counties. The earl of Northumberland visited the courts of France and Scotland, in order to prevail upon those powers to support the confederates and wrest from the hand of Henry the scepter of England. He was received with the utmost respect, and met with great encouragement in his negotiation. The hopes of foreign assistance gave new life to the conspiracy, and a plan was formed for making an insurrection into the north, while the French not only made a descent in Wales, but also laid siege to the most important places belonging to the English on the continent.

As soon as Henry was informed of this conspiracy, he immediately exerted himself to suppress it. He well knew that Glendour had joined the confederacy, and therefore sent an army into Wales, under the command of his son, who attacked one of Glendour's detachments, and obtained a compleat victory.

The conspirators now perceived that Henry was no stranger to their intentions, and precipitately took the field, before the earl of Northumberland was ready to join their army. A manifesto was also published by the archbishop of York against Henry, in which he reproached that prince with his usurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king; requiring that the right line should be restored, and all the public grievances redressed.

The earl of Westmoreland, assisted by several noblemen of considerable power in the north, having been appointed to watch the Scottish marches, he sooner heard of this insurrection, than he advanced at the head of his forces, hoping to surprize the rebels before they were prepared for defence. In this, however, he was deceived; for on his reaching Shipton-Moor, he perceived the insurgents, amounting to 17,000 men, drawn up in excellent order, and ready to engage. Westmoreland, not being able to give the enemy battle, had recourse to negotiation, and prevailed upon the archbishop and the earl of Nottingham to lay down their arms, and submit themselves to the government. The insurgents, who had received advice that Henry himself was within ten days march, at the head of a powerful army, and that it would be impossible for the earl of Northumberland to join them before the royal body of forces arrived, surrendered themselves to the earl, and were sent prisoners to York.

Henry, however, instead of agreeing to the terms offered by Westmoreland, determined to make the mutinous leaders feel the weight of his resentment. But knowing that the trial of the archbishop, conducted in the usual form, would prove both tedious and tedious, and that the celerity of the execution alone could render it safe and prudent, he determined to follow the ferocious customs of the ages, and put the prelate to death, without the form of a trial. He accordingly applied to Sir William Galoigne, chief justice, to pass the sentence of high treason on the archbishop. But Galoigne refused to do contrary to the laws of his country. Sir William Thorpe was therefore appointed a judge on the occasion.

son; who, without any indictment, trial or defence, condemned the prelate to suffer death. Nor was the execution of the sentence delayed; the archbishop immediately suffered in a very ignominious manner. This was the first instance in England of a capital sentence being inflicted on a dignitary of the church. The earl of Nottingham, Sir John Lamplugh, and Sir Robert Plumpton, suffered at the same time. The pope was so highly incensed at this alarming attack on the privileges of the church, that he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all who were concerned in the death of the archbishop; and it was with great difficulty that Henry could procure absolution.

As soon as the earl of Northumberland heard of the fate of the insurgents, he fled into Scotland with lord Bardolf; and Henry soon after reduced all the castles belonging to those noblemen. The unfortunate earl, however, did not long enjoy the benefit of his asylum: an event soon after happened which obliged him to seek his safety on the continent. Robert III. king of Scotland, was by no means qualified to hold the sceptre in these ferocious times. He was a prince of a slender capacity, but extremely innocent and inoffensive; virtues which were then so far from being admired, that they rendered him contemptible. His brother, the duke of Albany, a prince of a more violent and boisterous disposition, assumed the reins of government; and desirous of rendering his power perpetual, he threw David, the eldest son of Robert, into prison, where he was inhumanly starved to death. James, a younger brother of David, was now the only obstacle that opposed the tyrant from mounting the throne on the death of his brother. Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, in order to send him into France, not doubting but he would there find sufficient protection from that friendly power. But Robert was destined to misfortunes: the ship was taken by the English, and Henry, notwithstanding the truce which subsisted between the two crowns, refused to restore the young prince to liberty. Worn out with grief and infirmities, Robert was unable to support his last misfortune. He sunk under the weight of his distresses, and left the government in the hands of his brother. Henry now saw all the importance of his acquisition: the duke of Albany was entirely dependent on the English monarch; because a single attempt to prejudice the interest of Henry would be sufficient to displace him from the throne. James was about nine years of age when he was first brought to London; and if any thing could atone for this breach of faith, it was the excellent education which Henry bestowed upon him, and which afterwards qualified him for filling the throne of his ancestors with great applause. It is little to be wondered at that the duke of Albany should, from these circumstances, relate to protect a nobleman so obnoxious to Henry as the earl of Northumberland. he therefore obliged him to leave the kingdom, and the earl retired to the continent.

A. D. 1407. In the beginning of this year a dreadful plague broke out in England, which obliged Henry to remove his court to Gloucester. Thirty thousand persons perished of this distemper in London only, and a proportionable number in several parts of the country.

A. D. 1408. The earl of Northumberland, being now weary of his exile, determined to make one effort for the recovery of those possessions of which he had been deprived by his sovereign. Accordingly, in the spring of this year he landed in the north of England, accompanied by his faithful companion the lord Bardolf. He was immediately joined by a party of Scottish freebooters, and in a few days found

himself at the head of a considerable force, by whose assistance he retook several of the castles which had been reduced after the battle of Shrewsbury. These proceedings greatly alarmed the government, and orders were immediately issued for raising an army against the rebels, who were now become very formidable, and had appointed Thirsk in Yorkshire for the place of their rendezvous. While the court was making levies to oppose the earl, Sir Thomas Rockesby, sheriff of the county of York, thinking it his duty to stop the progress of the insurgents, raised a considerable body of forces, and advanced to meet them. The earl of Northumberland was equally desirous of coming to an action with the sheriff, persuaded that if he could defeat Rockesby's forces he should not only disappoint Henry of so essential a reinforcement, but also, by this success, engage the city and county of York to declare in his favour. He accordingly put his army in motion, and met Rockesby on Beaham Moor, where a bloody engagement ensued, in which the rebels, after an obstinate resistance, were totally routed, notwithstanding they had greatly the superiority of numbers. The earl of Northumberland was slain on the spot, and the lord Bardolf taken prisoner, but so mortally wounded that he died a few days after.

This fortunate event, together with the death of Glendour, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all his domestic enemies. No more attempts were made to tear the laurel from his brow; and he enjoyed the crown he had usurped without any farther opposition.

A. D. 1410. Henry was never remarkable for favouring the clergy; but their power was now so great, that his private sentiments were obliged to give way to his public interest. The common people, however, were in general inclined to favour the reformation begun by Wickliff; and were encouraged in their opposition to the established form of worship, by a schism in the Romish church, where two different popes laid claim to St. Peter's chair. The persecutions that had for some time been carried on against the Wickliffites, or Lollards, had no other effect than increasing their number; many of whom held places of trust and power under the government. Alarmed at the great progress of these sectaries, whose numbers were daily augmenting, the clergy determined to carry the laws into execution, in order, by some dreadful example, to prevent this schism from extending its influence, which threatened the foundation of their wealth and power. One Bodby, a taylor, took upon him, to exclaim violently against the absurdity of the real presence in the sacrament. This person, therefore, was singled out by the clergy for exemplary punishment. He was accordingly tried and condemned to the stake; and the prince of Wales had the curiosity to be a spectator of the execution. When the flames first reached the body of the criminal he cried out in so horrid a manner, that the prince ordered the fire to be removed, and offered the man his life, together with a pension out of his private purse, as the flames had disabled him from following his business, on condition he would renounce his opinions. Bodby, however, shocked when he first felt the flames, refused the offered pardon; he loved his opinions better than his life; and he was accordingly committed again to the fire, and there resigned his breath as a forfeit to his faith.

A. D. 1412. Though Henry had now no domestic enemy to contend with, yet his days were greatly embittered by the irregular courses of his son the prince of Wales. He was at this time in full vigour of youth, and of an active, sprightly spirit. While he was employed in the field, no actions of immoral tendency stained his character. But a life of indolence

was not agreeable to his nature. He now plunged himself, with the utmost violence, into all the extravagancies of debauchery, and blushed not for a conduct the most disorderly and licentious. But his outrages proceeded not so much from a depraved disposition as from the violence of his temper, which not being directed to useful objects, induced him to give full scope to his passions. At the same time, however, many gleams of spirit and magnificence were observed to break through the cloud, which a wild conduct had thrown over his character.

The king was too good a judge of mankind to despair of his son's reformation; and his hopes on that head were not a little heightened by an accident which gave a real picture of his son's disposition. One of young Henry's favourites having been indicted for some misdemeanor, was condemned, notwithstanding all the interest the prince, who was present at the trial, could make in his favour. Young Henry was so incensed at the issue, that he struck Sir William Gascoigne, the judge, as he sat on the bench. But the magistrate was not to be intimidated; he acted with a spirit suitable to his character, and instantly ordered the prince into custody. This fall of passion in the prince was immediately succeeded by a noble return of reason; he suffered himself, with the utmost resignation, to be conducted to prison by the officers of justice. When the king was informed of this transaction, he said, "I thank God I have a judge possessed of so much courage to execute the laws, and a son endowed with so much obedience as to submit to such chastisement."

A. D. 1113. Henry's health had for some time been visibly declining: he was subject to fits, which for a time bereaved him of his senses; and though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He was naturally of a peevish and jealous disposition, which was now greatly increased, and he too readily listened to the vile suggestions of his courtiers, who insinuated that his eldest son had formed unnatural designs upon his crown and life. These insinuations filled Henry's breast with the most anxious fears and apprehensions; and he even removed the prince from his post of president of the council.

Young Henry was now greatly alarmed: fond as he was of pleasure and dissipation, he was still very susceptible of the nobler passions, and could not, without the most piercing anguish, reflect, that his own conduct had given too much reason for his enemies to asperse his character. But still he knew himself innocent with regard to his having formed even a wish to the prejudice of his father's authority; and determined to pursue every method in his power to convince the king of his duty and loyalty.

With this view, after having received the eucharist, he dressed himself in a mourning habit, and repaired to court, in order to request a private audience of the king. Being admitted to his father's presence, he immediately fell on his knees, and addressed himself to him in the following words:

"Most dread sovereign, and honoured father, it gives me the most sincere concern to find that I am suspected by your highness of an unnatural design against your crown and person: which I, more than any other subject of your majesty, am bound to reverence and defend. I confess, indeed, with shame and confusion, that my irregularities and excesses have given sufficient cause for your displeasure. But I, Lord the Almighty, who knows the inmost secrets of the heart, and never fails to punish those who dare to invoke him to sanction a falsehood—to witness, that I never harboured a single thought inconsistent with that duty I owe your majesty, my sovereign and my father. Those who charge me with contrary inten-

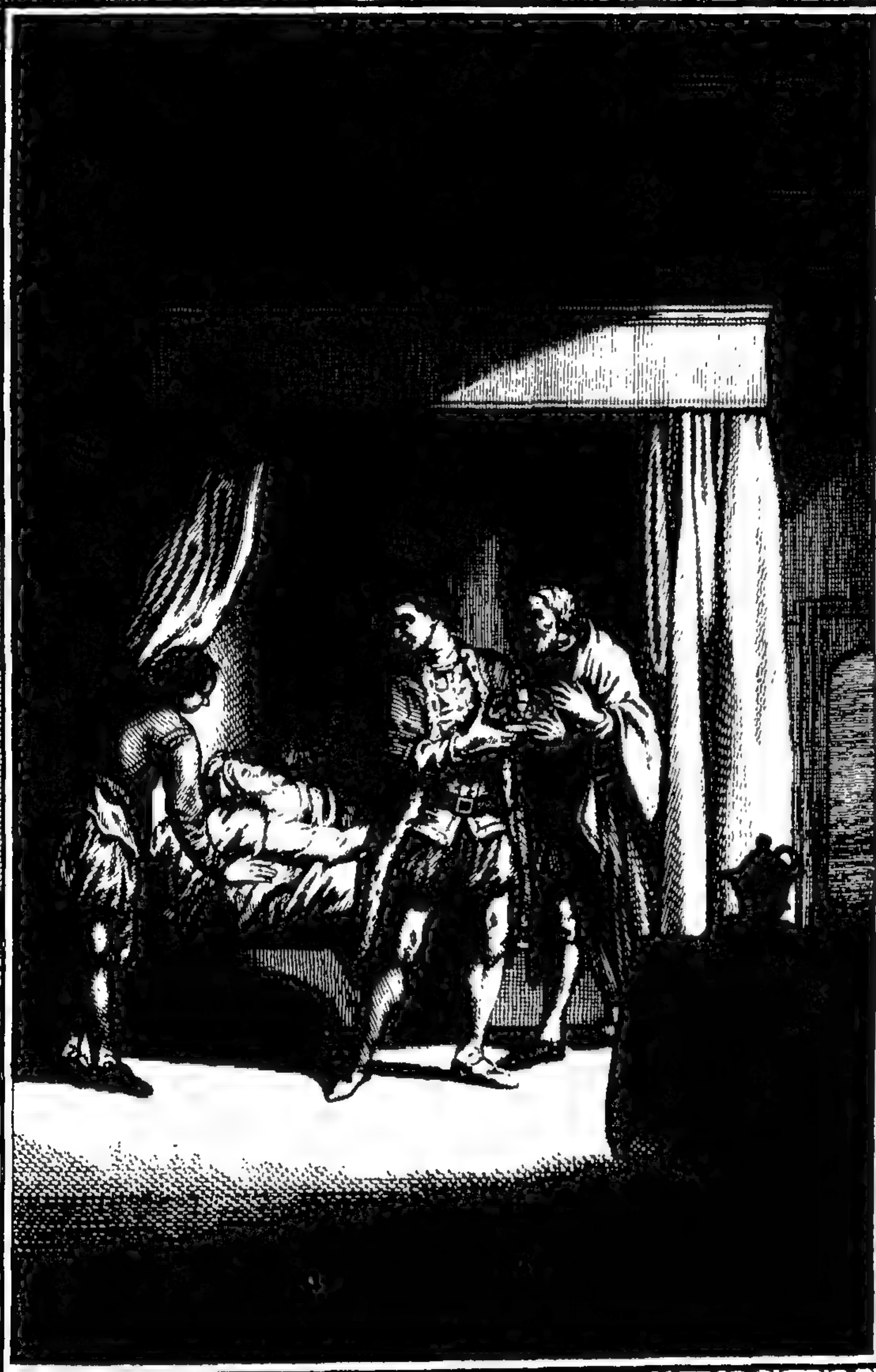
tions, seek only to disturb your tranquillity, and to alienate your affections from your son and successor. I would willingly remove these anxieties from your mind; I came for no other purpose. Let me beseech you, therefore, to let my actions be tried by the utmost rigour, with the same severity as if I was the meanest of your subjects; and if I am found guilty, in any respect, of the atrocious crime laid to my charge; if I have ever used any expression that imputed disloyalty or want of affection, let me be punished as the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the name of son or subject. I will readily submit to any punishment you may think proper to inflict. I again, therefore, beseech you, with the utmost humility, both for the ease of your own mind, and the vindication of your injured son, to issue the necessary orders for making the rigorous scrutiny I now command."

This ingenuous and pathetic address greatly affected the king. He took the prince in his arms, embraced him with tears, and assured him, that all his suspicions were entirely removed, and that he would never, for the future, harbour a thought prejudicial to his loyalty and honour. He even promised, that in order to remove every suspicion from the minds of all ingenuous persons, he would give him the names of his accusers, that they might be brought to justice in the ensuing parliament.

But the death of Henry put a total stop to this enquiry. The dreadful fits with which he was so often attacked impaired his senses; and he had been so frequently in danger of losing his crown, that his imagination seems to have been strongly impressed with that idea, which increased as his strength and reasoning faculties decayed, even to a degree of constant anxiety. He would not sleep unless the royal scepter was laid on his pillow. One day he remained so long in a swoon, that his servants thought him actually dead; and the prince took the crown from the pillow, and carried it into his own apartment. He was recovering the use of his senses, and observing the diadem was removed, asked who had dared to take it from his pillow? and being told that the prince had carried it away, he ordered him to be brought into his presence. When young Henry appeared before the king with an angry countenance, said, "What would you deprive me of my crown before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "I took it, thinking your majesty was really dead, as my lawful inheritance; but now, happily perceiving my mistake, I return the diadem with far greater pleasure than I took it." He accordingly replaced the crown on the king's pillow; and having received his father's blessing, retired. A short interval between the attacks of this dreadful disease inspired Henry with pleasing hopes of recovery; and, agreeable to the custom of that age of bigotry, he assumed the cross and made a solemn vow to heaven, to spend the remainder of his days in a war against the infidel enemies of the Christian name. But he lived so long, that he put his design in execution. He was seized with a last fit as he was paying his devotions before the shrine of St. Edward; and being carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, belonging to the abbot of Westminster, he expired, on the twentieth of May, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he obtained the crown, and which had been confirmed by his conduct in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost several years before the end of his reign, and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their love or allegiance.

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*Russell's History
of England.*



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PRINCE HENRY taking the CROWN
from the pillow of his father
KING HENRY IV.



The crimes he committed in order to usurp the seat of power must be considered as perpetual stains on his memory by every man who makes the least pretensions to follow the dictates of conscience, or the eternal precepts of the moral law. It may, indeed, be said, that the injustice with which he had been treated by Richard gave occasion to his crimes: for, in all probability, he never would have usurped the crown, if that monarch had not deprived him of his patrimony. But one crime cannot justify another. The murder of a king, his near relation, and the exclusion of the true heir from the throne, will always render the name of Henry of Lancaster obnoxious to the virtuous and the good. He seemed, indeed, himself, to be sufficiently conscious of the turpitude of his crimes; and the uneasiness with which he possessed his envied greatness, and the stings of conscience which he perpetually felt, cannot fail of rendering him an object of our pity, even when seated upon the throne. At the same time, it must be confessed, that he was endowed with many great and amiable qualities, which would have rendered him one of the greatest monarchs that ever wore the diadem of England, had he not waded to the throne through the blood of his sovereign. His prudence, his vigilance, and his foresight, were admirable; his command of temper and presence of mind remarkable; his courage, both inilitary and political, free from fault. In a word, it was the flame of ambition that rendered Henry a tyrant, and the commission of one crime made way for that of another.

This monarch was twice married. By his first wife Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry his successor on the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphry duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa: the former was married to the duke of Bavaria, and the latter to the king of Denmark. His second wife Jane, whom he married after he was king,

and who was daughter to the king of Navarre, and widow to the duke of Britany, brought him no issue.

The remarkable occurrences that happened in this king's reign were as follow:

In the third year of his reign, about the beginning of March, appeared a very terrible blazing star, sending forth its fiery streams at first towards the north-east, and at length towards the north, where it seemed to fix, which was afterwards thought to portend the bloody wars between the Scots and English, and the several executions done upon the malcontents under the government.

In the ninth year of his reign, a little before Christmas, began a frost of that violence and long continuance, that the like was scarce ever heard of in England. It lasted fifteen weeks, and, being accompanied with abundance of snow, was so destructive, to the birds especially, that almost all the smaller ones died with cold and hunger.

In the tenth year of his reign, there was a play acted at Skinner's-well, near Clerkenwell, London, representing the chief matters of the world from the creation; it lasted eight days, and most part of the nobility and gentry of England were present at it. From thence they went to royal jousts in Smithfield, between the marshal of Hainault, and certain Hanovers, challengers, and the earl of Somerset, and an equal number of Englishmen, defendants. The victory was on the Englishmen's side; for the earl overcame, as did all the English, but one.

In the twelfth year of his reign, the Guildhall in the city of London, which was but a mean cottage before, was made a stately building by the mayor and aldermen, at the charge of the city. And the company of grocers laid the foundation of their hall, upon a piece of ground, which they purchased for three hundred and twenty marks, in Cuthope-lane, now called Grocer's-alley.

S E C T I O N II.

H E N R Y V.

HENRY the Fifth was about twenty-five years of age when he acceded to the throne of England. His mind had been properly cultivated in his youth by an education at the university of Oxford, where his fondness of erudition falling into a fertile soil, his industry had encouraged some weeds of immaturity to shoot up in the harvest of royal virtues. But the latter now growing to full maturity, had so effectually choked the malignancy of the former, that he succeeded to royalty with every merit that could adorn a king.

As soon as he assumed the reins of government, he increased the good opinion the people already entertained of him by his judicious and prudent conduct. He called together his former associates, after exhorting them to imitate his example, and forbidding them from appearing any more in his pre-

sence if they continued their licentious conduct, he dismissed them with liberal presents. He published a general amnesty for all crimes already committed, except rape and murder. His new council was composed of the wisest and most virtuous persons in the kingdom: he made no distinction between those who had adhered to Richard, * and those who had joined his father; he was desirous of extinguishing all parties. He shewed a noble resolution of restoring purity to the courts of justice, by displacing all those who had not filled their posts with integrity. Gaucogne the chief justice, who had committed him when prince of Wales to prison, and who, on that account, trembled to approach the royal presence was received with the utmost marks of esteem; his strict and impartial execution of the laws was applauded, and instead of reproaches, he was loaded with favours.

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* At the point of this he caused the corpse of Richard II. to be exhumed from Langley abbey, where it had been buried in an iron chest, and carried to Westminster, in which place it was re-interred in the choir of his queen, Anne of Luxembourgh. He also caused his father's corpse to be burnt day and night by his side, and a psalm to be sung one day in the week, and the next morn-

ing a mass of requiem; after which eleven shillings and eight pence should be given to the poor. And, by way of atonement for his father's usurpation, he founded three monasteries, near Shene, in Surrey, where prayers were also read for the soul of Richard.

In short, Henry used his utmost endeavours to win the hearts of his people. He treated the earl of Marche with so much attention and respect, that he forgot his right to the sceptre of England, to which he had, by birth, an undoubted title. He restored the noble family of Piercy to their former honours and estates, and laboured sincerely to bury all animosities in the grave of oblivion.

In the mean time the parliament met at Westminster, when several acts were passed for securing the peace of the kingdom, the impartial administration of justice, and the freedom of parliament. But while they were thus providing for the civil, the clergy were industrious in destroying the religious liberty of the subject. Notwithstanding all the severities that had been exercised against the Lollards, yet that sect were every day increasing in the kingdom, and not only appeared extremely dangerous to the church, but even formidable to the civil power. Sir John Oldcastle, styled, in right of his wife, lord Cobham, was considered as the head of the Lollards. He was a person of great parts, invincible courage, and eminently distinguished for his experience in military affairs; virtues which had greatly recommended him to the favour of Henry. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was highly incensed against the Lollards, was desirous of indicting lord Cobham, persuaded that the leader of the party was the most proper victim of ecclesiastical severity. But Cobham was too great a favourite with the king for the archbishop to proceed without his leave. He therefore waited upon Henry, and requested permission to proceed against Sir John Oldcastle. The king, who was no friend to ecclesiastical severity, represented to the primate, that reason and persuasion were the best means of supporting truth, and correcting error; that every gentle method should be used in order to bring back these deluded people to the bosom of the church; and that he himself would endeavour to reconcile Cobham to the catholic faith. Henry, however, found that all his arguments were in vain; Cobham, though greatly attached to him, refused to sacrifice truths of the utmost importance to conciliate the favour of majesty; and the king gave the primate leave to proceed against him to the utmost severity of the laws. The violence of ecclesiastical authority was now exerted, and the primate, assisted by his three suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned Cobham to the flames, but he made his escape from the Tower before the day arrived which was appointed for his execution.

A. D. 1414. Cobham was no sooner at liberty than he formed a design of seeking revenge on his enemies. He assembled his partizans and began an open rebellion against the government: but the vigilance of Henry prevented the consequences. Great numbers of the Lollards were seized, several of them executed, and the whole conspiracy rendered totally abortive. Cobham himself escaped, nor was he brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burnt on the gibbet, conformable to the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic.

Henry had for some time intended to undertake a war against France, in order to recover the provinces that had been wrested from his predecessors; and thinking this the most favourable opportunity, he determined to carry his design into execution. Charles VI. had been seized with a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority, and though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his senses were gradually but insensibly impaired, so that he was incapable of pursuing any settled plan of government. This misfor-

tune gave a full career to the rage of parties. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the duke of Burgundy, his cousin-german, after sustaining the most violent quarrels, by which the country had been deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, agreed to enter into a strict friendship, and swore as to the sincerity of their intentions. But notwithstanding they had invoked heaven as a witness between them, very little regard was paid to the sacredness of their promise; the duke of Orleans was soon after assassinated in the streets of Paris by order of the duke of Burgundy, who had the nerve to avow openly and defend the justice of the assassination, which he termed tyrannicide. The dreadful consequences of so vile a tenet were soon displayed. A reconciliation between the two parties was now impossible; the whole kingdom in general, and the capital in particular, became a most dreadful scene of blood and violence.

A. D. 1415. Henry, in order to conceal his intention against France, sent over a splendid embassy to that court with the offer of a perpetual peace and alliance between the two crowns; but demanded in return the French king's daughter in marriage, and two millions of crowns for her portion; the payment of one million six hundred thousand pounds, as arrears of the late king John's ransom: the immediate possession, and full sovereignty of Normandy and the other provinces, which Philip Augustus had wrested from the crown of England, together with the superiority of Britany and Flanders.

It is evident, from the exorbitant nature of these demands, that Henry was fully sensible of the distressed condition of the French monarchy, and the terms offered by that court, though greatly inferior, sufficiently shew their own consciousness of their melancholy truth: they agreed to give him the princess in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thousand crowns; to invest him with the sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the counties of Perigord, Bourdeaux, Angoumois, and other territories.

Though the terms thus offered by the French were more than might have been expected, yet they were refused by Henry, who determined to erect his standard in the fields of France. The ardour of his nation to follow their sovereign exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and freed him from any apprehensions of his finances being insufficient for the maintenance of his forces. Several of them raised a number of men at their own expence, and Henry found himself at the head of a very considerable army.

But while the necessary preparations were making for this expedition, Henry received advice of a detestable conspiracy formed against his crown by those whom he least suspected. The conspirators who were to execute this horrid design were the earl of Cambridge, younger brother to the king of York; the lord Scroop, treasurer of the household; and Sir Thomas Gray, a knight of Northumberland. The earl of Cambridge was ambitious, Scroop was insatiably covetous, immensely rich, and Gray was a discontented traitor. These conspirators were to place the duke of Burgundy on the throne, as soon as Henry embarked for France with his army. But instead of joining in the project, they discovered the whole to Henry, who instantly ordered the conspirators to be arrested and tried by a special commission directed to the duke of Clarence, chief steward, the earl marshal, and other persons in prison. Being all found guilty on the demand of the duke of Clarence, they were all executed. The

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(- HENRY V. -
morning the Battle of
- AGINCOURT. -)

Cambridge and Sir Thomas Gray were beheaded; but lord Scroop was hanged, drawn and quartered, his guilt being aggravated with the circumstance of ingratitude to Henry, who had distinguished him with many particular marks of favour and affection.

This conspiracy being ended, Henry embarked his forces at Southampton, and after a short passage landed at Caux in Normandy, with an army of 6,000 men at arms and 21,000 foot, most of whom were archers. His first views were directed to the castle of Harfleur, which he immediately besieged. The place was commanded by the lord of Erouteville, at the head of a numerous garrison of veterans, who made a noble defence. But the artillery of the English forces made large breaches in the walls, and the governor agreed to surrender the place, if not relieved by a certain time. The conditions were accepted, and all hostilities ceased; but the governor delaying, under various pretences, to open the gates, agreeable to the articles of capitulation, Henry ordered a general attack; the place was taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword, except a few gentlemen, whom the troops thought proper to spare, in order to profit by their ransom.

The reduction of the strong port of Harfleur endangered the whole French monarchy; and a numerous army was immediately raised to check the progress of the invaders. Private animosities were now laid aside, and all parties joined in opposing an army whose progress threatened the destruction of the state. The dauphin himself took the field in person, at the head of an army of fourteen thousand men at arms, and was soon joined by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and Brabant, the constable d'Albret, the counts of Nevers, Vendome, and Richemont, the flower of the French nobility, and above forty thousand men, eager to signalize their loyalty to their king, and their valour against the invaders of their country.

Henry's troops were at this time in a very indigent situation. They had suffered greatly during the siege of Harfleur, by sickness; two thousand common soldiers, besides a great number of persons of distinction, had been carried off by a bloody flux, and many had been obliged to return to England, in order to recover their health by the assistance of the more temperate natural climate. The distress of his people affected the heart of Henry; his fleet had been dispersed by storms; provisions began to grow scarce in his camp, and the only resource in his present condition was to march his army by land to Calais, over a dangerous extent of land, in an enemy's country, in the face of an army greatly superior in numbers to his own.

Henry saw all the dangers of his situation; but he determined to persevere. Accordingly he proceeded by slow and deliberate marches, that his own army might not be discouraged by the appearance of a precipitate flight, nor so frequently exposed to the onset of the light squadrons of the enemy. In this manner he continued his rout to the banks of the Somme, which he intended to pass at the ford where Edward the third crossed that stream, when reduced to the same situation by Philip de Valois. But he found the ford was now rendered impassable by a great number of sharp stakes drove into the bed of the river, and the opposite bank strongly guarded by numerous detachments of the enemy. He was therefore obliged to change his course, and was fortunate enough to discover by surprise a passage near St. Quintin, by which his whole army passed with safety.

Henry however soon perceived that the passage of the Somme was not the only difficulty that opposed him in his march to Calais. He beheld, from the summit of a hill, the whole French army, consisting

of above an hundred thousand men, drawn up on the plains of Agincourt, to oppose his passage. Henry's army was reduced to almost half the number that landed near Harfleur, and even these were distressed for want of provisions, and debilitated by sickness and continual duty. In this alarming situation, Henry offered to sacrifice his conquest of Harfleur for a safe passage to Calais; but the French generals prided themselves so much on their superiority of numbers, that they rejected his proposals with contempt.

As a battle appeared now inevitable, Henry employed every means that human prudence could suggest to inspire the troops with courage for the approaching contest. He recalled to their remembrance the glorious actions of their predecessors in the fields of Cressy and Poitiers, against an amazing superiority of the enemy. The soldiers caught the heroic sentiments of their leader: the advantage of numbers were no longer regarded; and they were determined to be led against the French.

On the 25th of October, the day appointed for the battle, Henry, as soon as it was light, drew up his little army between two woods which guarded each flank; and in that position waited for the attack of the enemy.

The French army was now divided into three lines, the first of which, besides a great number of other troops, was composed of eight thousand gentlemen, commanded by the constable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome and Richemont, the famous marshal Bouiccaut, David Rambure, grand-master of the cross-bow-men, and several other officers of distinction. The second line was led by the duke of Alencon, assisted by the duke of Barre, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, and Grand Prié. The third body was under the command of the counts of Morle, Dampmartin, Fauquenbergh, and the sieur de Lannoy.

While the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, Henry detached 400 lances to take post in a wood on the right; and also a party of 250 archers to lay in ambush on the left in a low meadow covered with bushes. The right wing of Henry's army was commanded by the duke of York, assisted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Farnope. The center was commanded by Henry in person, attended by his brother the duke of Gloucester, the earl-marshal, the earl of Oxford, and the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, which consisted wholly of archers, and such as were armed with spears, halberds, and bills, was led by the earl of Dorset. The chief strength of the English army consisted of infantry; and Henry, fearing that the French horse would break them by the fury of the first charge, ordered the archers to fix into the ground pikes, or stakes, pointed at both ends with iron and six or seven feet long in their front, and also on their flanks, on intervals between the horse and foot. These formed a kind of temporary fortification, behind which the archers were not only secure themselves, but had the opportunity of annoying the enemy as they advanced.

Thus, differently arranged, the two armies stood facing each other the greater part of the day, the English not caring to advance, lest they should lose the advantage of the ground; nor the French, for fear of being more crowded together than they were already. At length Henry advanced at the head of his main division, the two wings moving at the same time, till he came very near the village of Agincourt, when the French horse moved forwards to attack the English archers. Upon which the latter halted, pitched their stakes, interweaving them together, and bending them a little towards the enemy. Guarded by this fence, they discharged a shower of arrow which nothing could resist. The ranks were

thinned, and the line thrown into great disorder. The archers who lay in ambush among the bushes of the meadow charged the French in flank, and made a dreadful slaughter. The English took advantage of the enemy's disorder, fell upon them with their battle-axes, and cut them to pieces, almost without resistance. The constable perceiving the distress of his advanced party, hastened to their assistance, but under terrible disadvantages; for the soil being wet and miry, both horse and foot moved with the greatest difficulty; and continuing still to press more closely upon one another, presented a defenceless front to the English, who soon threw the whole line into irretrievable disorder: their business was rather that of executioners than soldiers. The field was now covered with the dismounted, the slain, and the wounded; men and horses were blended in one dreadful confusion. The constable himself, together with the principal commanders of the first line, were left dead on the field of battle. The whole body was totally defeated, and the few that remained alive preserved themselves by a precipitate flight.

The second line of the French, under the duke of Alençon, stood firm in an adjoining field, and were eager to engage, hoping by their valour to repair the disgrace of their countrymen. Henry met them at the head of his center, and a dreadful contest ensued, especially about the king's person. D'Alençon, in order to snatch, if possible, the victory from the enemy, commanded eighteen French knights of approved valor to watch attentively the motions of the English monarch, and use their utmost efforts either to kill, or take him prisoner. But the genius of Henry saved him from this imminent danger. Animated with the amazing success of his archers, and desirous of distinguishing himself by actions worthy of an English monarch, the king alighted from his horse, and advanced, at the head of his division, with a confidence which seemed to insure the victory. He charged the enemy with such fury as was almost irresistible, and was met by D'Alençon with a spirit worthy of his rank. He received the attack with a firmness that deserved a better fate. The French knights, who had never lost sight of Henry, cut themselves a passage to the spot where he fought in person; and rushing upon him with the utmost violence, would, probably, have made themselves masters of his person, had not David Gam, a Welsh captain, and two other officers, perceiving the danger that threatened their sovereign, flown to his assistance; and all the eighteen knights soon fell, breathless, on the field; but Gam, and his two gallant countrymen, were also mortally wounded. Henry, to shew his gratitude for their generous assistance, knighted them all as they lay on the field. Having paid this generous tribute of acknowledgment to merit and loyalty, Henry darted into the thickest part of the battle, to revenge the late attempt against his life; but his ardour and impetuosity again involved him in the most imminent danger. His brother, the duke of Gloucester, who had fought by his side, was struck to the ground, and the enemy pressed in crowds to avail themselves of the incident. Henry was again surrounded by a host of foes, but he was a stranger to fear: he covered the body of his brother with his shield, and defended him with his sword. In this situation he received so violent a blow on his helmet with a battle-axe, that he fell on his knees, and would, possibly, have been seized by the enemy, had not the duke of York advanced to his assistance, at the head of a fresh body of troops. This intimidated the enemy—they fell back, and Henry and his brother had time to recover from their alarming situation. Another reinforcement immediately followed that led by the duke of York; and Henry again attacked the

French with such fury, that they were unable to support the shock; they fell into disorder, and a dreadful slaughter ensued.

The duke of Alençon, driven to despair at seeing the defeat of his division, made one furious effort, determining either to retrieve the battle, or spare himself the mortification of surviving the disgrace of his country. He put himself at the head of a chosen band of volunteers; and cutting his way to the spot where Henry fought in person, rushed upon the monarch, killed the duke of York by his side, and with a furious stroke of his sword, cleft the crown of Henry's helmet. The monarch returned the action with such violence, that Alençon fell to the ground, and was immediately dispatched by Henry's soldiers. The death of Alençon was attended with the total defeat of the line which he commanded.

The third line of the French were still fresh and in good order: they were more numerous than the whole English army, and might have renewed the battle with some prospect of success, had they not been seized with a general panic. But the destruction of their countrymen had deprived them of all thought of resistance, and they retired from the field of battle without having exchanged a single blow with the English.

The first line had now rallied themselves, and seemed to advance with a resolution of making another effort for the palm of victory. At the same time, some gentlemen of Picardy having collected about a hundred peasants, had fallen on the English baggage, and were destroying the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, on seeing the enemy both in his front and rear, began to entertain apprehensions lest his prisoners should also attempt to tear the wreath of laurel from his brow, and therefore thought it necessary to issue orders for putting them to death. As soon, however, as he perceived he had nothing to fear from the enemy, he immediately put a stop to the slaughter.

This conquest proved fatal to France, on account of the great number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the former were the constable d'Albret, the dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, the count of Marle, and the archbishop of Sens. Among the prisoners, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richmond, and the marshal de Boucicaut, were the most remarkable. Henry was master of fourteen thousand prisoners. Ten thousand men are said to have been slain in this battle; and as the slaughter chiefly on the cavalry, it was computed that about a thousand of them were gentlemen. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable: the only persons noted that fell were the duke of York and three of Suffolk.

As soon as the battle was over, Henry ordered a public thanksgiving to be held in the English camp for so signal and unexpected a victory; and a more decent tribute of gratitude was performed by the king. Montjoy, a French herald, who had been dispatched from the dauphin to obtain permission to bury the dead, and asked him to whom he thought they belonged, the herald replied, to the English. He then desired to know the name of a castle to which he was pointed with his hand; and being told it was the Castle of Agincourt, "Let this action," said the king, "be hereafter known by the appellation of The Battle of Agincourt."

Notwithstanding the great advantages Henry thus obtained over the French, yet he attempted to profit any further from his victory. He pushed his route by easy marches to Calais, without meeting with any obstruction in his way. Having had time about three weeks to recruit his troops, he could

with them for England on the 16th of November, and, after an easy passage landed the same evening at Dover, from whence he set out the next day for London, where he was received by the people with every honour due to the glory and success of his military achievements.

A. D. 1417, The great distress occasioned by the battle of Agincourt was so far from being sufficient to put a period to the fury of factions in France, that they continued to rage with still greater violence. All the principles of honour, and all the motives of interest, were sacrificed at the altars of ambition and revenge. The duke of Burgundy redoubled his efforts to re-establish himself in the possession of the government. Isabella of Bavaria, the wife of the unfortunate Charles VI. detestable in her character, and capable of the greatest crimes, having been banished to Tours, entered into a strict alliance with him against the dauphin, who was attached to the opposite party. The duke of Burgundy now entered France at the head of an army, reduced several strong places, released the queen from her confinement, and made himself master of the king's person. Paris was a second time deluged with blood; and nothing but an invasion from England was wanting to complete the ruin of that divided kingdom.

Nor was this additional scourge long delayed; for, on the first of August in the following year, Henry landed at Beville in Normandy, at the head of an army of 28,000 men. Falaise, Cherbourg, Evreux and Caen, submitted to him, and he invested the city of Rouen; but the place being defended by a numerous garrison, Henry was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade.

A. D. 1419. Several negotiations for a peace were carried on between Henry and the leaders of the French factions, but without success. The garrison of Rouen was now reduced to extremity by famine, and forced to capitulate. Henry very readily listened to their proposals; and it was agreed, that on paying a stipulated contribution, the city should be preserved from plunder.

The surrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the towns and fortresses in Upper Normandy. But a sudden reconciliation taking place between the dauphin and the Burgundian faction, greatly contributed to diminish Henry's expectations of success. This reconciliation was, however, blasted, even in the bud. The duke and the dauphin having agreed to an interview on the bridge of Montreuil, the former was there assassinated by some noblemen in the train of the latter. They had seized this opportunity of revenging the assassination of the duke of Orleans. The most dreadful consequences followed this desperate act. The dauphin was accused of the crime, because it was perpetrated in his presence, and by his most intimate friends. The new duke of Burgundy and the queen threatened the prince with destruction, and conspired the ruin of the kingdom. Every sentiment of honour, of patriotism, and even of personal interest, gave way to the transports of revenge.

During these transactions, Henry had made himself master of Pontoise and Gisors, advanced to the gates of Paris, and obliged the court to remove to Troye. His enemies, instead of combining against him, abandoned to him the kingdom.

A. D. 1420. The queen and the duke of Burgundy now made proposals to Henry for a general peace, and the terms being agreed on, the latter, accompanied by his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, repaired to Troye, where he was met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him incapable of seeing any danger, but through the eyes of those who attended him, and even they saw every thing through the

medium of their passions. The treaty, being already concerted among the party, was immediately drawn, signed, and ratified. Henry's will seemed to be the only law that governed the negotiation; his advantages alone were considered.

The principal articles of this famous treaty were: That Henry should espouse the princess Catherine: That Charles, during his life, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: That Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government: That the crown of France should descend to his heirs: That France and England should be for ever united under one king; but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges: That all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France, should swear, both that they would adhere to the future succession of Henry, and also pay him present obedience as regent: That Henry should unite his arms to those of Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that those princes should make neither peace nor truce with him, but by common consent and agreement.

The above treaty was also ratified by the parliament of Paris, who swore obedience to Henry, and he immediately assumed the reins of government as regent of the kingdom; a few days after which Henry's marriage was performed with the princess Catherine, the greatest fortune and the finest woman of her age. Henry was attended on this occasion by forty English princes and noblemen, and the royal bride and queen of France were ushered in by the duke of Burgundy and forty of the principal nobility of France. The peace was again sworn to by both parties, and the agreement between Henry and the duke of Burgundy was mutually renewed. The duke promised to obey Henry as regent of France, and heir of the crown, while Henry engaged to give up into his hands all who had any concern in the murder of his father. In short, no formality, either on the part of France or England, was omitted, to give this treaty all the strength, permanency and solemnity it was capable of receiving.

In the mean time the dauphin behaved with surprising spirit and intrepidity. He had dispatched the count of Vendome to solicit assistance from the Scots, and those people, wisely considering that if Henry became absolute master of France, Scotland would certainly be the next victim to his ambition, readily listened to his request, and immediately sent him a supply of 7000 men, under the command of the earl of Buchan. Assisted by these forces, the dauphin made himself master of Pont de l'Esprit and Nîmes in Languedoc; and placed strong garrisons in Campagne, Meaux, Montargis, Montreuil and Melun.

The great projects of the dauphin alarmed Henry, who immediately resolved on taking the field to oppose him. He accordingly marched against Sens, which submitted, after a very faint opposition. Montreuil opened its gates at the first summons, and several small towns followed the example. But the reduction of Melun was attended with more difficulty. Great part of that city was encompassed with the river Seine, and the whole defended by a strong wall, flanked with bulwarks and towers. De Barbazan, one of the best officers in France, commanded the garrison, and made a noble defence. The place was invested on the twelfth of July, and did not surrender till the eighteenth of November, when famine forced the garrison to submit, but not without capitulating for their lives, it being agreed that none of the garrison or inhabitants should be put to death, except such as had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. Barbazan himself was suspected of being

one of the assassins, and the duke of Burgundy insisted on his execution; but by the intercession of Henry his punishment was changed into imprisonment for life.

A. D. 1421. The complicated exigencies of affairs requiring greater supplies than the French states were able to grant, Henry found it necessary to pass over into England in order to procure a subsidy from the parliament. They granted his request, but the supply was far from being equal to his wants; it was therefore fortunate for him that he had other resources, besides pecuniary supplies from his native subjects. The provinces he had already conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his standard all men of ambitious spirits in England, so that in a short time he raised a new army of 24000 archers and 4000 horsemen.

While Henry was in England, the dauphin, assisted by the Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, defeated the duke of Clarence at Baugé in Anjou. The duke was slain in the battle, and the earls of Somerset, Huntingdon and Suffolk were taken prisoners. Upwards of 1100 men fell in the action. The earl of Buchan, as a reward for his conduct and courage, was honoured with the office of constable of France.

When Henry was informed of these circumstances, he was greatly alarmed, and immediately went over to Calais with his new-raised army. The dauphin, knowing it would be madness for him to meet the English monarch in the open field, retired beyond the Loire, and determined to act wholly on the defensive. In the mean time Henry recovered most of the places he had lost, and made himself master of Dreux, Tilliers, Nogent, Gallorders, and several other castles.

The garrison of Meaux had for some time greatly harassed the inhabitants of Paris, at whose particular request Henry invested the place, which was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by one Vaurus, who had distinguished himself both by his courage and cruelty against the English. After a siege of seven months, the garrison, being reduced to the utmost extremity, desired to capitulate; their request was granted, and it was agreed that all the inhabitants and soldiers should have their lives preserved: but that all the English, Welsh, Irish, and Scotch, who carried arms in the place, should be entirely at the king's mercy, together with the bastard of Vaurus, and three other officers of the garrison. These terms were agreed to, and all the English, Scotch, and Irish, found among the garrison, together with all those who had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, were immediately put to death. The governor Vaurus, underwent an exemplary fate; the bravery of that officer could be exceeded by nothing but his cruelty; he used to hang, without any distinction of age or quality, all the English and Burgundians that fell into his hands: Henry, highly incensed at such a barbarous and shocking practice, caused him to be hanged on the same tree, which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.

A. D. 1422. The reduction of Meaux was followed by that of Compeigne, Gamaches and St. Valery; and Henry found himself master of all France on this side the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, and the castles of Guise and Crotoy in Picardy. To add to his satisfaction, soon after the surrender of Meaux, he received advice that his queen was delivered at Windsor of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated with equal joy both in London and Paris.

But the moment was fast approaching, in which Henry, who seemed now to have almost attained the

summit of human grandeur, was to find his course stopped short by the hand of nature, and all his mighty projects made to bow before an universal conqueror. He was suddenly seized with a fistula, which the surgeons at that time knew not how to cure; and it evidently appeared that his disease was mortal.

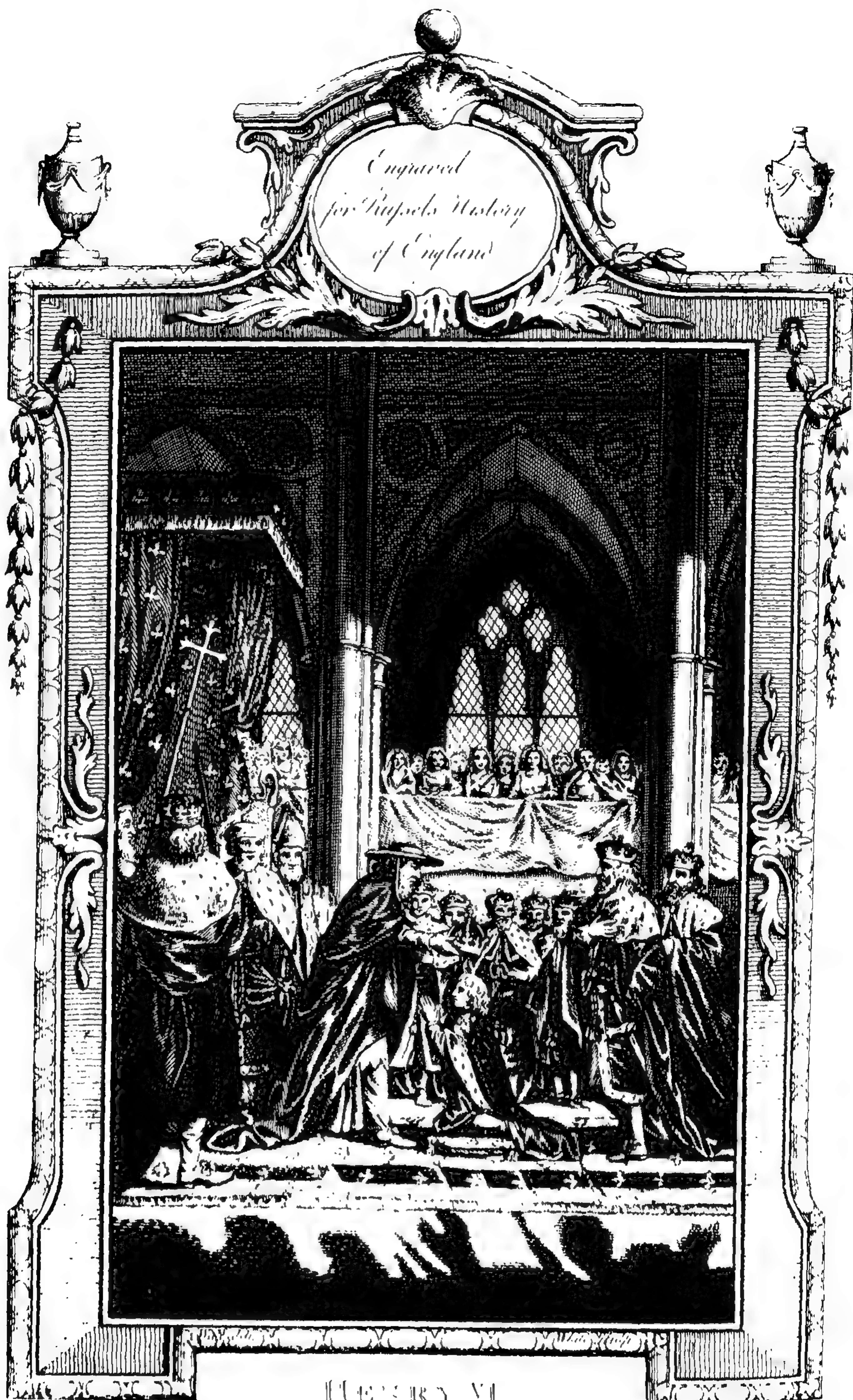
Henry, being apprized of his dangerous situation, sent for his brother the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and the English nobility who happened to be near him, and delivered to them with great tranquillity his last instructions, which were to the following effect. He began with observing, that though his life had been short, it had been replete with glory, and employed in promoting the happiness of his people; that though his pretensions to the crown of France had proved the destruction of many thousands, yet these calamities ought not to be imputed to him, but to those whose obstinacy and injustice had forced him to have recourse to arms, by refusing to accept of a reasonable peace: that he should have beheld the approach of death without concern, had not his last moments been somewhat embittered by the reflection, that he had not been able to finish a war he had so happily begun; but hoped they would continue toward his infant son the same fidelity and attachment which they had professed during his life, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He added, as his last advice, that if they found themselves unable to place his son on the throne of France, they would never at least make peace with that kingdom, unless the duchy of Normandy was for ever annexed to the crown of England, and earnestly requested that they would assiduously cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and never give liberty to the French princes taken at the battle of Agincourt, till his son was of age, and able to hold the reins of government. He left the regency of France to his eldest brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother the duke of Gloucester, and the care of his last person to the earl of Warwick.

The noblemen promised faithfully to obey his dying commands: upon which Henry declared that he had now done with the things of this world, and applied himself to his devotions; and ordered his chaplain to read the seven penitential psalms. When the priest came to that passage in the 57th psalm, "Build thou the walls of Jerusalem," he interrupted him, and solemnly declared, that he fully intended, after restoring peace to France, to undertake a crusade against the infidels, in order to wrest from them the city of Jerusalem. After making this declaration, he ordered the priest to proceed, and expired about the time the service was finished, on the 31st August, in thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his reign.

The royal corpse was brought with great pomp to London, and interred in Westminster abbey, near the tomb of Edward the Confessor. A monument of grey marble was erected for him by his queen, and it was placed a royal image, of silver gilt, which remained there till about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. The only part now left of the monument is the trunk, which is of solid oak.

Henry V. excelled all his contemporaries in personal courage and military prowess: he was patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring the extremes of cold, hunger and fatigue, than any soldier in his army. He was in his manners affable, polite, generous and magnificent: he had an excellent understanding with a clear head and sound judgment, and had admirable talents both for the court and the field. But the glare of his successful career, and the lustre of his great qualities, will not be forgotten.





HENRY VI
*Coronated, being a Prince in
his Childhood, & sent Home at
PARIS.*

ent to conceal the defects in his character. He had certainly no just pretensions to the crown of France, in the pursuit of which he sacrificed so many thousand lives: and in order to remove the guilt of all this bloodshed from his own door, he laid it at that of a people, whom he had so unjustly invaded, and so cruelly oppressed. Truth obliges us to confess, that Henry gave ample testimony of his not being able to distinguish between the art of war and the trade of death, nor know how to join the feeling with the manly heart: and in the hour of his exit he was a striking example how easily conscience is brought over to espouse the cause of any ruling passion; for, as we cannot suspect him of any dissimulation at such a juncture, we must suppose that he died in full conviction of having acted according to the dictates of equity; though impartial posterity will place him among the number of those warriors, whose ambition has spread ruin and devastation through the earth, and who sacrifice the character of humanity to acquire that of the hero.

Henry married the princess Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. king of France, by whom he had only one child, who succeeded him on the throne. Catherine, soon after his death, married Sir Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, said to have descended from the ancient princes of that country: she bore him two

sons, Edmund and Jasper, the first of whom was created earl of Richmond, and the second earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, which was first raised to distinction by this alliance, afterwards ascended the throne of England.

The following are the most remarkable occurrences that happened during the reign of Henry V.

On Candlemas day, in the third year of his reign, seven dolphins were seen in the river Thames, four of which were taken and presented to the king.

The first commission of array, which occurs in the English history, was issued in the course of this reign. The military part of the feudal system was now entirely abolished, and could no longer serve for the defence or security of the kingdom. For this reason, when Henry went to France in 1415, he empowered certain commissioners to take a review of all the freemen in each county able to bear arms, to form them into companies, and to keep them in constant readiness to oppose any attempts that might be made by the enemy.

It was also this king that first instituted the office of Garter, king at Arms, and made several regulations relative to that order. He likewise appointed a new herald, by the title of Agincourt King at Arms.

S E C T I O N III.

H E N R Y VI.

(The third and last King of the Line of Lancaster.)

HENRY VI. at the time of his father's death, was only nine months old; and notwithstanding his succession to the throne was manifestly disputable, yet from the great reputation his father acquired, and the affections of the people to his memory, he was acknowledged king without the shadow of opposition.

The parliament, which met soon after the death of the king, made several regulations for the good order and government of the nation: but at the same time they took such measures as evinced that they were not sensible of their own authority. They paid little regard to the verbal will of their late monarch; for instead of appointing the earl of Warwick the guardian of his son's person, they entrusted the care of him to the bishop of Winchester. They changed the name of regent into that of protector, from a notion that the latter implied less authority than the former. They appointed the duke of Bedford, who was at this time in France, to that office, but entrusted the duke of Gloucester to discharge the duties of it during his absence. Nor did they think prudent to trust this power wholly in the hands of one person, for they appointed a council, without whose advice and concurrence no measures of importance were to be determined.

The French monarch, Charles VI. lived but two years after the death of Henry. He was succeeded by his son, who was immediately proclaimed and acknowledged king at Paris by the title of Charles VII. He was at this time only twenty years of age, but possessed great penetration, address and courage. His manners were mild and engaging; and he was so far from abusing the sovereign power, it was perceived that he was sensible of his own dig-

nity, than of their distressed circumstances. In short, he appeared likely to gain over to his cause a great number of partisans, and to recover that affection from the French which had been lost during the reign of his father.

On the other hand the duke of Bedford pursued every measure that had the least tendency towards strengthening and supporting the interest of his royal nephew. Young Henry was proclaimed king of France at Paris; the arms of both nations were impressed on all seals and devices; and the whole French nobility, who adhered to the English or Burgundian party, swore allegiance to the new government.

A. D. 1423. While the duke of Bedford was thus taking every necessary precaution to serve the interest of the king his nephew, Charles was no less intent to his. Though he was reduced to a low ebb of fortune, yet he was still master of several capital places; and his power was the more respectable from his officers and ministers being men of great ability and integrity.

The duke of Bedford, finding Charles's interest increase, and fearful of the consequences, sent over to England for a reinforcement of troops, which were accordingly sent him by the duke of Gloucester. He also took care to strengthen his alliance with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; with the former of whom he added private, to political interest, by marrying one of his sisters.

The young French monarch was determined to use his utmost efforts in regaining his natural rights, and the first conquests he made were the towns of Ferte Milon, and Meulon on the Seine, both of which he took by surprize.

As this last place lay in the neighbourhood of Paris

Paris. Bedford looked upon the reduction of it as an insult offered to his arms, and therefore resolved to retake it at all events. Accordingly he formed the siege of it, accompanied by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the lords Scales and Poynings, Sir John Fastolf, and others of his best officers. The garrison for some time opposed the besiegers, but finding themselves too weak, and being disappointed of receiving a reinforcement from Charles, as was expected, they delivered up the place; the surrender of which was followed by that of the fortresses of Marcouffi, Montléri, la Ferté, Milan, and several others of less note.

Among other measures concerted by the ministry of England for strengthening the interest of Henry in France, it was determined to release James king of Scotland, who was still a prisoner in London. Previous to the execution of this matter, however, they sent advice of their intentions to the duke of Bedford, who highly approved of it, imagining that much might be expected from James's friendship when laid under this obligation for his crown and liberty. Accordingly conferences were opened at the city of York in the beginning of September, when the commissioners of both nations signed a truce for seven years, by which James engaged to recall his troops as soon as possible from the French service. Thus was the Scotch monarch, after a captivity of seventeen years, restored to his crown and kingdom.

A. D. 1424. Whilst the king of Scotland's liberty was negotiating in England, the war was continued in France with various success. At one time fortune was favourable to the French, and at another to the English; places were taken and retaken successively, without any remarkable advantage. Charles, however, rather gained the advantage, and his strength was increased by the assistance he received from the duke of Milan, who sent him a reinforcement of a thousand men at arms and five hundred lances: but his chief reliance was upon the Scottish auxiliaries, whom he called guardians, and of whom he had now no less than 15,000 in his service. The earl of Buchan was already created constable of France, and Charles now conferred the title of earl of Evreux on General Stuart, and that of duke of Terouranne on the earl of Douglas, who was esteemed one of the greatest generals of Europe.

In the month of June this year the duke of Bedford received advice that one of Charles's partisans had reduced Ivry on the frontiers of Picardy. As this was a place of very considerable importance, Bedford determined, if possible to regain it, and accordingly marched at the head of his army, and invested the place. The governor, perceiving that it would be impossible to defend the town for any length of time, agreed to capitulate, if not relieved by a certain day. This proposal was accepted, and no army appearing within the limited time, the place was delivered up to the besiegers.

Charles, however, had not neglected the necessary means of endeavouring to succour a place of so much importance. He had dispatched the earl of Buchan, assisted by the earl of Douglas and several French noblemen, at the head of a detachment of 20,000 men, being the flower of his whole army, to relieve Ivry; but before they reached the neighbourhood of that place, the term had been for some days expired, and the town was in possession of the English.

The earl of Buchan, finding it impossible to retake the place, led his army to Vernueil, which the inhabitants delivered up to him in spite of the garrison. The duke of Bedford, anxious to make the best use of his time, immediately followed him at the head of 15,000 men; and on his arrival near the camp of the enemy, under the walls of Vernueil, he took pos-

session of an advantageous spot of ground, flanked by a hill, on which he posted a body of two thousand archers, and furnished all his infantry with flint-stakes, like those used with so much success at the battle of Agincourt, to check the fury of the French cavalry. The earl of Douglas having surveyed the position of the English camp, declared that, in his opinion, the French army should stand upon their defence, and not begin the battle, as the enemy had chosen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without great disadvantage. This prudent advice, which was seconded by the constable, and every officer of experience in the army, appeared to Aymer, viscount of Narbonne, a headstrong and imprudent man, as the effect of timidity; nor did he fail to upbraid the commanders, in expressions with pusillanimity, and of dishonouring, by it, the arms of France. No answer, however, made to his invective, which so highly exasperated him, that, snatching up one of the standards of the division, he exclaimed, "Let all who love their sovereign follow me;" and rushing immediately out of the line, he advanced to the charge with the most irregular impetuosity. Douglas, the constable seeing the confusion that now prevailed in their army, and finding their authority despised, determined to perish like soldiers in the inevitable destruction which they knew must be the consequence of this headstrong rashness.

The duke of Bedford had given orders for all the cavalry to dismount, and to place their horses in the rear of the army, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army. The attack, though made in the utmost disorder, was so successful that a body of the French horse on the right broke the opposite wing of the English, and advanced to the barricade which surrounded the horses, and behind which a body of archers were placed. These received them with such a dreadful shower of arrows, as obliged them to fall back. At the same time the party, who were posted on the left, so galled those who were marching up in another line that they fled with great precipitation. Thus the body of reserve an opportunity of forming themselves, and marching to the support of the main body, where the fight had continued for three hours with great obstinacy, without any perceivable advantage; but this seasonable reinforcement turned the scale in favour of the English. The French were driven back upon their foot by the arms of the English, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Douglas and the constable perceiving the total rout of their army inevitable, and determined not to live in disgrace, rushed into the thickest part of the battle and fell among a heap of foes. Besides these great generals, the headstrong Narbonne, the earl of Douglas, and the counts Aumale, Artois, and de Tonnerre, the lords Gaultier, Mann, Gamaches, and Guitr, with many other persons of distinction, perished in the action. The duke of Alençon, the marshal de la Fayette, lords of Goucon and Montemar, were taken prisoners. About four thousand French, and sixteen hundred of the English, were slain on the field of battle.

The day after this victory Vernueil surrendered to the conquerors; and there being no longer any army to oppose the English in the field, they made themselves masters of the strong fortresses of Rantigny, Vitry en Patois, la Ferme Bernard, and several other places in the neighbourhood.

But, while the affairs of the English were prosperous, that it seemed beyond the power of their courage to check them, and while their numbers were so depleted, that it seemed above the power of human policy to support them, fortune at last

Providence, threw an incident in the way which gave the latter some respite. Jaqueline, countess of Hainault, animated by a violent antipathy to her husband, the duke of Brabant, cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy, determined to dissolve her marriage, where nothing but the ceremony had probably as yet intervened. She was a princess of a masculine spirit, and uncommon understanding; and her husband of a sickly constitution, and weak intellects. She, however, knew her husband's family would exert all their power to prevent the pope from dissolving the marriage; and, therefore, in order to effect her purpose with more facility, she made her escape to England, and put herself under the protection of the duke of Gloucester, who being enamoured of her person and fortune, ventured to marry her without waiting for the papal dispensation.

Gloucester was endowed with many noble qualities, but at the same time of an impetuous temper, and very passionate. He considered not the consequences of an action he was determined to perform. Soon after his marriage, he repaired into the Low Countries, to take possession of his wife's dominions. The duke of Burgundy exclaimed loudly against this conduct; and considering himself as insulted by it, marched in person to the assistance of the duke of Brabant. A sharp war was now kindled in the Low Countries. The labours of the duke of Bedford to restrain the impetuous temper of his brother were in vain; nor was he able to soften the resentment of the duke of Burgundy. He now found it would be useless to push the consequences of his victory at Vernueil, and therefore took a journey to England, where the departure of his brother had excited troubles in the administration.

This cessation of hostilities gave Charles leisure to recover from his defeat. He laboured assiduously to gain the friendship of the princes of the blood, whose revolt had almost occasioned the total ruin of the monarchy. The duke of Burgundy was disgusted with the English, but he had not yet overcome his hatred to Charles; the murder of his father still filled his heart with resentment. The duke of Brittany had received no such injury, and therefore listened to the proposals made by Charles for an accommodation; and the count of Richemont accepted of the dignity of constable. That great general, who was an excellent subject, but a bad courtier, had been disgraced by the violence he exercised against the ministers and counsellors of Charles; but he soon regained, by his services, the favour and friendship of his sovereign.

A. D. 1426. The duke of Bedford, irritated at the defection of the duke of Brittany, declared war in person against the Britons. The earl of Warwick immediately took the field; and laying siege to Pont Orson, carried the town by assault. He afterwards took and fortified Beauvion, where he fixed his head quarters, and thence extended his ravages over the adjacent country, to the very gates of Rennes.

The constable Richemont exerted all his power to raise a sufficient number of troops to put a stop to these ravages, and was fortunate enough to succeed. He soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, and marched immediately against the enemy. Warwick, whose whole corps did not amount to more than eight thousand, shut himself up in Beauvion. The constable immediately invested the town, and applied to reduce it by famine. But Giac, prime counsellor to Charles, and who hated the constable, refused to send him the necessary supplies of men and money, so that Richemont despaired of being able to effect his purpose, but, exasperated to find himself baffled in his first attempt, he rashly resolved on a general assault. The garrison behaved with the most intrepidity, the besiegers were every

where beaten off; and Warwick, perceiving a great disorder in the ranks of the enemy, sallied out, and falling upon their rear, put them to flight with great slaughter.

This conquest, added to the dissensions which prevailed in Charles's councils, encouraged the earl of Warwick to undertake the siege of Montargis, as a place of the utmost importance for facilitating Bedford's intention of carrying on the war beyond the Loire. He therefore invested the town, and soon reduced the garrison to the last extremity. The ballard of Orleans, afterwards the famous count de Dunois, resolved to march to the relief of Montargis. Accordingly, he advanced at the head of no more than sixteen hundred men, and attacked the English camp with so much fury, that the earl of Warwick, who knew nothing of his approach, was obliged to raise the siege.

A. D. 1427. In the beginning of this year the duke of Bedford, having settled his affairs in England, returned to France; and after forming a numerous army on the frontiers of Britany, fell so unexpectedly into that province, that nothing could resist his progress. All the attempts of the duke of Britany were in vain; so that after seeing the greater part of his territories wasted with fire and sword, he desired an interview with Bedford; and a treaty was signed between them, by which the duke of Britany not only returned to his former engagements with the English, but also signed the treaty of Troye, acknowledging the duke of Bedford regent of France, and engaging to do homage for his duchy of Britany to the king of England.

A. D. 1428. Soon after the duke had accomplished this treaty, the earl of Salisbury arrived with a strong reinforcement from England, and the earl of Warwick passed over to that kingdom in order to take upon himself the education of the young king. On receiving this reinforcement, the regent resolved on an undertaking, which if successful, promised fair to open the way for the conquest of France. This was the siege of Orleans, a strong city situated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and those possessed by Charles, and opened an easy entrance to either.

The conduct of this siege was committed to the earl of Salisbury, one of the most courageous and experienced generals of the age. He marched from Paris about the latter end of July, at the head of an army of 16,000 men, assisted by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, Sir John Fastolf, and other excellent officers. He immediately advanced through the country of Beaufle, and made himself master of all the towns that lay in his route to Orleans.

As the proceedings of the English sufficiently indicated their intentions of besieging Orleans, every necessary precaution was taken for its defence. This important city was commanded by the count de Gaucourt, an officer of great courage and experience, and inviolably attached to the family of Orleans. Many other officers of distinction threw themselves into the place. The troops that formed the garrison were all veterans, and long familiar with danger. The citizens themselves had acquired the military turn, so common in that age, and were therefore extremely well qualified to assist the regulars in the defence of the place. Many new fortifications were raised, the old ones repaired, and the greater part of the buildings in the suburbs pulled down, that they might not be used by the English in carrying on the siege.

The first attack of the English was against a bulwark erected to cover the castle of Tourelles, which defended the head of the bridge over the Loire. The artillery soon demolished the parapets, and made a breach sufficiently large for storming it. The French,

however, sensible of the importance of the place, defended it with such courage that the English were obliged to retreat, leaving two hundred and fifty men dead in the breach. But this repulse served only to increase the ardour of the besiegers; they continued battering the bulwark with such fury, that it was soon abandoned by the French, and the English took possession of it without any farther opposition. Forts were now erected both above and below the bridge, for battering the city. But still the place was invested only on one side; that towards the Beaufie was entirely open; and the bastard of Orleans found means to throw himself into the city at the head of eight hundred men. It was easily perceived, that while the city could be supplied with troops and provisions, it would be impossible to reduce it. The earl of Salisbury, therefore, ordered sixty small forts or redoubts to be built at proper distances round the city; but while he was pointing out the proper spots where they should be erected, a stone discharged from a cannon in the place put a period to his life. The death of this great man was an irreparable loss to the English, and greatly damped the alacrity of the soldiers in the progress of the siege.

The command of the English army now devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who, assisted by the famous Talbot, one of the greatest captains of that age, pushed the siege with unremitting vigour. Sallies were frequently made by the garrison, and the most astonishing acts of valour were performed both by the besiegers and the besieged.

A. D. 1429. After more than three months had been spent in continual sallies and engagements, the duke of Bedford ordered a convoy to set out from Paris with salt-fish, herrings, and other provisions of a similar kind, for the use of the besiegers during the Lent. This convoy was escorted by a guard of seventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Fastolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had advanced to Chinon, a town in Touraine, about twenty leagues distant from Orleans, receiving intelligence of the march of this convoy, sent the count de Clermont, at the head of three thousand men, to attack the English in their route. The count came up with the convoy at Rouvrai St. Denis on the twelfth of February. Fastolf, apprized of his approach, and knowing himself too weak to sustain the impetuous shock of the French in the open field, drew up his men behind a barricado of his waggons, and in this position received the first shock of the French, which was made with their usual fury; but they were not able to force the temporary fortification. At the same time they met with so warm a reception, that they were thrown into confusion. Fastolf perceiving his advantage, sallied from his barricado, and routed the enemy with prodigious slaughter. In this action, generally called The Battle of the Herrings, one hundred and twenty French noblemen and persons of distinction lost their lives, besides a great number of common soldiers. The count de Dunois, having received notice of the count of Clermont's march, found means to escape from Orleans, and advanced to support him at the head of a body of veterans; but he arrived too late. He, however, secured his retreat; and the convoy reached the English camp, without meeting with any farther interruption.

When the French court were informed of this defeat they were greatly alarmed; and an offer was immediately made that Orleans should be sequestered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. But Bedford rejected the proposal with indignation; and observed, "That he was not in an humour to beat the bullock while others ran away with the game." This sarcasm so disgusted the duke of Burgundy, that he

recalled all his troops from the service of the English.

But notwithstanding this defection, the place was every day more closely invested by the enemy. The utmost scarcity prevailed in the city; and Charles, despairing of success, formed the inglorious retreat of retiring into Dauphine. But he was prevented from carrying this design into execution by the remonstrances of his queen, who inspired his mind with such different sentiments, that he determined to conquer or perish. At this dangerous crisis, when the prostration of his affairs seemed almost impossible, he unexpectedly received assistance from the daughter of a peasant, who laid the foundation of one of the most remarkable revolutions recorded in history.

The name of this heroine was Joan d'Arc, afterwards much better known by the name of the Maid of Orleans. She was born at the village of Dom Remi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of the Lorraine. At this time she was about twenty years of age, of an irreproachable character, and had not hitherto been remarked for any singularity. She, indeed, possessed a genius superior to most in her class of life, and had been wholly employed in country business. A continual recital of the calamities of France had made so great an impression on her imagination, that losing sight of every other object, and abandoning herself to the transports of enthusiasm, she fancied that she heard heavenly voices, and doubted not but she was called upon by the Deity to undertake the defence of the kingdom. She communicated her visions to the governor of Vaucouleurs, who at first treated her with neglect; but her frequent returns prevailed upon him to send her to the king. She supported before the court the character of an inspired person with astonishing candour and firmness. An assembly of divines, and the parliament of Poitiers, who examined her on the subject of her mission, pronounced that there was something supernatural in her. It was an object of policy to make her case be considered miraculous; but in an age devoted to superstitious admiration and wonder, it was hardly necessary to employ art to effect this purpose. Her endowments, therefore, joined to the extraordinary qualities she possessed, could not fail of making lively impressions on the vulgar. She promised to deliver Orleans, and to conduct Charles to Rheims, that he might be crowned in that city; and at the same time wrote a letter to the duke of Bedford, commanding him, in the name of God, to raise the siege, and evacuate France.

Every method was taken to publish the predictions of the Maid of Orleans, and which were received with the most implicit faith. She had demanded of the king, as the instrument of her future victory, a particular sword which was preserved in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen, it was said she described with particular circumstances, as plainly proved her supernatural knowledge. The English affected to deride her with derision; but were struck with awe, which every where prevailed of her heavenly power. The French troops gave credit to all her predictions, and so prepossessed themselves with an expectation of victory, that they were ready to attempt daring actions.

Every thing being prepared, it was determined to try the force of this extraordinary engine against the enemy. She was accordingly armed cap-a-pie, mounted on a fine horse richly caparisoned, and the sword of St. Catherine was sent for, and delivered to her with great formality. It was resolved to send this inspired leader with a large convoy of provisions and ammunition to the beleagured city, who were at this time reduced to the last extremity. Joan d'Arc marched at the head of twelve thousand men.

destined to escort the convoy, with a consecrated banner in her hand. She was assisted by the lords of Gaucourt, Ray, and St. Severe, the admiral Crevant, and other excellent officers. The garrison of Orleans were informed of the design, and a great number of boats were prepared to carry the convoy over the Loire. As soon as the maid appeared on the side of Sologne, the count de Dunois made a vigorous sally on the English on the side of Beasse, to prevent their sending troops to the other side of the river, while the boats were loading with the provisions and ammunition destined to the town. The English on that side were too weak to encounter so strong an effort; and their inaction being considered by the French as the effect of terror imprinted on their minds by heaven, to facilitate the enterprize of the Maid of Orleans, they fell upon them with such enthusiastic fury, that they were defeated, after a long resistance, and the convoy passed into Orleans. A natural event served also to increase the superstition of the French. During the time of the action, there happened a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail. This it may easily be supposed, was considered as the voice of heaven declaring in their favour. Had the attempt miscarried, it would, in all probability, have been interpreted in an opposite sense.

Joan was received into Orleans as a tutelar angel, and the whole success attributed to her: her presence dispelled every thought of danger. The garrison believed themselves invincible under her sacred influence, and the frequent and successful sallies which they made, completed the consternation of the enemy. The English were obliged to raise the siege and retire, after having stood it out for upwards of seven months.

This success animated the despairing Charles, who now suffered his army to take the field. At the same time the English, by a strange mistake, after raising the siege of Orleans, instead of keeping their forces in a body to act powerfully against the enemy, distributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had subdued when they first passed that river. Being thus separated, the French met with little resistance in the places they attempted. The Maid of Orleans still headed their troops; and wherever she appeared, the English were struck with a panic while the French believed themselves supported by an invisible hand. Gargeau, a small fortress into which the earl of Suffolk had been so imprudent as to throw himself, with four hundred men only, was obliged to surrender at discretion, and the earl himself was taken prisoner. Meulan suffered the same fate, with many other towns and castles captured by the English.

After the captivity of the earl of Suffolk, the command of the English army was given to lord Talbot, and that his whole force did not exceed 6,000 men. He therefore endeavoured to avoid an engagement with the enemy, who were at least double his number. But being overtaken at Patay, a battle became inevitable; and the event was what might be expected from a handful of men oppressed by the force of superstitious prepossession. They were totally defeated: above two thousand fell in the action, about two hundred were taken prisoners; among whom were the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, Thomas Rempston, and several other very valuable officers.

The Maid of Orleans had now performed one part of her promise, the relief of that city; but the more difficult task, remained still to be done, the crowning of Charles at Rheims. Before this could be done, it was necessary to pass over a tract of country occupied by the English; and that was rash and, perhaps, imprac-

ticable in any other conjuncture than the present. Charles, who had hitherto never exposed his person, allowed himself to be carried away by the torrent of his success, and the instigation of the Maid of Orleans. This interval of enthusiasm secured his victories. Without provisions, without resources, he marched at the head of twelve thousand men, through the midst of his enemies. Troye and Chalons opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Rheims drove out the English garrison, and sent him the keys of their city, which he entered in triumph. The ceremony of his coronation was immediately performed in presence of the Maid of Orleans, who attended with her consecrated banner in her hand. Charles now appeared more venerable in the eyes of his subjects. Numbers immediately joined him; they returned from their prepossessions and errors, and conceived the utmost aversion to the shameful yoke of slavery they had so long endured.

The Maid of Orleans considering her commission as accomplished, was solicitous to return to the place of her nativity, affirming that she had now accomplished the design of her mission; but her influence was so great over the troops, that the count de Dunois prevailed on her to continue in the army till the English should be entirely driven out of the country.

The duke of Bedford, during this reverse of fortune, acted with the most consummate prudence. He retained Paris in subjection by his vigilance and severity. He also renewed his alliance with the duke of Burgundy; and being joined by five thousand men, which the bishop of Winchester was conducting on a crusade against the Hussites, he was once more in a condition of taking the field against the French, and checking their rapid success.

When Bedford had advanced as far as Montereau, on the Yonne, he sent a herald to Charles, offering to give him battle in any indifferent place he should name, in order to put a final period to the war by a general engagement. But Charles, who had learned wisdom in the school of adversity, refused to hazard his crown on the uncertain event of a battle. Bedford, therefore, returned into the Isle of France in order, by his presence, to prevent the towns from revolting, and to preserve the interest of the French nobility, who having served as volunteers at their own expence, were now heartily tired of this tedious campaign.

A. D. 1430. The English parliament having determined to lend young Henry into France, in order to his being crowned at Paris, he embarked at Dover with a splendid retinue, and landed at Calais on the nineteenth of May. But the army of Charles being then in the neighbourhood of Paris, it was thought prudent to carry the young king to Rouen, till the enemy was removed farther from the capital: and in order to effect that design, Bedford laboured assiduously to induce the duke of Burgundy to act with more vigour than he had done since he recalled his troops from the siege of Orleans. Accordingly he ceded to him all the places the English possessed in Champagne and Bré; and the duke immediately entered France at the head of a powerful army. He reduced Troye and Soissons, and being joined by the earls of Suffolk and Arundel, he invested Compeigne. The garrison was commanded by Flavy, a brave and experienced officer, and so well provided as to be able to make a long and vigorous resistance.

On the first news of this enterprize, the Maid of Orleans, and Nannetles, a celebrated general, threw themselves into the place, which gave fresh spirits to the garrison. The next day Joan, at the head of a considerable party, made so desperate a sally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg, the Burgundian general, that he was driven from his post.

post. The fury of that enthusiastic leader carried her too far. Her retreat was cut off; and, after making the most desperate resistance, she was taken prisoner by the bastard of Vendome, who immediately delivered her up to the Burgundian general.

The captivity of the Maid of Orleans was thought equal to a decisive victory. Te Deum was publicly sung at Paris, and Bedford obtained from the duke of Burgundy the custody of that extraordinary woman. The garrison of Compeigne, however, continued to make a noble defence, and a large detachment arriving from Charles's army, the English were obliged to abandon the siege.

While these things were transacting, young Henry continued at Rouen; but it was now determined to perform the ceremony of his coronation. He accordingly repaired to Paris, attended by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a splendid train of the nobility of both nations. Sunday, the seventeenth of December, was appointed for the ceremony, which was accordingly performed, with great magnificence, in the church of Notre Dame; where the cardinal of Winchester placed the crown on the head of Henry, and the nobility swore allegiance to him.

A. D. 1431. Notwithstanding the conduct of the Maid of Orleans had been irreproachable, and she was certainly entitled to be treated as a prisoner of war, yet it was determined to try her as a sorceress and impostor. Religion was to be interested in this act of oppression. The bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese Joan was taken prisoner, demanded that she should be tried before an ecclesiastical court, affirming her guilty of heresy and magic. The university of Paris (a body appointed for the instruction of mankind) weakly supported the absurd request of the prelate; and several clergymen of rank, among whom was the cardinal of Winchester, were selected to pass sentence upon her. She appeared before the court in her military apparel, but loaded with irons. During four months they harassed her with captious questions, which she answered with wonderful art and intrepidity; she was not intimidated though before a tribunal of ecclesiastics, whose persons she had been always taught to revere. She boldly avowed the designs she had formed against the English; she told them, with an air of confidence, that it would not be long before they were driven out of France. Being interrogated about her pretended revelations, and whether she would submit to the judgment of the church with regard to their being real? she only answered, "That she was certain they came from heaven, to whose judgment she would leave the decision; determined not to give them up to any other authority, even though the church should declare them illusions." When asked, Why she assisted with a consecrated banner in her hand, at the coronation of Charles, "It is but just," said she, "that the person who had shared in the danger of the enterprise, should also partake of the glory." She, however, soon perceived she had gone too far, in refusing to submit to the decision of the church; she appealed to the pop; declared herself willing to recant; and acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the church had rejected. In consequence of this recantation, she was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed on bread and water only during the remainder of her life.

Though this sentence was certainly very severe, yet it was not sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of Joan's enemies. Enough had indeed been done to convince both the French and the English, that the opinion of divine influence, which had so much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was wholly without foundation. Had they stopped here, their proceedings might have been vindicated upon political reasons;

but her death was determined. Suspecting that the female dress, which she had since her sentence consented to wear, was not agreeable to her, they purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel and watched the effect of that temptation. The stratagem succeeded. Joan, at the sight of a dress which she had acquired so much honour, and what she once believed she wore by the appointment of heaven, revived all her former enthusiastic notions. She ventured in her solitude to clothe herself in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation: her fault was interpreted to be nothing less than a relapse into heresy; recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could now be granted her. She was delivered over to the civil magistrate, on pretence of heresy and magic, who immediately sentenced her to death, and she was burnt alive in a slow fire, in the market-place of Rouen. Such was the end of the famous Maid of Orleans, whose actions had struck the English with terror, and had saved her country from impending destruction.

A. D. 1432. Young Henry had, soon after his coronation at Paris, retired to Rouen, where he continued; but thinking it most advisable to return to England, he accordingly embarked, and arrived safe at Dover about the middle of February; from whence he proceeded to London, and was received by his English subjects with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

A. D. 1433. The English had flattered themselves, that by the death of the Maid of Orleans, they should be able to recover the advantages they had lost through her means: but they were still unfortunate, and their affairs grew every day worse and worse. In this alarming crisis an event happened which gave a fatal blow to their future hopes and expectations. The dutchess of Bedford, sister to the duke of Burgundy, paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the cloister of the Celestines at Paris. This unfortunate event dissolved the connection that had hitherto subsisted between the two dukes; and the marriage of Bedford about four months after her death, with Jacques Luxemburg, occasioned a breach between them which was never after repaired.

A. D. 1434. Philip, duke of Burgundy, shewed himself no less inveterate against Bedford, than he had hitherto appeared in friendship with him. He had for some time seen his error, and began to feel the wounds he had given to his country, and the injury he had done to himself by placing his crown upon the head of a foreigner. Time, reflecting on the public calamities, made an impression on his heart, which was naturally disposed to generosity, and weakened that ardent desire of revenge, which had armed him against his sovereign. Charles, deterred by the assassination of the duke's father, offered him satisfaction and atonement that could be desired, and banished Tannequien du Chastel, the enemy of that prince, from his court. This policy did not desire to remove every difficulty which might prevent a reconciliation had the desired effect, a conference was appointed at Arras, under the mediation of the pope and the council of Balle. The French offered to cede Normandy and Guenne to the English, on condition of doing homage to Charles, according to the ancient custom. This offer was rejected by the English, and the English plenipotentiaries returned immediately from the congress. Nothing remained but to discuss the pretensions of Charles Philip; and this was soon performed, because the king of France was in a capacity of giving law to his vassals. It was stipulated that Philip should receive satisfaction and acknowledgements for the murder of his father, that Charles should cede to him all the towns and castles situated between the Somme and the Loire.

nies, and several other territories, which, as well as those in possession of Philip, should be held during his life, without doing any homage, or swearing any fealty to the present king. At the same time Charles released his subjects from all obligations to allegiance if he ever infringed this treaty. So dishonourable were the conditions, by which France purchased the friendship of the duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1436. In the beginning of this year, the duke of Bedford paid the debt of nature at Rouen. He was justly esteemed one of the greatest persons of the age; and it is difficult to say whether he shone most in the field or the cabinet, whether he was a greater general or politician, and whether he was most esteemed for his valour, his equity, or his moderation.

The death of the duke of Bedford greatly encreased the misfortunes of the English in France, and gave Charles every advantage he could wish for extending his conquests; and such parties were formed in the English council, that it was seven months before the commission of the duke of York, who was appointed regent of France, passed the seals. The French monarch wisely improved every moment, and made a rapid progress in establishing his authority, which he had nearly effected when the duke of York arrived. The capital had been some time reduced, so that the territories of the English now daily consisted of Guienne and Normandy.

A. D. 1437. This year the duke of Burgundy attempted to reduce Calais with an army of fifty thousand men, and made himself master of several small castles in the neighbourhood of that city. The Flemings, who were then much more famous for maritime than war, vainly imagined that the appearance of their numerous army would be sufficient to intimidate the garrison, and the gates would be opened at their approach. They were deceived. The garrison, instead of being intimidated, dreadfully harassed their camp, with successful sallies. In the meantime the duke of Gloucester, at the head of fifteen thousand men, landed at Calais, and sent a herald to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. Philip accepted his challenge; but his Flemings had so severely felt the effects of the valour of the English, that they could not be prevailed upon to meet them in the open field; they quitted their camp, and made a precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing that the garrison of Calais might take advantage of this confusion in his army, drew up his regular troops to secure his retreat, and retired in good order to Gravelines, leaving behind him all his baggage and artillery.

The duke of Gloucester, determining to revenge the flight of the duke of Burgundy, led his army into Artois, and after laying the whole country waste with fire and sword, returned to Calais loaded with plunder. Next year, as soon as the duke of Burgundy returned, he was hardly returned to his own dominions before he led the mortification to see the maritime part of his possessions in Flanders, ravaged by an English fleet, while he himself was in the utmost anxiety of losing his life in a sedition at Bruges.

A. D. 1438. During the course of this and the following years, the hostilities in France were carried on by both parties in a very languid manner. Want of resources, of industry and of commerce,

warriors were drained by the expences of war; and the troops were obliged to subsist by plundering and oppressing the country both of friends and enemies.

Terms of peace were often proposed, and always rejected: both insisted on such as could not be complied with.

At the same time both the English and French courts were filled with factions. The duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, constantly opposed each other, and the interest of the

nation was sacrificed to their perpetual enmities. The dauphin of France headed a faction against his father. He was of a restless and ambitious disposition, and found means to bring over to his interest the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with the counts of Vendôme and Dunois. Charles perceived his danger, and was very desirous of procuring the release of the duke of Orleans, who had continued a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Agincourt, as the only person whose merit and rank could balance the credit of the dauphin's party. After a tedious negotiation, which was strenuously opposed by the duke of Gloucester, it was determined to set him at liberty on his paying a ransom of thirty-six thousand pounds of our present money, an immense sum in those days, and nearly equal to two thirds of all the extraordinary supplies granted by the parliament to support the war, during an interval of seven years. The duke of Burgundy displayed a noble instance of generosity on this occasion; he renounced his ancient resentments, and paid the ransom of a prince who had been long his enemy.

A. D. 1441. The great enmity that subsisted between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester occasioned divisions in the English council, and was productive of most unhappy consequences. Nothing less than the destruction of the former could satisfy the malice and ambition of the latter. Winchester, however, was unable to attack Gloucester in person, and therefore formed the most inhuman plot, infamous by its agents, and detestable by its motives. He caused his duchess to be accused of witchcraft; and it was pretended that a waxen image of the king was found in her possession, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margaret Jordan, of Eye, melted before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by the like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age. The duchess was accordingly brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of the crime, so opposite to all common sense, seemed sufficient to exempt the witnesses from observing common sense in their evidence. But this was of no consequence in a court, where it was determined to find the prisoner guilty. The duchess was condemned to do public penance and suffer perpetual imprisonment in Chester castle. These violent proceedings, however, produced not the intended effect. Gloucester, who was loyal to a degree of madness, bore his wrongs with the utmost resignation, and the disgrace of his wife, instead of incurring him the contempt of the people, tended only the more to inflame their resentment towards his enemies.

A. D. 1444. Both France and England were now equally weary of a tedious and expensive war, which had so long raged without interruption. The princes and grandees of France groaned under the fatigues and losses they had sustained, and the kingdom was so depopulated, that it could no longer furnish men for the service. The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy were continually soliciting the king to attend to terms of accommodation, and the French nation in general anxiously wished for the final conclusion of a calamitous war.

The English were no less desirous of peace than the French, and the earl of Suffolk was commissioned to treat with them on that head. Conferences were accordingly opened, but the parties disagreeing concerning the terms, the sole result was a truce for two years.

The earl of Suffolk, having executed this part of his commission, proceeded to finish another point of no less importance. At the instigation of Winchester

and his party he proposed a match between the king his master and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier the nominal king of Sicily; a lady endowed with all the qualifications that could render her an agreeable consort for a prince of Henry's character.

Though this proposal was equally agreeable to France, Charles managed the treaty so artfully, that Suffolk, instead of demanding a dower with Margaret, promised, in the name of his master, that the province of Maine, then in the hands of the English, should be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou.

The duke of Gloucester was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he exerted his utmost efforts in order to defeat the intended match, but in spite of all his opposition the contract was ratified in London: Suffolk was dignified with the title of Marquis, and even received the thanks of the parliament for concluding the treaty of marriage.

A. D. 1445. The nuptials were solemnized at Tours, in presence of Charles and all his court, with great magnificence. On the 18th of April Margaret arrived in England, and was re-married in the priory of Southwark, from whence she proceeded to London, and on the 13th of May was crowned at Westminster.

Margaret had been but a short time in England before she sufficiently indicated her intentions of being mistress of her husband's conduct as well as his affections. The opposition made by the duke of Gloucester to her marriage had filled her mind with envy, and induced her to enter into a close correspondence with the cardinal and the marquis of Suffolk, who, strengthened by her friendship, and animated by their common hatred against the duke of Gloucester, resolved to effect the ruin of that patriotic nobleman. He was accordingly stripped of all his preferments, and even entirely removed from the council board. But this unjustifiable method of proceeding raised such commotions in the nation, that the authors of this disgrace thought it absolutely necessary for their own safety, to colour over their base proceedings with a shew of justice.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, 1446, they declared their intentions of impeaching the duke before the parliament; but he was too great a favourite with the citizens of London, for them to attempt the execution of their base designs in the capital. The members were summoned to meet at St. Edmundsbury, and the duke cited to appear. Conscious of his own innocence, the duke determined to attend, and accordingly was present at the opening of the parliament on the tenth of February. But the very next day he was arrested, and put under a strong guard. The people were highly exasperated at this method of proceeding, but, persuaded that the duke, on his trial, would sufficiently exculpate himself from every charge that could be exhibited against him, no tumult was excited in his favour.

But Gloucester's enemies did not intend to bring him to a fair and open trial. The lords who were to sit as his judges took no pains to conceal their sentiments with regard to his innocence; they even threw out several intimations of their being determined to do strict justice upon his accusers, provided they were unable to prove the charge against him. This sufficiently intimidated the faction, and the duke was soon after found dead in his bed. It was, indeed, pretended, that his death was natural; and his body was accordingly exposed to public view, without exhibiting any marks of external injury; but no one doubted his having fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies.

Thus fell, by the treacherous hand of malice, Humphrey of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the most learned person of his age. He founded at Oxford one of the first public libraries in England, and

was a generous patron to men of science, and able artists of every profession. His heart was watered by the tears of the people. His enemies saw the grief of the people with terror, and thought it absolutely necessary to give some colour to their proceedings. Several of the duke's domestics were accordingly tried, and received sentence of death; but they were no sooner suspended, than they were cut down, and received their pardon.

A. D. 1447. The perfidious cardinal of Winchester did not, however, long triumph over the fall of Gloucester. He died about six weeks after him, in all the horrors of a guilty conscience. Happy would he now have thought himself, had he applied his mind more assiduously to provide for his passage into eternity, and not have embued his hands in the blood of the innocent. By the death of the cardinal, the queen and her favourite, Suffolk, were deprived of the great support they derived from his experience, his birth, his riches, and his order; and left exposed to all the effects of the unpopular measures they afterwards pursued. The minister did not, however, immediately feel the resentment of an injured people. He, for some time, enjoyed his power; and the next sessions of parliament he was created duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1448. While these domestic troubles were raging in England, the French king employed his time in prosecuting such measures as might be most conducive to the happiness of his people, and the welfare of his kingdom. That nation was now in a condition to act with vigour in recovering those dominions which were still in the hands of the English, and an accident soon happened which gave Charles an opportunity of re-commencing hostilities.

The duke of Gloucester's death seemed to offer a fair opportunity for ceding the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, pursuant to the marriage contract. But the English ministry still endeavoured to postpone the cession, as they well knew it must be attended with a popular clamour, which might probably shake their authority. At length, however, orders were sent to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the chief of the country, to deliver that city into the hands of Charles of Anjou. Surienne, who was a native of Arragon, and had served the English above twenty years, disputed the authenticity of the order, and absolutely refused to deliver up the place. The count de Dunois was therefore sent, at the head of a numerous body of troops, and a large train of artillery, to reduce it by force. Surienne made a noble defence, but was at last obliged to capitulate; by which the garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, were suffered to march out, with all their arms. They retired into Normandy; but being refused admittance into any of the fortified towns, they retired into great distress, Surienne led his troops into the surprized the town of Fougères, repaired the fortifications of Pont Orson and Beuvron, and procured subsistence by extending his depredations over the whole province.

On advice of this breach of the truce, as Brittany had been included, the French monarch demanded satisfaction from the duke of Somerset, governor of Normandy. Somerset replied that he was greatly concerned for these indefensible losses, but that the whole had been executed with secrecy and consent, nor had he any authority over the troops that had committed the ravages of which he complained. Application was now made to the court of England, who disavowed the transaction, and redress was promised for the injuries received. The court of France, desirous of rendering accommodation impracticable, estimated the damage at less than one million six hundred thousand crowns.

A. D. 1449. The truce expiring in the autumn,

June, Charles determined to avail himself of his present superiority over the English. He therefore declared war against Henry, and his conquests were so rapid that he soon annexed Normandy to his dominions. The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, indeed, supported his reputation and glory to the last. But the province was invaded in four different places, and he had only a handful of forces under his command; so that nothing could be expected from that gallant officer, especially as the greater part of the garrisons consisted of Normans, who opened their gates to the enemy almost at the first summons. The province of Guienne suffered the same fate; and after having for three centuries formed a part of the dominions of the crown of England, was now re-united to those of France.

The loss of Normandy and Guienne, however, were but trifling misfortunes to those which threatened the English. The sword of civil war was ready to be drawn, in order to drench the fields with the blood of their owners. The duke of York, first prince of the blood, was descended, by his mother, from the house of Mortimer, which enjoyed an incontestible title to the crown of England, after the demise of Richard II. when the rights of sovereignty were usurped by the house of Lancaster. His personal merit was great, and he had contracted several powerful alliances. He had married the daughter of Nevil, earl of Westmorland, whose family was more important than any other in the kingdom. The earl of Warwick was one of that family, a nobleman extremely popular, and so amazingly rich, that 30,000 persons were constantly supplied at his tables in his different manors and castles. His hospitality and munificence rendered his authority over his numerous partisans almost absolute. The duke of York, who had commanded with great applause in France, had lately been deprived of his commission, without any reason being assigned for so imprudent an exertion of power. On his return to England, some dark hints, with regard to the pretensions of his family to the crown, were dropped by his partisans, and had the desired effect. His virtues and the great service he had performed for his country, obtained him the universal respect of the people.

The increasing popularity of the duke of York greatly alarmed the queen and Suffolk; and a commotion having lately happened in Ireland, it was thought proper to invest him with the title of lord-lieutenant, and send him into that island, as the only person capable of restoring tranquillity. York well knew the true reason for his being sent out of the kingdom, but made no difficulty of accepting the commission. His mild and gentle behaviour soon produced the desired effect; and he not only appeased the insurgents without bloodshed, but even attached to his interest the people of that kingdom.

A. D. 1450. Complaints and invectives now prevailed throughout the kingdom against the duke of Suffolk. The people, ever since the death of Gloucester, had deserted him as an assassin of that patriotic nobleman. He was hated by the great as prime minister, and the declared favourite of the queen; and as the poverty of the crown obliged him to have recourse to arbitrary measures, it was impossible for him to escape the machinations and resentment of so formidable a faction.

Low popular clamours arose to an amazing height; and Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, was murdered in a tumult excited by a patriotic leader of the mob.

In the agonies of death, the bishop accused Suffolk with being a traitor to his country. The charge increased the public discontent, and the House of Commons determined to impeach him.

Accordingly they accused the duke of high-treason.

They ascribed to him the loss of the English dominions on the continent; and even insisted, that he had entered into a design to dethrone the king. The violence of faction had, however, carried the Commons too far; their accusation could not bear examination; it was supported by no evidence. A new charge of misdemeanors was therefore drawn up against him, chiefly regarding the perversions of authority, and, in all probability, founded entirely upon facts. Henry was now alarmed for his minister. He perceived that the Commons were determined to carry on the prosecution with the utmost vigour, and feared the upper house would declare him guilty. He therefore sent for all the lords spiritual and temporal, to his apartment, produced Suffolk before them, and asked him what he could say in his own defence. He denied the charge, but submitted himself to the pleasure of the king, who banished him the realm for five years, during which he was prohibited from residing in France, or any other country belonging to the French dominions.

The lords, however, were far from being satisfied with this sentence. They returned, in a very ill humour, to their house, and entered a strong protest against these proceedings. They declared, "That the sentence pronounced on the duke of Suffolk was not the result of their advice, but purely the king's own act, which should not at all infringe their privileges; and that if Suffolk had insisted on his right, and not submitted voluntarily to the king's pleasure, he was intitled to a trial by his peers."

Suffolk, so far from repining at his sentence, rather considered it as the only expedient that could save him from the fury of the people, and therefore prepared, with great alacrity, for his departure; flattering himself, that as he still enjoyed the queen's favour and confidence, he should be recalled. But his enemies were determined that his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes. They accordingly employed a captain of a ship to cruise off Dover, and intercept him in his passage to the continent. The captain, who had imbibed the common prejudices, performed his duty with great exactness. The duke was seized near Dover, his head struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea. The latter was afterwards taken up and interred in the collegiate church of Wingfield in Suffolk.

The duke of Somerset succeeded the late minister in all his power and credit with the queen; and as he was the person who commanded on the continent when the French provinces were lost, the public, who always judge by the event, soon made him the object of their animosity and hatred. Somerset was now in the same dangerous situation experienced by Suffolk; and the parliament was no sooner broke up, than various commotions were excited in different parts of the kingdom. They were, indeed, soon quelled; but they sufficiently indicated the disposition of the people, and proved a prelude to an insurrection of a more alarming nature, and which, for some time, threatened the nation with very dangerous consequences.

It had been strongly reported that the count intended sending an army to lay waste the whole county of Kent, in revenge for the duke of Suffolk's murder committed by one of that county; in consequence of which the inhabitants (who were strong advocates for the duke of York) were in such an universal ferment, that every thing seemed ripe for a revolt.

At this time there dwelt, or rather skulked about, in those parts, a desperate fellow called John or (more commonly) Jack Cade, a native of Ireland, who having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed in Suffex, had taken sanctuary, and was forced to abjure the kingdom. He, however, soon

after

after returned into Kent, and observing the discontents of the people, determined to turn them to his own advantage. He took upon himself the name of John Mortimer, pretending that he was the son of Sir John Mortimer, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the present reign, and consequently a near relation of Richard duke of York, the person from whom the people hoped for redress of all their grievances. The very mention of that popular name was sufficient to procure him multitudes of followers, and Cade soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. The arch rebel perceiving that vast numbers daily flocked to his standard, advanced to Blackheath, giving out that he was going to reform the government, and ease the people of that load of taxes, by which they had been so long oppressed.

As soon as the court received intelligence of this insurrection, they sent a message to the insurgents, demanding the reason for their appearance in arms. Cade replied, that they had no design to offer the least violence to the person of the king; they only desired to present a petition to the parliament, that the ministers who oppressed the people might be removed from the royal presence. At the same time, he delivered to the deputies two papers, enumerating the grievances of the nation. Among other particulars, they prayed that the duke of Somerset might be punished, as the principal author of the loss of Normandy; that the king's counsel might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious persons; and not with vicious and profligate men of bad principles and corrupt morals, from whom the people could neither expect happiness or tranquillity.

These remonstrances were, however, so far from producing the intended effect, that the ministry, thinking themselves highly insulted, determined to have recourse to violent methods for quelling the rebellion. An army of fifteen thousand disciplined forces under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, was sent against the insurgents. Cade artfully affected to be terrified at the general's approach, and retired with the main body of the rebels to Sevenoak, but left a strong detachment in ambush to intercept Stafford in his march. The royal army followed without observing the necessary cautions, and were so furiously attacked by Cade's concealed forces, that great numbers of them were cut to pieces, and the rest sought their safety in a precipitate flight, leaving their commander lifeless on the field.

Cade, animated by this success, returned to Blackheath, and again sent a remonstrance to the king and council, demanding, "That the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, should be recalled to court; that the murderers of the duke of Gloucester, together with all those who had contributed to the loss of the English territories on the continent should be brought to condign punishment."

The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their forces, and knowing that the secret friends of the duke of York were on the point of declaring themselves, resolved, if possible, to purchase their safety by sacrificing some individuals to the fury of the populace. The lords Say and Cromer, who had rendered themselves very popular, were committed to the Tower; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were sent to treat with the insurgents.

Cade received them with the utmost complaisance, but told them he was absolutely determined not to lay down his arms till the king came in person and granted their requests. The effect of this conference was reported to the council; and the king, persuaded he had every thing to fear from the fury of the insurgents, set out with his whole court for Kenilworth-castle.

In the mean time Cade marched to London, the citizens of which, alarmed at the success of the rebels, immediately opened their gates, and Cade entered in triumph, at the head of his forces. He had even the insolence to strike his sword against London-bell, crying out, "Now is Mortimer lord of London." He however, maintained, for some time, great order and discipline among his followers. He always kept them out at the approach of night into the fields, where they continued till the morning, when they again returned into the city. But being resolved, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put those ministers to death, he could no longer restrain their riotous dispositions. They plundered the houses of the more opulent citizens, and committed so many disorders, that the inhabitants perceived there was a necessity for joining regular troops, in order to prevent the destruction with which they were threatened. Accordingly, when Cade marched out of the city in the evening, they seized the gates, and put the detachments that guarded them to death.

In the morning, when Cade and his followers returned, they found the gate of the bridge shut and barricadoed against them. They attempted, however, to force a passage. A battle ensued, and the combat continued till night, without either party gaining any remarkable advantage. The rebels were greatly dispirited at not being able to open themselves a passage into the city; and the ministry took advantage of their timidity. They drew up a general pardon for the insurgents, provided they would lay down their arms; and another for Cade in particular, on condition of his abandoning his rebellious projects. These pardons were issued under the great seal, and suddenly published during the night in the camp of the insurgents. The effect was astonishing. The morning no sooner appeared than Cade found himself deserted by the greater part of his followers, and retreated to Rochester, where the rest dispersed, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and artful speeches by which he endeavoured to persuade them, that the pardon they had received was of no effect, as it had not received the sanction of the parliament. Perceiving that all his arts were exerted in vain, he fled into the woods of Sussex, with a few of his followers who were determined to share his fate. A price was now set upon his head by the government, and he was slain by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex. His head was sent to London; and for which he was rewarded with the government of Rochester castle.

A. D. 1451. The duke of York was disappointed of having excited this insurrection, in order to make a trial of the sentiments of the people. He was still in Ireland, where his success had raised him to the public esteem and confidence. He now hastened to return to England, perceiving that his personal security depended upon the vigour of his measures. Though Cade's enterprise had failed, the duke received several advantages from that insurrection. The numbers who disowned their conduct, and demonstrated that the people were not joining in any attempt against the ministry, and the house of Marche was still remembered with regard.

A short time after the duke landed in England, he wrote a very submissive letter to the king, in which he pointed out the grievances of the nation, offered his best services to reform the abuses that crept into the government. The ministry perceived the duke's real intention, but then, perceiving they were obliged to act cautiously, and it was resolved to return a civil answer. Accordingly, in a letter to the duke, told him, "That he had some time been sensible of the necessity of reforming the government."

ing the government, and intended to nominate a council for that purpose, and for constituting the duke of York as their president." It was imagined by the ministry that this remarkable condescension of the king would deprive the duke of York of all pretensions for taking up arms; but in this they were mistaken; the offers were declared unsatisfactory by the duke's friends, and it was determined to proceed in their scheme early in the ensuing spring.

Accordingly, in the month of March, 1452, the duke of York, who had been some time in Wales, having joined his friends, entered England at the head of a very formidable army. No acts of hostility, however, were committed; they marched peaceably forward, and published a manifesto, declaring that their sole intent was to promote the good of the nation; to release the oppressed subject from a burden he was unable to bear; and to bring a corrupt administration to justice.

These plausible reasons produced the desired effect. The people, who groaned under enormous taxes, gladly joined the duke's standard; he soon saw himself at the head of ten thousand men, and directed his march towards London, expecting to have met with no opposition from the royal army: but he was mistaken; the queen and Somerset had exerted all their power to raise a number of forces sufficient to meet the duke in the open field, and their attempts were successful. The king marched from London against him; but before the two armies met, York being informed of his danger changed his route, and, by forced marches, reached the capital, before Henry knew that he intended to evade a battle. But the duke soon perceived that he had placed too much confidence in the promises of the Londoners; for instead of receiving him with open arms, they shut their gates against him.

As soon as Henry received intelligence that the duke had passed him, he returned with the utmost expedition towards the capital; while the duke of York crossed the Thames at Kingston, and being joined by Thomas Courtney, earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, he encamped on Bremheath near Dartford. The king followed him close, and, marching over London-bridge, encamped on Black-heath. The duke of Somerset, who attended the king on this occasion, and seems to have been an able politician, advised Henry to crush this rebellion in its bud, and not wait till it had gathered strength, and become formidable. He observed, that this was the time to attack the insurgents, who might be defeated with ease, and the nation freed from all future attempts of this kind, as the great superiority of the royal army almost insured a victory. But Henry was so impolitic as to neglect this prudent counsel. He listened to the advice of some timorous, perhaps treacherous noblemen, and had recourse to negotiation. This counsel was indeed better adapted to the pacific genius of Henry, and to that aversion he always entertained to spilling the blood of his subjects. Certain prelates and noblemen were sent to know the reasons for the duke's appearing in arms, and upon what terms he was willing to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom.

The duke, with the greatest appearance of respect and moderation, told the messengers, that the prosperity of his country was his sole intention; that he desired nothing more than to reform the government, by bringing to justice the duke of Somerset, and others of the council, who had trampled on the laws of the kingdom, and oppressed the people. He added that he was willing to disband his forces, and throw himself at Henry's feet, if the persons he had mentioned were seized, and brought to answer the charge he was ready to exhibit against them in parliament.

Henry made no difficulty of complying; Somerset

was put under arrest, and the duke of York, by this condescension, deprived of all excuses for keeping up a body of forces. He saw his error, but determined to keep his word. Accordingly he dismissed his army, and repaired to court without arms, and without a passport. When he came into the royal presence, he openly avowed the cause of his taking up arms, and insisted that the duke of Somerset should be immediately brought to trial; when, to his great astonishment, that minister came from a private closet in the presence-chamber, and bitterly reviled him for his treasonable practices.

The enraged Somerset insisted on putting the duke of York to death immediately; but the more dispassionate members of the council, fearful of carrying matters to such extremities, would not consent to any violence being offered to his person. Any attempt of that kind would, indeed, in all probability, have been attended with very disagreeable consequences to the government. The duke was accordingly dismissed, after making a formal submission to the king, and acknowledging, upon oath, his title to the crown of England.

In the beginning of the year 1453, deputies arrived from Gascony, offering to renounce the dominion of France, and return to their former allegiance under Henry. In consequence of this the earl of Shrewsbury was immediately dispatched to the continent with a body of 8000 men, in order to assist the Gascons in throwing off the French yoke. He was admitted into Bourdeaux without opposition, and soon reduced Fronzac, Castillon, and some other places. But after he had made a considerable progress in subduing the province, he was attacked by a superior force, and himself, together with his gallant son the lord l'Isle, were slain in the action. The towns which Shrewsbury had reduced were instantly recovered by the French arms; Bourdeaux was again obliged to submit to its former master, and all hopes of re-annexing Gascony to the crown of England were for ever extinguished.

The bad success of this enterprize, together with the birth of a son to Henry, which happened on the 23d of October, served, once more, to kindle the flame of civil discord, and increase the activity and zeal of the partisans of the house of York. But it was thought necessary to conceal their intentions under the mask of submission, as the candour of his late conduct in disbanding his forces, and the oath he had taken to the king, had lulled the court into a perfect security.

The king had for some time been afflicted with a dangerous disease, which had occasioned the meeting of parliament to be postponed several times. The friends of the duke of York were determined not to lose so favourable an opportunity of procuring that nobleman his seat in the council, from which he had been unjustly excluded. They accordingly insinuated to the queen and Somerset, that when the present dispositions of the people were considered, there was little reason to expect that the parliament would be very ready to comply with their desires; on the contrary, it was sufficiently apparent, that, conformable to the wishes of the nation, that assembly would appoint a new ministry. They added, that the only sure method of preventing that misfortune would be to admit into the council, the duke of York, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and some other popular noblemen, in order to convince the public that they had no intention of making their own with the sole rule of government. This advice appeared plausible to the queen and her favourite, who foreboded the effects of a parliamentary course, that they readily embraced the proposal, and these noblemen took their seats at the council board before the time appointed for the parliament to assemble.

A. D. 1454. No sooner had the Yorkists gained admittance into the council, than their credit superseded that of their adversaries. The proceedings of government were changed; they renewed the prosecution against Somerset, and even ventured to meet him in the queen's presence, and to send him prisoner to the Tower.

The council was now entirely governed by the duke of York, and the king still continuing in a state incapable of holding the reins of government, it was thought necessary to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom; with powers to hold the ensuing session of parliament in the king's name; and soon after the title of lieutenant was changed into that of Protector.

York, however, enjoyed this plenitude of power but a short time. The king recovered from his indisposition, and the duke's commission was superseded. Somerset was released from his confinement, restored to his former power in the administration, and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of government.

The duke of York had now every thing to fear, and after concerting measures proper to be pursued in this alarming conjuncture, retired into Wales in order to raise a body of forces. He well knew that the proceedings of the council in releasing Somerset, without bringing him before the parliament, would be considered as a sufficient reason for renewing his pretences to reform the government. He was not deceived. The popular clamour against the minister was soon as loud as before; and the people flocked from all parts to his standard, so that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army.

York, now thinking himself sufficiently powerful to resist any force the king could bring into the field against him, marched directly to London, hoping to surprize Henry in the capital. But he was deceived in his expectations. The king, at his approach, marched out to meet the insurgents, though his army consisted of no more than two thousand men. Richard, without advancing any pretensions to the crown, demanded only a reformation of government. This request was denied, and a battle was fought at St. Alban's between the two parties, in which the Yorkists were victorious. The duke of Somerset, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with many knights and gentlemen of eminence, and above 800 common soldiers were killed on the spot. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with the greatest respect and tenderness.

A. D. 1455. The parliament, which met soon after the battle of St. Alban's, granted to the Yorkists a general indemnity, and restored the protectorship to the duke; but at the same time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry. The queen did not behold the success of the duke of York with idle resignation. Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerset, the son of him who fell at St. Alban's, glowed with impatience to revenge the death of his father. Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was equally enflamed in a desire of vengeance for the loss of his son, who perished in the same contest, and all the princes and nobles, allied or attached to the house of Lancaster, determined to exert their utmost endeavours to pluck the duke of York from the seat of power.

Richard, regardless of this opposition, lived in such apparent security as astonished his enemies. Permeated that an attempt to wrest the sceptre from a family who had held it near sixty years, would be attended with the utmost difficulty, and perhaps, prove abortive after deluging the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants, he resolved to wait for some favourable opportunity for asserting his rights, and seizing the

crown to which he had an indisputable title. His great care was to acquire the love of the people, which he knew all his efforts must be ineffectual, without. Desirous of convincing them that his conduct was not influenced by passion or interest, he paid the utmost attention to the affairs of the royal family; he established the household of the prince of Wales, and settled on him a decent maintenance; and, at the same time, left the king and queen at liberty to act as they thought proper. He was persuaded it was not in their power to divest him of the dignity of protector, because his patent could not be revoked without the consent of parliament. But the queen was of too active and enterprising a spirit to be diverted from her purpose by such obstacles.

A. D. 1456. The king having recovered his health, the enemies of the duke, with the queen at their head, resolved to seize this opportunity to deprive him of his protectorship. The parliament met on the 12th of February, when Henry came to the house, and declared from the throne, that, as he was now in a condition to resume the reins of government, he did not think the kingdom had any farther occasion for a protector; he therefore desired the parliament would discharge the duke of York from that office. No proposition was made to the king's declaration: he was declared to be reinstated in his sovereign authority; and Richard's patent was revoked.

A. D. 1457. Had Margaret been satisfied with this success, she might, perhaps, have enjoyed her authority for some time without disturbance; but, elated with this favourable turn of fortune, she resolved to secure her future tranquillity by arresting the persons of York, Salisbury and Warwick. To effect this dangerous undertaking with more security, the court removed to Coventry; and letters, under the privy seal, were dispatched to those three noblemen, commanding them to attend the king on affairs of importance. They made no scruple to obey the order; but when they were within a few miles of Coventry, they received intelligence from their friends, that designs were formed against their liberties and lives. They immediately separated themselves. Richard withdrew to his castle of Wigmore, in Herefordshire; Salisbury to Middleham, in Yorkshire; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been conferred on him after the battle of St. Alban's.

This treacherous attempt destroyed all remains of confidence; and an unusual degree of animosity took place between the partisans of the houses of York and Lancaster. But still the archbishop of Canterbury, and other persons of peaceable dispositions, thought it was not yet too late to interpolate their good offices, bringing about a reconciliation between the contending parties, and prevent the dreadful consequences of civil war, which otherwise appeared inevitable. For some time, all offers were rejected; but at last the king seemed to promise a happy termination of the long-drawn dissensions; and it was agreed that the leaders of both parties should meet at London, in order, if possible, to effect a permanent reconciliation.

A. D. 1458. The parties on each side met about the middle of January; but their meeting rather resembled the meeting of two armies, than that of the chief nobility of the kingdom. The earl of Salisbury came with a body of 3000 men, and the duke of York with 4000, both of whom set up their quarters near each other for mutual defence. The same precaution was observed by the chief of the other party; and the mayor of London, at the head of five thousand men, patrolled the streets to keep the peace between them. At length an apparent reconciliation was effected; but the terms upon which it was founded took not away the ground of dissension. This agreement was however, nothing more than a

a solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a chief of one party walked hand in hand with a chief of the opposite; exhibiting every appearance of a cordial reconciliation and undisguised confidence. But, unfortunately for the peace of the nation, there was very little sincerity on either side. Instead of labouring sincerely in the great ends of union; instead of taking their places at the council-board, to which they were now entitled, the confederated lords suddenly retired to the places where their interest was most considerable; the duke of York to the borders of Wales; the earl of Salisbury to the north; and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais.

A. D. 1459. When parties are exasperated against each other, the smallest accident, without any formed design, is sufficient to blow the smothered embers into a flame; and had the intentions of the leaders been ever so amicable, they would have found it very difficult to restrain the animosity of their followers. This was too soon evinced. The earl of Warwick having returned to London to justify his conduct with regard to some ships he had taken in the channel, a fray happened between one of his servants and a domestic belonging to the queen; in which the latter, who was the aggressor, was desperately wounded. The companions of each party took share in the quarrel; the streets of London were filled with blood and confusion; the attorney-general was killed in the commotion, and the earl himself narrowly escaped.

Both parties now openly made preparations for deciding the contest by the sword. Armies were raised in different parts of the kingdom; and it was expected, that when the respective forces of each party were joined, the dispute would be determined by a general engagement. The earl of Salisbury, having raised a number of troops, was marching to join the duke of York; but was overtaken on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, at the head of a much superior body of forces. The river Stow, a small stream, but of considerable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined with lord Audley's troops. Salisbury well knew that his forces were not able to engage those of the enemy in the open field, and had recourse to stratagem. He ordered a detachment of his best archers to advance behind the banks of the river, and pour a shower of arrows upon the royalists; which being effected, he sounded a retreat, and his forces retired with the appearance of precipitate confusion. This produced the desired effect. The royalists were deceived; and seeing the Yorkists were flying before them, began to follow the stream with great precipitation; but when part of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned upon them, and partly by surprise, and partly by the division of the enemy's ranks, totally routed them. The rest of the army, engulphed with a panic, fled in the utmost disorder. Salisbury obtained a complete victory. Lord Audley, and several of his principal officers, were slain.

The duke of York, encouraged by this success, joined the earl of Salisbury at Ludlow, and openly declared his pretensions to the crown. He was soon followed by the earl of Warwick, who had assembled him a considerable body of veterans. So that York was now in a very formidable situation.

And all the nobility in the interest of the queen were sensibly convinced of the necessity of exerting their whole power to prevent the duke from wresting the sceptre from Henry's hands. They were therefore in numbers to that of the duke's army, to take the field. The queen's army was encamped near Ludlow, and the roy-

alists advanced immediately to Worcester, where they halted. Henry, in order to prevent the effusion of human blood, sent Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, with an offer of pardon to the rebels, if they would lay down their arms. But his proposals were refused, and both parties prepared to decide their quarrel by the sword.

On the evening, however, preceeding the intended engagement, a circumstance happened, which greatly prejudiced the duke of York's interest. The Calais veterans, who had hitherto imagined they were going to rescue the king from the hands of a wicked ministry, perceived their mistake. They found that the contest was to wrest the sceptre from the hand of Henry, whom they considered as their lawful sovereign, and therefore deserted to the royal army. This defection so intimidated the Yorkists, that they separated the next day, without making the least disposition for a battle. The duke of York fled to Ireland; and the earls of Marche, Salisbury, and Warwick, into Devonshire, where Sir John Denham provided them with ships, which carried them over to Calais.

The parliament meeting soon after at Coventry, an act of attainder was passed against the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and their principal adherents; who were all declared traitors, their estates forfeited, and their heirs disinherited.

A. D. 1460, All hopes of accommodation were now at an end, and little else was to be expected than war and desolation. The earl of Warwick, who was greatly beloved both by the soldiers and seamen, was very successful in his cruises; and having received invitations from his partisans, he landed in Kent, with the earls of Salisbury and Marche, at the head of fifteen hundred men. He was soon joined by the archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Cobham, and marched directly to London, amidst the acclamations of the people. The city gates were immediately thrown open; and his troops continually increasing, he soon found himself in a condition of facing the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The two armies met at Northampton, and a furious battle ensued. For some time the victory continued doubtful; but the lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanded the van-guard of the royal forces, deserting to the enemy in the heat of the engagement, the whole army was filled with consternation, and Warwick obtained a complete victory. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Egremont and Beaumont, Sir William Lacy, and several other persons of distinction, were among the slain. Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again taken prisoner, but used with great tenderness and respect, the innocence and simplicity of his manners having procured him the highest regard of the people.

The king was conducted to London; and soon after his arrival a parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster the beginning of October. The duke of York arrived from Ireland three days after the opening of the session. He repaired immediately to the House of Lords, and advanced towards the throne; but was stopped by the archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him if he had yet paid his respects to the king? York was confounded at this question, and for some time continued silent, but at last replied, That he knew of no person to whom he owed that title. This sudden declaration stunned the assembly; and Richard, standing near the throne, complained to the house of the various calamities his family had suffered since the deposition of Richard II. enumerated the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved their way to the seat of power, insisted on the miseries which had attended the go-

verment of Henry, and exhorted them to do justice to the lineal successor.

This regard to law and liberty was very unusual in times of violence and licentious tumult. The assembly were struck with so uncommon a precedent, and examined, with the utmost calmness and tranquillity, the duke's pretensions. At last they pronounced a decision, calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared, that the duke's title was indefeasible; but as Henry had now enjoyed the crown thirty-eight years without any opposition being made to his title, they determined that he should continue to possess both the title and dignity during his life; but that the administration of the government should, in the meantime, remain with Richard, who should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy, and succeed to the crown immediately on the decease of Henry: that every one should swear to maintain his succession: that it should be high treason to attempt his life; and that all former acts for settling the succession of the crown, during the two last reigns, should be null and void.

The whole legislative body assented to this act; and the accommodation was celebrated by a solemn procession to St. Paul's, at which Henry and both houses of parliament assisted. The king himself appeared not to be the least affected with this sudden revolution in his affairs. Satisfied with the present tranquillity he was permitted to enjoy, he devoted his time to exercises of devotion, and committed entirely the care of the administration to those who acted under the sanction of his name and authority.

The sentiments of queen Margaret, however, were very different to those of the king. She was a woman whom no dangers could intimidate, and who was capable of the utmost efforts of heroism. She had taken refuge in Scotland with the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and was now exerting all her talents to bring the northern counties of England over to her interest. The duke of York was soon apprised of the impending storm, and trembled for the consequences. A summons was sent her to repair immediately to London, in order to put a stop to her enterprizes, or of procuring a pretence of banishing her from the kingdom. No regard was paid to the mandate; but advice was soon received that she was advancing towards the capital at the head of twenty thousand men. Richard had only five thousand, but marched at the head of this little army to stop the progress of the queen; while his son, the earl of Marche, repaired to the borders of Wales, in order to raise a more considerable body of forces, and join his father.

The queen determined not to lose the opportunity of attacking Richard before his army was increased by the additional forces of his son. She therefore quickened her march; and the duke of York conscious of his being unable to meet, in the open field, an army so superior in numbers, threw himself into Sandal castle, in the neighbourhood of Wakefield. Margaret advanced to the gates of the fortress, and used every method in her power to provoke the duke to a battle. For some time all her arts were vain, but at last she effected by stratagem what could not be done by any other method. She marched, at the head of the main body of her army, towards the capital, leaving only a small detachment in the neighbourhood of the castle. But during the night, she separated her army into two divisions, and placed them in ambush on the sides of Wakefield green. On the queen's departure, York drew out his forces, and determined to give the enemy battle, but he had hardly drawn them up in proper order, before he was attacked, both in flank and rear, by the two bodies placed in ambush for that purpose. He now

perceived his error, but it was too late to retrieve it, and he resolved to sell his life as dear as possible. His courage was changed into despair. He attacked the enemy with the utmost fury; and his followers catching the enthusiastic valour of their leader, pursued his track of slaughter in a firm, compacted body. The contest did not last above half an hour, but in a short interval of time was crowded with destruction. Above two thousand eight hundred of the duke's army were cut in pieces, and he himself fell in the action. His son, the duke of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, whose exterior figure, as well as other accomplishments, are represented by historians as extremely amiable, was murdered in cold blood by lord Clifford. The earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction, by martial law at Pomfret. The body of the duke of York being found among the slain, his head was cut off by lord Clifford, and sent to Margaret, who caused it to be fixed on the walls of York, encircled with a paper crown, in derision of his pretensions to the throne.

Thus perished, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and who surely merited a better fate. He lost his life by adhering to principles which render him an object of our esteem. Had he followed the ferocious practice of the times, and founded his throne on the blood of his enemies, he might, in all probability, have enjoyed the English sceptre, notwithstanding all the efforts of the house of Lancaster. He left behind him three sons, Edward, George, and Richard; and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

A. D. 1461. But the triumph of Margaret's blood success was of no long continuance. After the above defeat she separated her army into two divisions, sending one of them, under the command of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, against Edward, now duke of York, who was raising forces on the borders of Wales; while she herself marched with the other division towards the capital, where the earl of Warwick was left to command the Yorkists. As soon as Edward had finished his levies, he began his march towards London, in order to join the earl of Warwick, and retaliate on Margaret the cruelty his friends suffered. He was met by the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, where a battle ensued; but Pembroke's army being far inferior to that of Edward, they were soon routed, and about four thousand men fell in the action. He himself escaped by flight; but his father, Sir Edward, was taken prisoner, and, with several other persons of distinction, put to death.

In the mean time, the queen, with her son the prince of Wales, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and several other of the nobility and gentry who were attached to her cause, were on their march to London, at the head of a very considerable army. The earl of Warwick, apprised of her approach, advanced as far as St. Alban's to meet her, and a battle ensued upon Barnard heath. For some time the Yorkists had the advantage, but lord Lovell, who commanded a considerable division of the army, heroically withdrawing from the combat, declared for Margaret. About two thousand five hundred Yorkists were slain in the contest, and the son of the king himself fell again into the hands of his own party. Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Knolles, to whose care the king had been committed, continued with him after the defeat of the Yorkists, lying on the royal promise of protection. But Margaret, regardless of her husband's promise, ordered them both to be beheaded.

Edward still continued his march towards



Engraved
for *Rapin's*
History of
England.

QUEEN MARGARET *crowning the HEAD*
of the Duke of York with a
(PAPER CROWN.)

ped, and was soon after joined by the earl of Warwick, at the head of the remainder of his forces. Margaret, who thought it imprudent to remain in the neighbourhood of London, retired into the north, where she hoped to encrease her army to so formidable a number as would ensure success against an opposition. Edward, therefore, continued his march, and was received by the citizens as their guardian angel. He was, indeed, formed to attract the love of the people. His external figure was beautiful beyond description; his constitution active and hardy; his judgement quick and penetrating; and his abilities as a soldier surpassed by none of his age. More resolute than his father, and more certain of the attachment of the people, whom he had entirely gained over by his popular manners, he determined to assume the title and dignity of king; persuaded that all the misfortunes of his family were owing to their timidity in not supporting their claim to the crown with the necessary firmness and integrity.

But Edward well knew that before this could be done with any propriety, it was necessary to procure a formal acknowledgement of his title to the crown, or at least something that might be considered as such. This would not permit the assembly of a parliament, which might also be attended with other inconveniences; a less regular method therefore was chosen. The army was ordered to assemble in the field near Clerkenwell, whither an infinite crowd of people resorted. In the midst of this multitude, an language was pronounced, displaying the title of Edward, and inveighing against the usurpation and tyranny of the Lancaster family. After which, the people were asked, whether they were still desirous that Henry of Lancaster should continue to hold the sceptre of England? The whole multitude exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, duke of York, for their king? The answer was a loud and general exclamation of applause. The experiment having thus far happily succeeded, a great council was called at Beaulieu, where the popular election was confirmed, and the new king was proclaimed on the fifth of March, in the streets of London and Westminster, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. which had lasted upwards of thirty-eight years, without his having meddled in all that time with the administration of public affairs. He was in the fortieth year of his age when he was dispossessed of a crown, which he had worn almost from his birth. He still lived, however, to be the sport of fortune, as will appear in the course of the following reign, where we shall see him clothed with the regal power.

Henry VI. was possessed of many virtues: he was compassionate, devout and religious; but these qualities fitted him rather for a cloister than a throne. His intellects were weak and narrow, and his temper easily and inflexible; so that he was easily drawn into every cruel or oppressive measure that the passion of a wife, or the views of his ministers suggested; yet so free was he from cruelty in his disposition, that he could not, without extreme reluctance, consent to the punishment of those malefactors who were dangerous to the public safety, and would suffer the punishment offered to his own person without the least mark of resentment. He was so mollified in the whole of his conduct, that the bishop, who had been his confessor for ten years, avowed, that in all the time he had not committed any crime deserving of penance. It is little, therefore, to be wondered at that a prince of such a disposition should be unable to govern a ferocious people. Had the times been

less violent, and the laws more respected, he might probably have swayed the English scepter with applause. His virtues, indeed, rendered his person respectable; but they were not sufficient to support him against the powerful attacks of insatiable ambition.

Henry had issue, by his queen Margaret of Anjou, only one son, Edward, prince of Wales, who, at the time of his father's deposition, was but in the eighth year of his age.

The remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign were as follow:

In the fifth year of his reign, on the 30th of September, a dreadful earthquake happened between two and three o'clock in the morning, which was attended with dreadful claps of thunder and flashes of lightning.

In his thirteenth year, a violent frost began on the 24th of November, which continued till the 10th of February following. This frost was so very severe that the Thames was frozen over as far down as Gravesend; by which means all goods brought thither in ships were conveyed to London by carriages.

In his sixteenth year, on the 25th of November, there happened a most violent hurricane of wind, which blew off the leads of the Grey Friars church, and almost beat down the side of the street called the Old Exchange.

In his seventeenth year there was so great a dearth, that in some parts of the nation the distressed of the people were such that they made bread of fern-roots and ivy-berries.

In the course of this reign Queen Margaret began Queen's College, Cambridge, which was afterwards completed by Edward IV. Archbishop Kemp erected the divinity school in Oxford as it now stands, together with St. Paul's Cross. William Edfield, mayor of London, built at his own charge the water-conduit in Fleet-street; and John Wells, while he filled the same post, laid the conduit, commonly called the Standard in Cheap. In the year 1446, Sir Simon Eyre, mayor of London, built Leadenhall, and allotted it as a common granary for the city. And in 1453 Sir John Norman, while he enjoyed the same office, went by water to Westminster, to take his oath: he was the first mayor that ever went in that manner, all his predecessors having rode on horseback.—Harrison's Survey of London.

The most remarkable learned men that flourished from the accession of Henry IV. to the deposition of Henry VI. were as follow:

John Seguard was a very fine latin poet, and possessed a variety of polite learning. He distinguished himself about the year 1414. His great patron was Richard Courtney, the martial bishop of Norwich.

Richard Snettisham acquired such great reputation at Oxford, that, though not more than twenty-five years of age, he was elected chancellor of that university. He was reckoned one of the best disputants of the age, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to expound the holy scriptures in the public schools.

William Lyndwood was one of the greatest canonists this nation ever produced, and a most consummate statesman. He was keeper of the privy seal to Henry V. and employed by him in many important negotiations, particularly to the courts of Spain and Portugal. He was sent by Henry VI. to the council of Basel; and in the year 1434 he was made bishop of St. David's, but died in 1436. His great work, and indeed the only one of the kind we have

have composed by an Englishman, is his "Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliæ;" in which the provincial decrees of forty archbishops are digested into order, with large and learned commentaries.

The principal historian that graced this period was Sir John Froissart, who wrote a general history of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He

was a Frenchman born, but was brought up from his youth in the court of Edward III. and familiar conversant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court language of England. An edition of his works in English was published by Sir John Bouchier, at the command of Henry VIII.

B O O K IX.

From the Accession of Edward IV. (The first King of England of the Line of York) to the Death of Richard III.

S E C T I O N I.

E D W A R D IV.

EDWARD IV. was not quite twenty years of age when he mounted the throne of England. The beauty of his person greatly tended to enhance his interest with the people. In his disposition he was intrepid and prudent, and in constitution active and hardy; but the severity of his temper rendered him impregnable to the tender feelings of compassion.

The very commencement of his reign was attended with a circumstance, which evinced an arbitrary turn of mind, and shewed what the nation might expect in future. One Walker, a grocer in the city, whose shop was known by the sign of the Crown, having told his son in a jocular manner, that he would make him "heir to the crown," the expression was construed as a sarcasm on Edward's title; and the particulars being related to the king, he ordered the innocent, but unfortunate man, to be beheaded in Smithfield, which was accordingly done on the eighth day after his elevation to the throne.

Though Edward had assumed the title and authority of king, yet he was far from being established in the quiet and undisturbed possession of the crown. The three last reigns had given the family of Lancaster many opportunities of obliging some of the first nobility in the kingdom: the person of Henry was beloved, while, with more than female genius, his queen Margaret availed herself of every favourable circumstance, and roused the people to remember the glories of the two last Henrys, and the unfulfilled virtues of the present. Could the affairs of the house of Lancaster have been retrieved, her spirit and conduct would have done it. In beauty she exceeded her own sex; in courage she equalled the bravest of the other; but her greatest excellence consisted in being always a stranger to despair. Defeat after defeat served only to renew her endeavours to make a fresh attempt; and her conduct was as prudent as her spirit was manly. The lords of her party were all firmly attached to her interest; the principal of them were descended from the house of Lancaster, and the others were such as acted either through principle, gratitude, or interest.

Edward now found he had a powerful adversary to encounter in the person of Margaret, who exerted all her abilities to recruit her army, and engage the usurper of her husband's throne. She had already rendered herself exceeding popular in the northern counties, and soon found herself at the head of 60,000 disciplined forces.

In the mean time the people, divided in their affections, took opposite symbols of party: the friends of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction; and those of the house of York

were denominated from the white. Hence the wars that followed were known throughout Europe by the name of the Quarrel between the two Roses.

Margaret had now marched with her army into Yorkshire, at which Edward was so alarmed that he immediately set out, at the head of 40,000 veteran soldiers, to check her progress. He was accompanied by the earl of Warwick, and continued his march with the utmost expedition till he reached Pontefract in Yorkshire. From hence they dispatched a body of troops under the command of lord Fitzwalter to secure the passage of Ferry-bridge over the river Aire, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter accordingly took post at the place adjacent to him, which was on the north side of the river. His surprisal of Ferry-bridge disconcerted the queen's army, which was commanded by the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, all of them famous for their military abilities and unshaken friends to the Lancaster family. The generals immediately determined, if possible, to recover the advantageous spot possessed by the enemy. Accordingly, the lord Clifford marched, during the night at the head of a party, and attacked Fitzwalter's detachment so unexpectedly, that they recovered the pass, after putting most of the party that defended it to the sword; and Fitzwalter himself was slain in action.

This defeat might have proved fatal to Edward had it not been for the courage and presence of mind of the earl of Warwick. He was sensible that a total defeat was now inevitable; he knew the disproportion of numbers; and that Edward had nothing to rely upon but the fidelity and resolution of his troops. He rode up to the king to acquaint him of his dangerous situation, and then dismounting, in sight of the army, he drew his sword, and stabbed his breast, which, kissing the hilt of the weapon, he threw to the ground, saying, "I would share the fate of the meanest soldier who dies in the conquest or perdition of this kingdom." At the same time a proclamation was issued, by which every person who pleased was at full liberty to retire; but the whole army, except the leaders, refused to do so.

Animated by this resolution, lord Clifford undertook to recover the pass in possession of the enemy. Accordingly he passed the river Aire at a ford, three miles above the place, and arrived with such secrecy and expedition, that Clifford's surprisal, his detachment routed, and he was found among the slain.

The next day (March 24, 1461) Edward's troops against the enemy, and the two armies



a place called Touton, where a bloody battle ensued. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge, there happened a heavy fall of snow, which being driven by a brisk wind in the faces of the Lancastrians, prevented them from knowing, with any degree of exactness, the distance of the enemy. Lord Fauconbridge, who led the van of Edward's army, improved this advantage. He ordered his men to advance as near as possible; and after discharging a flight of arrows on the enemy, to retire with the utmost expedition to their former post. This stratagem produced the desired effect. The Lancastrians perceiving, by the force of the arrows, that the enemy was very neat, emptied their quivers by repeated discharges, without producing any great effect; and then advanced, sword in hand, to decide the dreadful contest. The Yorkists, who had kept their arrows, poured in so dreadful a discharge, that the advanced line fell back on the main body. The earl of Northumberland perceiving the disadvantage of his forces, pressed forward, and the battle soon became very obstinate and bloody. The dreadful contest continued ten hours with unremitting fury, and without any perceivable advantage on either side. The field was covered with dead, and the groans of the wounded augmented the horrors of the battle; but, at the close of the day the Lancastrians began to give ground, and retreat in good order towards Tadcaster bridge.

The Yorkists, animated with the appearance of the victory, redoubled their efforts, and attacked the enemy with so much fury, that they were unable to support the charge. Their ranks, which they had hitherto maintained with surprising firmness, were broken, and a precipitate flight ensued. Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, so that the carnage was shocking to humanity. Above thirty-six thousand persons perished that day by the swords of their countrymen. Among these were the earl of Westmoreland, and his brother Sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland and the lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire, who had lately espoused the cause of Henry, was taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded at York. Henry, his queen, and the young prince, escaped into Scotland; but the intestine divisions which then prevailed in that kingdom prevented their receiving any effectual assistance.

Edward, having taken all necessary measures for preventing farther insurrections in the northern parts of England, returned to London, and was crowned at Westminster on the 29th of June. After he had summoned a parliament, which met at Westminster on the fourth of November. No opposition was made to Edward's title to the crown; he even declared that he was properly possessed of the throne from the moment he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They reversed several acts passed in late reigns, particularly the attainders of the earls of Cambridge, Salisbury, and Gloucester, and that of Edmund. They also passed an act of forfeiture against Henry, queen Margaret, their infant prince Edward, and their principal partisans.

A. D. 1462. This year commenced with a scene of oppression and bloodshed, the fatal effects of royal sovereignty. Edward, not contented with the dreadful sacrifice that had been already made to his authority, thought it necessary that others, though they had never appeared in arms against him, should feel the weight of his power. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a nobleman venerable for his years, and valued for his virtues, together with his son Aubrey Vere, were tried by martial law, for a pretended conspiracy with Margaret, and beheaded on

Tower-hill. Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrrel, Sir Baldwin Fulford, and John Montgomery suffered the same fate; and Edward distributed their estates among his own adherents.

During these transactions, Margaret was soliciting the court of France for assistance to replace Henry in the seat of power. Lewis XI. who had lately succeeded his father, was sufficiently inclined to feed the flames of civil discord among such dangerous neighbours, by assistance to the weaker party: but having formed the project of humbling his own nobility, he was not in a capacity of furnishing Margaret with a sufficient number of troops to effect the intended purpose. He, however, sent a small body of forces, under the command of Varenne, seneschal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland, and made himself master of Alnwick-castle.

As little could be expected from this handful of men, Margaret went over to France, in order to solicit, in person, a more powerful assistance. She even offered to deliver up Calais, on condition of receiving an army sufficient to drive Edward from the throne. The duke of Britany supplied her with 12000 crowns, and Lewis with 2000 men at arms.

With this reinforcement Margaret landed at Bamburgh in Yorkshire, and found means to take possession of that castle; but on receiving advice that Edward was advancing against her, at the head of a numerous army, she retired into Scotland. Edward soon reduced the castles of Bamburgh and Alnwick; and finding no enemy in the field to oppose him, he returned to London.

A. D. 1463. While Margaret was in Scotland, she exerted herself with such success, that she raised a numerous army, who followed her standard chiefly for the sake of plunder. She entered Northumberland about the latter end of April, and for some time was extremely fortunate. She surprised the castle of Bamburgh; and being joined by the duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy, with their followers, she took a considerable number of places in that part of the country.

The first check she met with was from Montague, who routed a detachment of her forces on Hedgely Moor, where Sir Ralph Percy, their leader, was slain. Elated with this success, Montague determined to give battle to Margaret's army, without staying for the reinforcements he expected from Edward, who was marching to the northward at the head of a powerful army. Montague accordingly advanced against the queen's forces, encamped on a plain near Hexham. He made a furious attack during the night, and was received with equal intrepidity. But after several unsuccessful attempts, he forced the trenches, and put the Lancastrians to flight. The duke of Somerset, the lords Hungerford, Role, and Moleyns, Sir Thomas Husley, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir John Fincum, were taken prisoners, and their heads struck off by martial law.

Henry being well mounted, made his escape, and fled into Lancashire, where he continued concealed for some time; but was at length discovered, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

Margaret, with her infant son, fled into an adjacent forest, where the splendor of her attire soon betrayed her into the hands of robbers, who stripped her of her rings and jewels. Fortunately for her the richness of the booty occasioned a quarrel among them; and while they were thus engaged, Margaret and her son made their escape into the thickest part of the forest, where they wandered for some time, spent with hunger and fatigue, and oppressed with terror and affliction. In this wretched condition the queen perceived another robber approaching with a naked sword in his hand. There was now no possibility of

of effecting an escape, and she trembled for the life of her son. But happily recollecting, that he might possibly be one of those persons, who had been unfortunately prohibited for adhering to the interest of her husband, she approached the robber with an air of majestic confidence, and presenting to him the young prince, called out, "Here my friend, I commit to your care the safety of the king's son." Struck with awe at the name of his prince, and penetrated with compassion at beholding persons of the highest rank reduced to such melancholy distress, the robber, who was not wholly lost to humanity and virtue, vowed to devote himself to her safety and protection. He accordingly conducted her out of the forest to a village by the sea-side, whence she soon after escaped to the continent.

The captivity of Henry, the banishment of queen Margaret, and the extirpation of the most considerable Lancastrians, removed all farther fears of opposition, and Edward now found himself in quiet possession of the throne. He therefore applied himself to acquire a general popularity. He lived with his subjects in the most familiar manner. He attended less to the cares of royalty, than to the dissipation of amusements and the allurements of passion. He became the general patron among the men, and the general lover among the ladies. Even foreign princes courted his alliance; and several matches worthy of him were proposed, particularly Margaret, daughter to the king of Scotland; Isabella, sister to Henry IV. of Castile; and Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to the queen of France. The last was chosen, and the earl of Warwick was sent to demand that princess in marriage.

But while the earl was labouring to promote at once the glory of his master and the advantage of his country, an event happened which rendered his negotiation abortive. Edward being at a hunting match at Wychwood-forest, took the opportunity of paying a visit to the duchess of Bedford, who then resided at Grafton-mansion, near Stony Stratford. The duchess, soon after her husband's death, had married Sir Richard Woodville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children, particularly Elizabeth, remarkable at once for the grace and beauty of her person, and her mental accomplishments. This amiable lady had married Sir John Gray, of Groby, by whom she had several children; but her husband having embraced the Lancastrian party, and falling in the dispute between the two Houses, his estate was forfeited to the crown, and his widow had retired to her father's seat, where she lived in the greatest privacy.

The presence of the king was thought a favourable opportunity for the beautiful widow to obtain some grace from the young monarch, who was so greatly celebrated for his condescension and gallantry, especially to those of her sex. She accordingly threw herself at the king's feet, and, with a flood of tears, implored his pity on her distressed family. The sight of so much beauty in affliction strongly affected the amorous Edward; love stole insensibly into his heart, under the appearance of compassion, and her sorrow, so becoming a woman of virtue, soon rendered his esteem and regard equal to his affection. He raised her from the ground with assurances of favour; he found his passion increase every moment, by the conversation of the amiable object, and he was soon reduced in his turn to the posture and stile of a suppliant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, averre to dishonourable love, obstinately refused to gratify his passion, and nobly answered, "That as she was too good to be the concubine, and too mean to be the wife of a king, she would still continue in her humble station." Such

modesty, such generous indifference, soon lost once his passion and veneration for the subject. Fame, glory and empire, sunk before love, and his only desire now was to enjoy the terms, the object of his affection. He married the beloved widow privately at Grafton, and vowed to keep the transaction secret from the nation.

In the mean time the earl of Warwick laboured so assiduously in conducting his negotiation, that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the bringing over the princess to England; but when he heard of Edward's clandestine marriage (which was not long before it transpired) he considered it as the highest insult that could have been offered to his honor, and instantly breaking off the negotiation, he returned to England, glowing with rage and indignation.

A. D. 1465. The king's marriage being now publicly declared, the queen received the compliments of all the nobility; and on the 26th of May was crowned at Westminster, by the archbishop of Canterbury.

The indiscreet Edward endeavoured not to ruin the friendship of Warwick, to whom he was indebted for his crown: on the contrary, he took measures which tended directly to widen the breach between them. He lavished a profusion of honours and favours on the family of his queen. Her father was created earl of Rivers, and made high constable of England. Her brother, John Woodville, was married to the daughter and heiress of lord Scales, to whom man and estates he succeeded; and all her friends and relations were raised and enobled by the royal favour.

This partiality excited an uncommon jealousy among the nobility, especially as Edward had obtained from parliament a general remission of all the grants which had been made from his accession to the throne. Warwick saw the discontent of the people with a secret satisfaction, and to be in a condition to make Edward feel the weight of his resentment, he retired from court, and retired to his castle at Warwick.

A. D. 1466. Edward knew the cause of Warwick's sequestering himself from the affairs of government, and took the most prudent method of rendering any attempt, that might be made by an ambitious nobleman, abortive. He entered into a treaty of alliance with Phillip, duke of Burgundy, descendant of the house of Lancaster, but without any scruple of sacrificing to his political and interested interest of that unfortunate and oppressed house. The duke of Burgundy also entered into a treaty with him, and the king of Scotland paid tribute for forty years. He was equally successful in obtaining supplies from his parliament, by granting him subsidies with a liberality unknown in former reigns. The Commons also passed a bill of attainder against the small remains of the Lancastrian party, and by these forfeited estates the king was enabled to gratify his friends; but his favours were chiefly bestowed on the queen's family. That princess ordered her sister Catherine to be married to the duke of Buckingham, a minor and a weak prince. William Herbert having espoused another of her sisters, was created lord Dufferin, afterwards earl of Huntingdon, and Anne, his sister, married a son and heir of Casy, lord of the manor of Casy, who was now honoured with the title of earl of Devon.

A. D. 1468. The earl of Warwick and his friends saw this profusion of favours lavished on the Woodville family with secret indignation, and were joined by a multitude of discontented nobles, among whom was the duke of Clarence, Edward's eldest brother. Warwick, however, still preserved the

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of England.



Lady Elizabeth Grey at the Feet of
EDWARD IV imploring a maintenance
for herself and Children.

marks of submission to Edward but redoubled his attention to increase his popularity. His house was always open, his tables always spread for every one who chole to partake of his hospitality; and hence he became a greater favourite with the people than ever.

The duke of Clarence, already disgusted with the measures of the court, now contracted an intimate connection with Warwick by marrying his eldest daughter Isabella, with whom he obtained a considerable settlement; after which the earl retired to his government of Calais.

A. D. 1469. The spirit of faction now threatened the kingdom with all the horrors of civil discord. Various insurrections happened in different parts, but by whom they were incited was not known. The first of these, which began in the north, was headed by one Robert Hillyard, generally called Robin of Ryddedale; but the insurgents were soon routed, and their leader executed. The malecontents were, however, rather animated than discouraged by the ill success of their first attempt. They again assembled in more formidable numbers; and were joined by lord Fitz Hugh, and Henry Neville, son to the lord Latimer. But as both these noblemen were totally ignorant of military affairs, the command was given to Sir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and experience. Their first intention was to make themselves masters of the city of York; but being disappointed in procuring a sufficient train of artillery, they resolved to direct their march towards the capital; and openly declared, "That they were marching to deliver their lawful sovereign, king Henry, from his confinement, and re-place him on the throne of his ancestors."

Edward, alarmed at the progress of the rebels, and the continual augmentation of their numbers, issued orders to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the earl of Rivers, to assemble an army in Norfolk, and the adjacent counties. He also wrote to his friend lord of Pembroke, commanding him to assemble in Welsh, and cross the country immediately, in order to intercept the march of the rebels from the north.

The earl so exerted himself in the discharge of his orders, that he soon found himself at the head of a thousand men, and marched with great expedition against the insurgents, who were then in the neighbourhood of Northampton. In his route he was joined by the earl of Devonshire, at the head of a considerable body of archers. As soon as the two armies came in sight of each other, Pembroke detached all his cavalry, under the command of his son, Sir Richard Herbert, with orders to observe the position of the enemy, and if he thought it advisable to attack them rear. Sir Richard executed his orders; but perceived that such wise precautions had been taken by the leader of the insurgents, that an attack must be attended with the utmost disadvantage. The fiery spirit of the Welsh did not, however, be restrained by prudential reasons. They fell upon the rear of the enemy, and were repulsed with considerable slaughter.

In the mean time, the earl of Warwick arrived in Calais, and the rebels, flattering themselves being powerfully assisted by that popular nobleman, changed their route. Instead of pursuing their march to London, they directed their march towards Warwick castle. Pembroke, impatient of delay, followed the rebels with such expedition, that he came up with them near Banbury, and the armies encamped near each other. During the night a trivial difference about quarters arising between the earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, the latter retired with his archers, and left Pembroke

alone to encounter the rebels. This desertion filled the insurgents with hopes of obtaining a complete victory; and Sir Henry Neville, one of their leaders, having charged the royalists at too great a distance from the main body, was surrounded, and taken prisoner. This misfortune checked the ardour of the rebels, and they returned to their camp. But Pembroke having, without any form of trial, put the noble prisoner to death, they were exasperated to a degree bordering on madness. They attacked the Welsh army with a fury that was irresistible, put them to the sword without mercy; and, having taken Pembroke and his brother prisoners, caused them both to be immediately beheaded.

The rebels, elated with their success, detached a party to Grafton-manor who seized the earl of Rivers and his son John, and struck off their heads in the market-place at Northampton. But here their disorders ended. Satisfied with having destroyed the most obnoxious of Edward's ministers, they dispersed, and returned quietly to their respective habitations.

The king, persuaded that the success of the rebels was owing to the desertion of the earl of Devonshire, ordered that nobleman to be beheaded, which sentence was executed at Bridgewater on the 17th of August.

A. D. 1470. In the beginning of this year another rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire, where the insurgents were headed by Sir Robert Welles, son to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to 30,000 men; but lord Welles was so far from favouring this rebellion of his son, that he fled to the sanctuary of Westminster, in order to secure his person against the anger or suspicion of the king. Edward marched at the head of his army against the rebels, and sent a pressing message with assurances of safety to lord Welles, requesting he would attend him in his expedition. Not suspecting that the king would forfeit his word so solemnly given, the nobleman obeyed the summons, and joined the royal army. During their march, the king prevailed upon lord Welles to write a pressing letter to his son, persuading him to abandon the party of the rebels, and return to his duty. The son, naturally imagining his father to be under confinement when this letter was wrote, and thinking that his engagements of honor ought not to be broken, by filial compliance, refused to assent: upon which Edward, with a cruelty which nothing but the barbarous proceedings in a civil war can account for, put the father to death for the disobedience of his son.

The report of this inhuman proceeding collected, even in those barbarous times, a general horror, and inspired Sir Robert Welles with fury for revenge. He immediately engaged the royal army, but the contest was unequal. The full charge of the rebels was, however, so furious that fifteen hundred of Edward's army were cut to pieces. But the former being undisciplined they were soon broken, and driven from the field of battle, with the loss of ten thousand men killed upon the spot. Their general, Sir Robert, was taken while fighting obstinately at the head of about seventy gentlemen of note, and soon after beheaded at Stamford.

These insurrections were only preludes to those of a more serious nature. The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick (who were more firmly attached to each other from the former having married the eldest daughter of the latter) now engaged in open rebellion; but the measures they took were so ill concerted, that they were obliged to apply to the court of France for protection. Lewis XI. one of the most politic princes of his age, now undertook to reconcile Warwick with queen Margaret, who then resided at her father's court. Perhaps no two persons

ever entertained a greater animosity against each other than Warwick and Margaret. His father had been executed by the orders of the queen. He himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity, and banished Margaret, and put her most zealous friends and partizans to death. He had been the scourge of the house of Lancaster. But all these difficulties Lewis found means to remove. They were both highly exasperated against Edward, and their common interest formed an union between them. It was determined to re-establish Henry on the throne. At the same time, it was agreed, that Warwick and the duke of Clarence should direct the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of that nobleman; and that in case of failure of male issue in the prince, the crown should descend to the duke of Clarence.

Edward received authentic intelligence of this extraordinary treaty from the duke of Burgundy, who had fitted out a large fleet to intercept Warwick in his passage; but he availed himself not of the discovery. He was even so confident of rendering the attempt abortive, that he declared, the duke might have saved himself the trouble of guarding the seas, as he wished for nothing more than to see Warwick in England. It was not long before that nobleman appeared. He landed at Dartmouth about the middle of September, and immediately declared for king Henry. The name of Warwick, so dear to the English, his immense credit and the turbulent disposition of the English, drew to his standard, in a few days, an army of sixty thousand men.

This unexpected defection of the English greatly alarmed Edward. He saw his folly when it was too late to prevent the consequences. He was then with his army in the north, and employed in quelling an insurrection raised in Yorkshire by the lord Fitz Hugh, who had married one of the sisters of the earl of Warwick. But on receiving advice of the success of that popular nobleman, he immediately altered his route, and directed his march towards London with the greatest expedition.

Warwick, being determined, if possible, to engage Edward before he reached the capital, advanced across the country, and came up with the royal army in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The marquis of Montague, the brother of Warwick, had raised an army of six thousand men, and was following Edward in order, as it was imagined, to reinforce the royal army. But the king had no sooner halted, on account of the approach of Warwick, than the marquis fell upon the rear of the royal army, during the night, with the utmost fury, and the air resounded with the cry of "God save king Henry!" The king, alarmed at the noise, started from his bed, and was soon convinced that it was the cry of war, generally used by the Lancastrian party. Lord Hastings, hastened into his apartment, and informed him of his danger, urging him to make his escape from an army where he appeared to have so many concealed enemies, and so few zealously attached to his service. He had hardly time to get on horseback before the enemy attacked his quarters. A few minutes would have determined the fate of Edward. He fled with the utmost precipitation, attended with a small retinue to Lynn in Norfolk, where he fortunately found some Dutch ships ready for sea, and sailed immediately. But his danger did not terminate with his embarkation. A fleet of ships belonging to the Hasterings, or Ham-town, who were then at war both with France and England, were hovering on the Norfolk coast, and gave chase to the king's vessel; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they escaped into the port of Alenac in Holland.

No sooner was the king fled, than the earl of Warwick proceeded with all expedition to London, delivered Henry VI. from the Tower, replaced him on the throne, and proclaimed him king with the utmost solemnity. The most considerable partizans of the York family either sought protection beyond the seas, or took shelter in sanctuaries where the ecclesiastical privileges afforded them shelter from the insults of their enemies. It is computed, that in London alone, no less than two thousand persons saved themselves in this manner; and among the rest Edward's queen, who went privately by water from the Tower to Westminster-abbey, in order to avoid the violence of the citizens, who now appeared as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward. The earl of Worcester, constable of England, fell into the hands of the Lancastrians, and was soon afterwards beheaded.

A parliament was now summoned, in the name of Warwick, to meet at Westminster; and as that assembly could pretend to no liberty amidst such enraged factions, their proceedings were entirely corrected by the ruling party. The treaty with Margaret was here fully ratified. Henry was acknowledged king; but as his incapacity for government was universally acknowledged, the regency was intrusted to Warwick and Clarence, till prince Edward reached the age of majority; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was to succeed to the crown. Edward was declared a traitor to his country, and an usurper of the throne. Even the paternal estate of the York family was allowed to be forfeited, all his friends were attainted; particularly the duke of Gloucester, his younger brother. The attainders of the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Pembroke, Oxford, Richmond, and Ormond, were reversed; and all who had suffered for adhering to Henry were restored to their honors and estates.

The conjunctive regents now assumed the government in Henry's name, and disposed of all public civil and military. The judges, sheriffs, and officers, were changed in every part of the kingdom. The archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, was appointed chancellor, and the duke of Clarence lord lieutenant of Ireland. At the same time, the paternal estate of the York family was settled upon him. The marquis of Montague was restored to his favourite post of warden of the marches of Scotland, and a long truce was concluded with France.

When Edward landed at Alenac he was received by De Bruges, governor of Holland, and the duke of Burgundy. But that prince was perplexed with regard to the measures most proper for him to pursue in this unexpected revolution. He was fearful of plunging himself into a war with Holland, by giving the unfortunate exile an asylum in his dominions; and he was already attacked by the XI. who had made himself master of Arras, St. Quintin. He therefore sent his secretary, de Comines, to Calais to see what Vaubert, the governor would do in this sudden change of affairs, to take measures for preventing a rupture with Holland. He found the governor, the garrison, and the inhabitants of the town, dressed in Warwickian livery, which they had assumed on the fall of that nobleman's success, and was assured that he was sending over ten thousand men to begeth the king in the duke's dominions, who, as the prince Edward, had been declared the enemy of the duke.

Philip, though alarmed at this intimation from the governor that his master's treaty, which was still in force; and that the duke of Burgundy received himself bound to observe the articles

change of the king's name from Edward to Henry making no difference. These arguments would, however, have had little weight with the English government, had they not been supported by the merchants of London and Calais, who had then great influence on the affairs of the nation, and who were afraid of losing the principal part of their commerce with the duke of Burgundy. At their instances therefore the earl of Warwick put a stop to all hostilities, and it was agreed that the treaty should continue in force; and the duke, on his part, promised to give no assistance to Edward.

This covenant, however, was very ill observed; for though the duke refused to supply him openly, he equipped four large vessels in the name of some private merchants, and caused fourteen ships to be secretly hired of the Easterlings. This small squadron, together with a considerable sum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately sailed for England, with a small retinue and a body of two thousand men.

A. D. 1471. Edward, after a short passage, attempted to land on the coast of Essex, but found it impracticable from the disaffection of the inhabitants. He therefore steered to the northward, intending to land at Cromer in Norfolk, but being informed by Sir Robert Chamberlain and Sir Gilbert Debenham, whom he sent on shore to learn the sentiments of the people, that the inhabitants were not willing to receive him, he again put to sea; and a storm arising soon after, he was obliged to land at Ravenspur in Yorkshire.

Edward was soon convinced that the policy of the earl of Warwick with regard to changing the magistrates was very detrimental to his interest, and that it would be necessary for him to have recourse to art and dissimulation to effect his purpose. He pretended, and even took an oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but to recover his paternal estates, which had been unjustly taken from him by the parliament. This political dissimulation produced the desired effect upon the minds of the people. Compassion displaced the place of affection: numbers, deceived by his humble pretensions, flocked to his standard, and the nobility were very willing to receive him as a low-subject, though not as a king. He marched directly for the capital of the county where he landed, and found the inhabitants universally disposed to assist him in recovering the estates he enjoyed from his ancestors, though not in the recovery of the crown. It was, therefore, thought necessary to give them every indulgence in his power with regard to his pretensions; and he scrupled not to take a solemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his claim to the crown of England.

But Edward was far from desigining to keep this any longer than it tended to promote his interest and advance his future expectations. His army was now considerably increased, and he determined to march towards the capital, where he flattered himself he had many powerful friends. Warwick had assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Leicester, and advanced to give him battle; but Edward by following another road passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London. The citizens readily opened them, and he once more triumphantly entered the city, while Henry, who had not found means to escape, nor perhaps so much as thought of it, was again confined to his confinement in the Tower, from which he had been taken only seven months before, and from the throne. Such are the strange vicissitudes of fortune.

Edward was now in a condition to oppose his enemy. Being informed that the earl of Warwick was about to give him battle, he advanced to meet

him, and the two armies came in sight of each other in the neighbourhood of Barnet. Margaret was every day expected with a considerable reinforcement of foreign troops, and all her friends held themselves in readiness to join her standard. But Warwick, who was determined either to gain the whole honour of the victory or perish in the attempt, waited not for Margaret's arrival. The night before the engagement, the duke of Clarence, who had secretly entered into engagements with his brother, deserted to him, and carried with him twelve thousand men.

This defection of Clarence greatly affected the spirits of Warwick's soldiers; and had the earl not been so near the enemy he would, in all probability, have declined a battle, and waited the arrival of Margaret; but he was now several days march from a place of safety, and to have attempted a retreat in the face of an army superior in numbers to his own, would have been certain ruin; nor would his intrepid soul, a stranger to fear, suffer him to turn his back upon the enemy. Edward and Clarence offered him terms of peace; but these he rejected with disdain, and told them, "that he would rather be consistent with himself than follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined either to gain the victory or lose his life."

Early the next morning (which was Easter-day the 14th of April) both armies were drawn out in order of battle. Edward's van-guard was commanded by the duke of Gloucester: the main body by himself; and the rear by lord Hastings. The right wing of Warwick's army was commanded by the marquis of Montague and the earl of Oxford; the left by Warwick himself; and in the center was a large body of archers commanded by the duke of Somerset.

The engagement began between four and five o'clock in the morning, when the troops of Warwick, though inferior in number to those of Edward, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that the earl of Oxford's division broke the main body of Edward's army; but pursuing the fugitives with too sanguine an eagerness, left the main body defenceless. Edward perceived the mistake, and attacked the weakened part of Warwick's division at the head of a body of reserve. Oxford soon saw his error, and wheeled about to recover his former station; but unfortunately his men, who wore stars for their badges, returning from the pursuit and passing near the duke of Exeter's division, the latter mistook their stars for his, the badge which distinguished Edward's soldiers, and charged them so furiously, that they drove them off the field before the mistake was discovered. This gave the forces of Edward's routed wing an opportunity of rallying. The battle was now no longer equal; the late unfortunate accident had occasioned a suspicion of treachery. They, however, defended themselves with the utmost bravery, and, in all probability, would have put a final period to Edward's reign, could the unfortunate accident have been retrieved. But that was impossible. Warwick in vain exerted all his efforts to support his forces, now borne down by the weight of numbers. He perceived the battle was irretrievably lost, and disdaining life when victory was gone, he rushed into the middle of Edward's ranks, and fell covered with wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, followed his example, and perished by his side. Their death completed the route of their army; and as Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, a dreadful carnage ensued. About two thousand fell on the side of the conquerors, and three thousand on that of the vanquished. The earl of Oxford and the duke of Somerset fled into Wales to the earl of Pembroke, who was levying troops there for Warwick. The duke of

Exeter was wounded, stripped, and left for dead on the field, where he lay till the evening, when, coming to himself, he made shift to crawl to the house of one Rutland, where he continued till his wounds were cured; but he was afterwards seized and committed to the Tower.

As soon as the battle was over, Edward posted to London, and entering St. Paul's cathedral at evening service, he there offered his own and his enemies' standards; and, to prevent any doubt of the death of the earl of Warwick and his brother, he caused their naked bodies to be exposed to public view for three days together in the cathedral; after which they were carried to Bisham in Berkshire, and interred in the priory founded by their ancestors.

Edward imagined, that by the death of the earl of Warwick he had established his throne on a solid foundation; but he soon received fresh proofs that the war was far from being ended. On the very day after the fatal battle of Barnet queen Margaret, with her son the prince of Wales, landed at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, attended by the countess of Warwick, the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, the lord Wenlock, and several other persons of distinction, at the head of a considerable body of French troops. The queen had hardly time to repose herself after the fatigue of a very tempestuous passage, before she received the fatal intelligence of the defeat and death of Warwick, and the captivity of her husband. The soul of Margaret, hitherto a stranger to fear, could not support the shock. Her courage and magnanimity gave way to grief and despair. She retired to the abbey of Beau-lieu in Hampshire, and registered herself, her son, and her followers, as persons claiming sanctuary in that religious retirement. But her spirits were soon raised from the abyss of terror into which the weight of her misfortunes had plunged them, by the appearance of the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, the viscount Beaumont, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Thomas Seymour, and many other persons of distinction, who, on the first news of her landing, immediately repaired to her with their vassals and dependents, who all offered to stand by her with their lives and fortunes.

Encouraged by this shew of affection, Margaret determined to make one final attempt for the recovery of her throne. She left her sanctuary, and putting herself at the head of her foreign forces, began her march through the counties of Devon and Somerset, where her army was every day considerably increased by the continual acquisition of new partisans. On the twenty-ninth of April the queen reached Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, where she proposed to halt and refresh her wearied troops after their long and fatiguing march; and then proceed to the borders of Wales in order to join the earl of Pembroke, who had raised a considerable body of archers. But the activity of Edward prevented this junction. He no sooner received advice of the queen's landing, than he set out at the head of his army to give the Lancastrians battle, before their whole strength was consolidated: and after a very painful and fatiguing march, encamped, on the third of May, within three miles of the enemy.

Alarmed at the approach of Edward's army, a council was immediately held in the queen's camp, where it was resolved to pass the Severn, in order to join Pembroke's forces, but the city of Gloucester refusing to open her gates, it was considered as impracticable to cross the river in their present situation without exposing them to inevitable ruin. It was therefore determined, to intrench the army in a part adjacent to the town of Tewkesbury, where the troops would be flanked on both sides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and broken ground, and the rear de-

fended by the town and abbey; while a strong entrenchment was to be thrown up in the front of the army. Could this resolution have been completely executed, the queen's camp would have been impregnable; but the activity of Edward prevented them from effecting their design; he determined to attack them the next day, before their fortifications could be completed.

The Lancastrians, however, were so expeditious, that Edward owed his success to stratagem. Early in the morning he drew up his army in two lines, the first of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Gloucester, while he himself, assisted by the duke of Clarence and lord Hastings, led the other. The Lancastrian army was formed into three lines; the first was commanded by the duke of Somerset and lord Beauchamp; the second by the duke of York, the earl of Devonshire, and the duke of Gloucester. The duke of Gloucester began the attack with the utmost fury; but his division, who guarded the front of the entrenchment, received them with such intrepidity, that they were repulsed with considerable slaughter; and had Somerset been as remarkable for prudence as he was for valour, Edward, in all probability, would have been obliged to abandon the attempt. But Gloucester, pursuant to the orders he had received from his brother, perceiving the intrenchments were not to be forced, pretended to retire in confusion. The stratagem succeeded; Somerset, whose disposition was naturally impetuous, led his division through the rear of the intrenchment, leaving orders for the second and third lines to support him, and attacked the Yorks in the open field with the utmost fury. A dreadful contest ensued, and continued without any possible advantage on either side, till a detachment of a hundred horse from Edward's army attacked the Lancastrians in flank, and threw them into disorder. Somerset was now obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former station, which he should not have quitted; but was followed so closely by Gloucester's division, that the greater part of his troops were slain on the spot. Amazed at not being supported, he cast his eyes around the camp, and perceived lord Wenlock standing coolly at the head of his division. Somerset construed this into an act of treachery, and rushed to him with the utmost fury, clove the head of the traitor with his battle-axe.

By this time the duke of Gloucester had pressed the enemy so close that his whole division was within their entrenchments, and he was soon killed by Edward, at the head of the second line. Confusion now reigned in every part of the queen's army. The whole army betook themselves to a precipitous flight after a faint resistance, and Edward gained one of the most complete victories recorded in the annals of England, without a person of any note in the queen's army escaping either death or captivity. Among the slain were the earl of Devonshire, lord Beauchamp, Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hamleden, Sir John de Winton, and Sir John Luckner. The duke of Somerset, the grand prior of St. John, and twenty gentlemen of rank and fortune, took refuge in the abbey church. But Edward paid no regard to ecclesiastical privileges: he sent a detachment of forces, who dragged them from their sanctuary, and put them immediately to death, according to the policy of that relentless monarch. Margaret, her son, and her son had also taken sanctuary in the same religious structure, and were dragged from thence by Edward's soldiers. The queen was sent to the Tower, where she continued four years, in close confinement, when she was released by Lewis XI. who paid fifty thousand crowns for her ransom, and sent her to France, where she passed the remainder of her life.



in privacy and retirement; after having astonished the world by a courage and resolution, which would have done more honour to her sex, had she also been endowed with its softness and other amiable qualities.

But a more melancholy fate attended the young prince her son. He was brought into the presence of Edward, who asked him in an insulting manner, "How he dared to invade his dominions?" The noble youth, forgetting his present situation, replied, with an unreasonable vivacity, "That he came to recover his father's crown, and to claim his just inheritance." Stung with this intrepid answer, the ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck the young prince on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Gray, considering the blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and immediately put a period to his existence by plunging their daggers into his breast.

The earl of Pembroke, convinced that the fatal battle of Tewkesbury had put a final period to the hopes of the Lancastrian family, fled into Brittany, carrying with him his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. The only partizan that now remained was the balliard of Fauconbridge, who took to advantage of Edward's absence to attempt the recovery of the capital. He had been honoured with a vice admiral's commission by the earl of Warwick, and appointed to guard the channel; but having been snipped of his employment on the death of that nobleman, he withdrew with the ships under his command, and for some time subsisted by piracy. The landing of Margaret induced him to assist that prince in recovering the English sceptre; and being joined by three hundred men from the garrison of Calais, he landed with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by the magistrates. Great numbers flocked to his standard; and he marched immediately for London, at the head of seventeen thousand men. He entered Southwark without opposition; and had not the news of Edward's victory at Tewkesbury arrived in the critical moment, he had been master of the capital. But the citizens, encouraged by the hopes of effectual assistance from their victorious monarch, shut their gates against the insurgents. They made, however, a desperate attempt to carry the bridge by storm; but were repulsed with great slaughter. They deserted their chief, who was soon after taken prisoner, and immediately executed. And thus an end was put to the great prize of the Lancastrian party for recovery of the crown of England.

The legitimate male issue of that house now being extinct in the person of the hapless Henry VI., on the 20th of June, died suddenly in his prison at the Tower. That unfortunate prince, whose morose and melancholy infirmity might have deterred him from the attempts of violence, fell a victim to the misfortune of being born to a crown. It is generally, and was generally believed, that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hand. But the bloodstained murder which that prince's memory detested by labours, inclined perhaps the nation to regard his crimes without sufficient authority. It is however, certain, that Henry's death was very sudden, and though he had long laboured under an ailment of health, this circumstance, joined to the general rumours of the age, gave a very natural ground for suspicion, which was rather increased than diminished by exposing the body to public view. That custom served only to recal many similar circumstances in the English history, and to furnish comparisons favourable to Edward and his friends. His remains were deposited in the abbey of Chertsey, whence they were afterwards removed by

Richard III. and interred in a more pompous manner at Windsor.

A. D. 1472. Edward had now no competitor for the throne, nor any enemy to fear. A parliament was summoned, which met in the beginning of the year, and this assembly, like others of the like kind during the civil wars, ratified all the acts of the victor, recognized his title, and again attained the whole Lancastrian party. But prosperity was of more pernicious consequence to Edward than adversity. He had sufficient firmness to support all the evils of the latter, but he could not resist the allurements of the former. He devoted himself to amusements, and was far more attentive to fill his coffers than to remove the complaints and grievances of his subjects. His familiar manner, and pleasing address, rendered him, however, extremely popular, notwithstanding the cruelties he had exercised on his enemies. The melancholy ideas of destruction were absorbed in the gay scenes of pleasure and dissipation.

A. D. 1474. Edward, however, was at length roused from the couch of voluptuousness; the desire of foreign conquests now engaged his attention, and he seemed anxious to distinguish himself in obtaining the like honours which had so nobly emblazoned the reigns of his predecessors. A treaty of alliance was concluded with Charles duke of Burgundy; by which it was stipulated, that Edward should cross the seas with an army of 10,000 men; and that Charles should join him with all his forces, in order to invade the territories of Lewis: that Edward should challenge the crown of France; and that the sword of war should not be sheathed till he had obtained the provinces of Guienne and Normandy: That Champagne, and several other territories, should be procured for the duke; and that all his dominions should be freed from the burden of homage to the crown of France. It was added, that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other. The English parliament, always ready to assist their sovereign in any attempt to humble France, granted him a large subsidy; and every precaution was taken to render the success of this expedition as brilliant as those that attended the attempts of his predecessors.

In the spring of the following year, 1475, Edward, attended by the principal nobility of England, landed at Calais, at the head of thirty thousand archers, and prepared to carry his conquests into the very heart of France. But the sanguine hopes of the English were greatly lessened, when the duke of Burgundy joined them with only his common equipages. That prince, transported by the violence of his temper, had led his army to the frontiers of Germany, where they were employed against the duke of Lorraine, and other princes of the empire.

Edward was greatly disgusted at this breach of the treaty, and determined to take every advantage that offered for promoting his own interest. Lewis IX, was a prince who disdained all military glory, and dreading the events of war, he made very advantageous offers to Edward; and a treaty was concluded at Pecquignot, near Amiens; by which it was stipulated, "That Lewis should pay seventy five thousand crowns, to indemnify Edward for the expences of the expedition; that he should also pay him annually the sum of fifty thousand crowns during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France should marry Elizabeth, Edward's daughter, and settle on her sixty thousand livres a year as her jointure; and that neither party should encourage civil wars in the other's dominions, but, on the contrary, assist in suppressing the insurrections of their subjects." The two monarchs had afterwards an interview on the budge of Pecquignot, where mutual professions of friendship passed between them, and matters being thus peaceably adjusted,

Edward politely took his leave, and returned to England.

A. D. 1476. The disbanding of Edward's army after his return from France had filled the whole kingdom with robbers; so that no person could travel without the utmost danger of losing his life or effects. To remedy this grievance, the king, early in the spring of this year, made a circuit with his judges through the kingdom, and exerted himself with such vigour and impartiality in the distribution of justice, that he restored the public peace, and freed the roads from those gangs of banditti, by whom they were so lately infested.

But Edward knew that these proceedings, however popular and necessary, would not be sufficient to procure him any subsidies from the parliament. The leading men of the nation were too highly offended by the miscarriage of the late expedition, from which they had formed such sanguine expectations, to think of granting any farther supplies. Recourse was therefore had by Edward to other methods for accumulating treasure. He engaged in commerce, which he carried on with great advantage, as a private merchant. He sold the profits of vacant bishoprics. He demanded fines for the restitution of temporalities. He ransacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large sums for their confirmation; and he imposed exorbitant taxes upon the clergy. By these methods he amassed large sums, the vice of avarice growing stronger as his wealth increased and his age advanced. The time not employed in these matters he chiefly passed in female conversation and amusements; and his court, from the example of its head, became a scene of lewdness and dissipation.*

A. D. 1477. Though the duke of Clarence had so greatly contributed to the restoration of Edward, by his desertion from Warwick, yet he could never regain the friendship of his brother; the levity and violence of his temper rendering him always suspected. Richard, duke of Gloucester, a close, reserved, and deliberate prince, was still a greater enemy to Clarence than the king. Gloucester had already formed the bloody design of seizing the crown on the death of Edward, whose health was daily declining by his excessive debauchery. He therefore became an enemy to Clarence from principle, because he stood before him in the order of succession. A combination between such potent adversaries could not fail of destroying Clarence; and it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, not doubting but his passion would betray him into measures which would give them a sufficient advantage over him. The king hunting one day in the park of Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickshire, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of its owner; and Burdet, transported with rage, wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who had advised Edward to commit that insult upon him. This pardonable expression of resentment was considered as a capital crime in a friend to the duke of Clarence, and he was publicly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence.

The next that fell a sacrifice to their resentment against Clarence, was John Stacy, an ecclesiastic; who being better acquainted with mathematics and

astronomy than most men of that age, was considered by the vulgar as a magician, and his friendship with Clarence rendered him obnoxious to the court. He was tried for that imaginary crime, and being convicted, was cruelly put to death for his learning.

A. D. 1478. These instances of cruelty and injustice, which Clarence could not help perceiving, were pointed at him, excited in his breast a thorough detestation for the authors. But instead of endeavouring to render their malice abortive by silence and reserve, he loudly remonstrated against the injustice of his persecutors, and defended, with unshaken firmness, the innocence of his friends. This answered the purposes of his enemies, who now thought they had a sufficient opportunity of convicting him. Accordingly he was arrested, and committed to the Tower; soon after which a parliament was summoned, when the king appeared personally as his brother's accuser, and pleaded the cause against him. The liberty of judgment was taken from the court; this strange method of proceeding; so that, though only some rash expressions were alledged against him, he was condemned to suffer death.

The king, after the condemnation of his brother, could not be prevailed upon to grant him any other favour than the choice of his death, and he was privately suffocated in a butt of Malmsey in the Tower. This was certainly a very whimsical choice, but it evidently appears to have been such as the unfortunate prince thought proper to make. He left two children by the eldest daughter of the earl of Warwick: a son created an earl by his grandfather's title and a daughter, afterwards countess of Salisbury.

The death of the duke of Clarence excited great clamour among the populace, that the ministry did all their endeavours to conceal the manner of his execution, and gave out that he died suddenly of grief and vexation; and as a proof that no violence had been offered to his person, his body was exposed in the cathedral of St. Paul; but this trick was found that it served only to confirm the suspicions of the people, who, without scruple, loudly exclaimed against the cruelty of the administration.

A. D. 1481. Edward now dedicated his time wholly to sensual gratifications: he slumbered on a couch of indolence, and his mind was absorbed in the whirlpool of dissipation. The French monarch beheld his supine conduct with a secret pleasure, and was determined to violate a contract he had made with Edward, relative to the marriage of his son. By the treaty of Pecquigni he had promised that the Dauphin should marry the princess Elizabeth, but for some time altered his mind, and now proposed a treaty of marriage between his son and the daughter of Maximilian of Austria, an infant of five years of age.

Edward, astonished and incensed at this considerable affront, awoke from his lethargy, and determined to take ample vengeance on Lewis for his insolence; but that politic monarch, whose prudence was owing to his fallhood, foresaw the gathering storm, and had taken measures to break its force. He sent ambassadors to James III. of Scotland, offering great advantages if he would break with Edward, and carry his arms into the north of England.

* Edward dedicated the principal part of his leisure hours to the company of his favourite mistress Jane Shore, who was the wife of a London shopkeeper, and to whose charms he was now become a mere slave. By all the accounts we have of this lady, it appears that she had as many excuses for frailty as ever fell to any woman's share. Her charms had captivated the most beautiful monarch in the world, her mind was formed for magnificence,

as her heart was for virtue: both could not be gratified in the unequal struggle: yet with so much beauty she could employ the ascendancy she had got over Edward, so that the pride of his queen was not offended at their intimacy, and indulged Edward in pleasure, and he, in return, retained her power.



James, who was a very weak prince, and lived on bad terms with his own nobility, imprudently listened to the artful suggestions of Lewis, and levied an army to execute a design to which he was far from being equal; but when his forces arrived on the borders of England, the barons conspiring against his favourites, put them to death without the form of a trial; and his whole army immediately dispersed. Soon after, the duke of Gloucester entered Scotland at the head of the English forces, made himself master of Berwick, and forced James to accept of a peace, by which that important fortress was ceded to the English.

A. D. 1483. The war with Scotland being thus terminated, Edward determined to revenge himself of the insults he had received from the French monarch; but while he was making preparations for this purpose, he was seized with a bodily complaint which put an end to his life on the 9th of April, in the forty-second year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign. Some writers are of opinion that he was carried off by a severe fit of a quartan ague; but it is most probable that his intemperance and incontinency had broke his constitution, and that an ill habit of body, contracted by excesses, terminated his life without any particular visible distemper.

Thus died Edward IV. after a reign contaminated with as much guilt, from perjury and murder, as centered in that of any prince who ever swayed the scepter of England. Prosperity did not banish suspicion in Edward, nor did adversity cure presumption: his suspicion was always followed by streams of the noblest blood in England, and his presumption depopulated his country. Had the scenes of Edward's slaughter closed in those of his victories, had he not in his cooler moments stained upon scaffolds the laurels he had gathered in the field, he might justly have claimed a place among the greatest heroes of his country. We must not, however, impute to him the blood that was spilt in his battles: he had to deal with an enemy equally intrepid, haughty, vindictive, and bloody as himself. He had justice on his side while he had guilt upon his conscience: he wore a smile upon his face, while he meditated perjury in his heart. He had vast courage, but no true greatness, he had many engaging qualities, but not one virtue. When surrounded with danger, he was sunk in sensuality; and he purchased ease at the expence

of glory. The success of his arms was owing to his activity; the disgrace of his reign, to his indolence. There are few instances in history of kings, who, like Edward, could fly from the brothel to the battle, and who could at once drop the terrors of an inhuman tyrant, to assume the graces of a tender lover, or slide from state to familiarity. It was peculiar to Edward to throw the diadem gracefully from his brows; it was his alone to resign the lustre of majesty, lest it might dazzle the eyes of his people. It was owing to this pernicious appearance of humanity that Edward's crimes, instead of sinking him into detestation, were overlooked with indifference.

Besides five daughters, this monarch left two sons, Edward prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his seventh.

The following are the most remarkable occurrences that happened during the reign of Edward IV.

In his seventh year, the people had an extravagant way of adorning their feet. They wore the peaks or pikes of their shoes so long, that they incumbered them in their walking, and were forced to tie them up to their knees; the fine gentlemen did it with chains of silver, or silver gilt, and others with silk laces. This ridiculous fashion had been in vogue ever since the year 1382; but now it was prohibited, on the forfeiture of twenty shillings, and the pain of cursing by the clergy.

In the eleventh year of his reign, 1471, William Caxton, a mercer of London, and a lover of letters, and author of the chronicle called *Fraſtus temporum*, brought the art of printing into England, and practised it first in Westminster-abbey.

In his seventeenth year, there was so dreadful a plague, that historians relate more people were destroyed by it, than by fifteen years war before.

In his nineteenth, Robert Byfield, one of the sheriffs of London, was fined fifty pounds by the court of aldermen, for affronting the lord mayor; which, it seems, was only by kneeling too near him at prayers in St. Paul's church.

In the following year, two notorious thieves were pressed to death for robbing St. Martin's-le-Grand church in London, and others of the gang were hanged and burnt.

S E C T I O N II.

E D W A R D V.

The second King of England of the Line of York.

EDWARD IV. had no sooner paid the debt of nature, than his son was proclaimed king of England, by the name of Edward V. though that young prince just turned of twelve years of age, never obtained the crown, nor performed one act of sovereignty: so that the interval between the death of his father and usurpation of his uncle Richard, may properly be termed an inter-regnum, during which that ambitious tyrant concerted and executed the unjust and detestable means of wresting the crown from his innocent and hapless nephew.

Edward V. at the time of his father's death, resided at Ludlow, castle in Shropshire, where he had been some time placed under the care of his uncle the earl

of Rivers. Unhappily for the young prince, two irreconcilable parties now divided the court, namely, that of the queen and her relations, (particularly the earl Rivers her brother, and the marquess of Dorset, her son by a former husband) and that of the ancient nobility, who envied the distinguished exaltation and unlimited credit of the Woodville family. At the head of the latter party were the duke of Buckingham, lord Hastings the chamberlain, and the lords Howard and Stanley.

The late king had seen with regret the dreadful consequences that might result from these alarming divisions during the minority of his son, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties. He sent

for them as he lay on his death-bed, conjured them to lay aside their animosities, and labour to promote peace and unanimity in the kingdom during the tender years of his son: and prevailed on them to embrace each other with all the marks of a cordial reconciliation.

But Edward's eyes were no sooner closed by death, than all their former animosities revived; they followed their separate interests, and each endeavoured to gain the duke of Gloucester, who had been appointed by his brother regent of the kingdom, over to their party. Gloucester, who was at once both cruel and ambitious, and capable of the most inhuman crimes, concealed his dark purposes under the mask of profound dissimulation and policy; and he affected the greatest zeal for the service of the queen, that he might acquire a full influence over her conduct.

The earl Rivers had been entrusted by the deceased monarch with the care and education of his son; and the queen was now desirous that he should levy a body of troops to conduct his young sovereign to London, in order to his being crowned with the usual solemnities. Gloucester persuaded the queen that an armed force on this occasion might be dangerous, and was not at all necessary. An order was therefore sent to Rivers to bring the young king to London, with no greater retinue than was necessary to support his state and dignity.

In the mean time the duke of Gloucester set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. On his reaching Northampton he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was also attended with a splendid retinue; and hearing that the king was every hour expected on that road, he resolved to wait his arrival, under pretence of attending on his person and conducting him to London.

The earl Rivers, apprehensive that the town of Northampton could not possibly afford entertainment for so great a number of followers, sent his pupil forward by another road, to Stoney-Stratford, and went himself to Northampton in order to apologize for this measure, and pay his respects to the duke of Gloucester. He was received with the greatest appearance of sincere friendship; he passed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloucester and Buckingham, and proceeded with them the next day to join the king, but as he was entering Stoney-Stratford, he was arrested by order of the duke of Gloucester. Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, was, at the same time, put under a guard, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable post in the king's household; and all the prisoners were immediately conducted to Pontefract castle.

Gloucester approached the prince with the greatest demonstration of respect, and endeavoured to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother. But Edward, closely attached to his dear relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not sufficiently skilled in the art of dissimulation to conceal his displeasure at so atrocious an act, directly repugnant to all the precepts of justice and humanity.

No sooner did these tyrannical proceedings reach the ears of the queen, than she foresaw that Gloucester's violence would not stop here, and that her own ruin at least, if not that of her whole family, was finally determined. She therefore retired about midnight to the sanctuary of Westminster, with the duke of York, the marquess of Dorset, and the rest of her family, resolving there to await the returns of better fortune.

Lord Hastings was at this time in London, and though he hated the queen and her relations, he still revered the memory of his late master, and was un-

alterably devoted to the king and his brother. He was well acquainted with the design of seizing Richard, and pleased that the scheme had taken effect, but he was confident that nothing more was intended than to suppress the queen's party. He entertained not the least suspicion of Gloucester's real design. He accordingly wrote to the archbishop of York, then chancellor of England, desiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as every thing would tend to promote the peace and happiness of the kingdom.

The archbishop, alarmed at this information, hastened, before day-break, to the sanctuary, where he found the queen and her children in all the bitterness of affliction, bewailing their misery, and cursing the authors of their misfortunes. The prelate acquainted her with the confirmation he had received, and assured her, that if the lords should so far deviate from the principles of humanity or justice as to put the king to death, he would immediately crown the duke of York, who was still safe even beyond their power: and, as an earnest of his affection for his deceased master's family, left in her custody the great seal of England.

In the mean time the duke of Gloucester arrived with the young monarch, who was met at a great distance from the city by the lord-mayor, the citizens, and a body of five hundred citizens, who conducted him to the capital amidst the universal exclamations of the people. The expressions of the duke of Gloucester's loyalty was so great, that they even became ridiculous; but they were excused as the overflowings of his zeal. He rode bareheaded before his nephew, bowing on each side to the people, and almost continually exclaiming, "Behold your king! Behold your sovereign." Edward was conducted to the bishop of London's palace, that being at that time the most proper place of residence for him previous to his coronation. And on the same day a council was summoned to settle the administration, where Gloucester was declared protector of the realm.

Though the young king was now in Gloucester's power, yet the ends of his ambition could not possibly be answered while the duke of York was in a place of safety. He therefore proposed to take him from the sanctuary; and represented to the council both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehensions, and the necessity of the young prince's appearing at his coronation of his brother. It was but too easily acknowledged, that ecclesiastical privileges were only calculated to give protection to unhappy men persecuted for their debts or crimes; and were of no use to a person, who, by reason of his rank, could be under the burden of neither, and who, for the same reason, was utterly incapable of seeking security from any sanctuary. But the two cardinals Bouchier the primate, and Beaufort the archbishop of York, protesting against the execution of this measure, it was agreed, that they should endeavour to bring the queen to compliance in this situation, before any violence should be used against her.

The two prelates were immediately desired to undertake the negotiation with the queen, and as both of them persons of integrity, and not the least suspecting the duke's intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with zealous exhortations and assurances, to bring her over to the same opinion. She continued long obstinate, and insisted, that the duke of York, by living in the sanctuary, was not only securing himself, but also giving security to the king, whose life no person would attempt, while his successor and avenger remained in safety. But finding that no one supported her sentiments, and that force, in case of refusal, would be necessary, she at last yielded.

threatened by the council, she at last complied, and produced her son to the two prelates. She was here, on a sudden, struck with a kind of préface of his future fate; she tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with her tears; and, bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expressions of regret and reluctance, into their custody.

The prelates instantly carried the royal youth to his uncle, then waiting for the event of the conference in the Star-chamber, who received him with dissimulated affection, saying, "Now welcome, my lord, even with all my heart." Then taking the child in his arms, he conducted him to the king his brother; and they were both of them, the next day, removed to the Tower. This step did not occasion the least suspicion in the people, as it was the constant practice for the kings of England to pass some time there before their coronation, from whence they always went in cavalcade to Westminster to go through that ceremony.

Though the treacherous and ambitious Gloucester had thus far succeeded in his base designs, yet there were many other obstacles still in the way. The numerous issue of Edward, and the two children of Clarence, had preferable titles to him. But no restraints were sufficient to interrupt his violence; his fierce and savage nature was not startled at any crimes: every thing gave way to his unbounded ambition. The death of the earl of Rivers, and the other prisoners confined in Pontefract-castle, was first determined; and the Protector found no difficulty in obtaining the consent of his party to that sanguinary measure; but fearing that a trial might fill the people with apprehensions, especially as the crimes that could be alleged against them were far from being capital, it was resolved to dispatch them without any legal process; and orders were accordingly sent to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper instrument in the hands of so tyrannic a master, to take off the heads of these noble prisoners; which orders were punctually executed.

The Protector now thought it was high time to procure some of the nobility to embark in the base design he had formed of seizing the crown, as his intention could not long be concealed from the public. He first applied to the duke of Buckingham, by making him large offers of private advantages. Buckingham readily embraced the proposals, and promised to support him in all his enterprizes. Gloucester was also desirous of gaining over the lord Hastings; but finding him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, he determined to ruin the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpations.

On the very day that Rivers and the other noblemen were executed at Pontefract castle, Gloucester summoned a council to meet in the Tower. The lord Hastings, not in the least suspecting that any design was formed against his life, repaired to the council, when he met the Protector, whose behaviour was remarkably affable. After a short stay Richard retired from the board, desiring the lords to continue their deliberations during his absence. He soon after returned with an angry and enflamed countenance, and his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the most violent indignation. As soon as he was seated, he addressed himself thus to the council: "My lords,"

said he, "what punishment do those deserve who have plotted against my life?" Hastings replied, that they deserved the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," replied the Protector, "are the forcerers my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, with others their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft!" On uttering these words, he uncovered his arm, which was shrivelled and decayed. The members of the council, who well knew that his arm had always been in that condition, were confounded, and looked upon each other with astonishment. After a considerable pause, Hastings answered, "Certainly, my lord, if they are guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment." "And do you reply to me," said the Protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore, my brother's mistress: you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me!" At this instant he struck the table violently with his hand; when a number of armed men rushed into the council-chamber, and seized the members. Hastings was led immediately to the green before the chapel of the Tower, where, after confession to a priest, who happened accidentally to be on the spot, he was beheaded on a log of timber lying on the green. The archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Stanley, who assisted at the council, were sent to different apartments in the Tower, nor was any person suffered to visit them.

Gloucester, fearful that these proceedings would excite a tumult in the city, (the inhabitants of which were staunch friends to Hastings) immediately caused a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, to be read to the populace, enumerating the crimes of Hastings, and apologizing for the precipitate manner of the execution, from the suddenness of the discovery. This proclamation was issued within two hours after the above transactions; from whence the people conceived the pretended plot to have no existence, and that the scheme had been contrived, and the proclamation prepared and engrossed, some time before they were put in practice.

Gloucester, however, in order to smother the suspicions of the people, determined to act with the greatest confidence in his proceedings. He therefore ordered Jane Shore to be apprehended, and tried before the council for sorcery and witchcraft; but no proofs appearing against her, notwithstanding the ignorance and absurdity of the age, she was acquitted of the charge. The Protector, however, was determined she should not escape his vengeance. He caused her to be indicted in the spiritual court for lewdness and adultery; and she did penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's before all the people. She, however, survived her misfortunes, and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas Moore knew her. But though she had greatly recommended herself, during the late reign, by acts of beneficence and humanity; though she had removed the stings of poverty from the breasts of the indigent, and applied the balm of comfort to the wounds of affliction, she found no friends in adversity; and she spent the evening of her life in misery and want.*

No disturbance having yet arisen from the base proceedings of Gloucester, he became more and more confident, and determined to persevere in the effectual

* As a matter of great curiosity, it may not be improper to before our readers an original letter written by this lady to Edward IV. a short time before his death; which letter not only shows the state of writing in those times, but also evinces the truth of the entertained of Gloucester, and the consequences

that would arise after the death of her royal protector. It was as follows:

"May it please my King and master,

"Vouchsafe to stayne thy royal couch with the poor mummings of thy servant and hand maide, whome, natheles, thou hast moll

tual accomplishment of his designs. He now threw off the mask of dissimulation, openly aspired to the crown, and perpetrated other acts of injustice and violence. He propagated doubts with regard to the validity of Edward's marriage with the lady Elizabeth Gray; pretending that he had, previous to that transaction, been privately married to the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury. But this not gaining belief, he had recourse to a still more detestable calumny. He gave out, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, were illegitimate; that the duchess of York had received into her bed different lovers, who were the fathers of these children, and that Gloucester alone was the lawful offspring of the duke of York.

Human nature must be sunk to the lowest degree of brutality, when it scruples not to throw such horrid calumnies on persons whom even instinct teaches to reverence. The duchess of York, his own mother, on whom so base an aspersions was thrown, was still alive, and a princess of irreproachable virtue. But no considerations could change the purpose of Gloucester. He caused these impudent assertions to be promulgated from the pulpit. Dr. Shaw, an eminent orator of those times, (and a creature of the duke) was appointed preacher at St. Paul's; and having chosen for his text the following passage from the Wisdom of Solomon, "Bastard slips shall not thrive," he enlarged upon all the arguments that had any tendency to throw an odium on the births of Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence. He afterwards extolled the virtues of the Protector to the skies, representing him as legal heir of the crown, and the only hope of the nation; concluding his panegyric, by crying aloud, "God save king Richard." The audience kept a profound silence, which greatly disconcerted both the Protector and the preacher. Shaw lost all his popularity from this shameful prostitution of his talent, and Richard himself was beheld with that contempt he richly deserved.

Gloucester, however, was not to be diverted from his purpose by one miscarriage. He had, indeed, proceeded too far, to think of receding. It was necessary for him to persevere: he must either gain the sceptre or perish. It was therefore agreed in the council, which now consisted wholly of Richard's creatures, that another attempt should be made to obtain the voice of the people in his favour. Accordingly the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, were assembled at Guildhall; where the duke of Buckingham, in a studied harangue, expatiated on the virtues of the duke of Gloucester; and concluded with asking, Whether they would have that prince for their king? A profound silence reigned through the whole assembly. The duke repeated

the substance of his harangue, and asked the same question; but the same silence was continued. The mayor desired the recorder might address the assembly, he being always considered as the mouth of the city. The experiment was accordingly tried, but with no better success; not a word escaped from the lips of the audience. "This is astonishing obstinacy," cried the duke; "declare your sentiments one way or other. But you ought to remember, that your consent is not considered as necessary. The lords and commons have sufficient authority to place whom they please on the throne; and when we ask your consent, it should be considered as a favour. However, I now demand, in plain terms, whether you will, or will not, have the protector for your sovereign?" This speech, which was considered rather as a menace than an appeal to their judgment, occasioned a general murmur through the whole audience. At length some of the meanest apprentices, incited by bribes from the government, set up a feeble cry of "Long live king Richard." This was considered as a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the nation; the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham hastened to acquaint the Protector, that he was called upon to assume the reins of government.

Richard pretended to be astonished at the proposal. He declared he would observe inviolably his loyalty to his present sovereign, and exhorted them to imitate his example. He, however, suffered himself to accept the crown; and from that moment he acted as the legitimate and legal possessor of the English throne. All acts of royalty passed in his name, and the name of Edward was buried in oblivion.

But a truly tragical scene soon followed this ridiculous farce, namely, the murder of the two unhappy princes. Richard dispatched orders to Sir Robert Brackenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephew to death. But this gentleman, who had a true sense of honour, refused to have any share in so infamous an office. Disappointed in this attempt, Richard next applied to Sir James Tyrrel, a man practised in the scenes of blood, who readily accepted the inhuman commission. Tyrrel chose three associates, namely Slater, Dighton and Forest; and by Richard's express order, obtained the keys of the Tower, he led his companions in iniquity to the door of the chamber where the two princes lodged, bid them execute their orders. They found the unsuspecting innocents in a sound sleep, and after suffocating them with the bolsters and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs deep in the earth, and the spot to be covered with a heap of rubbish.

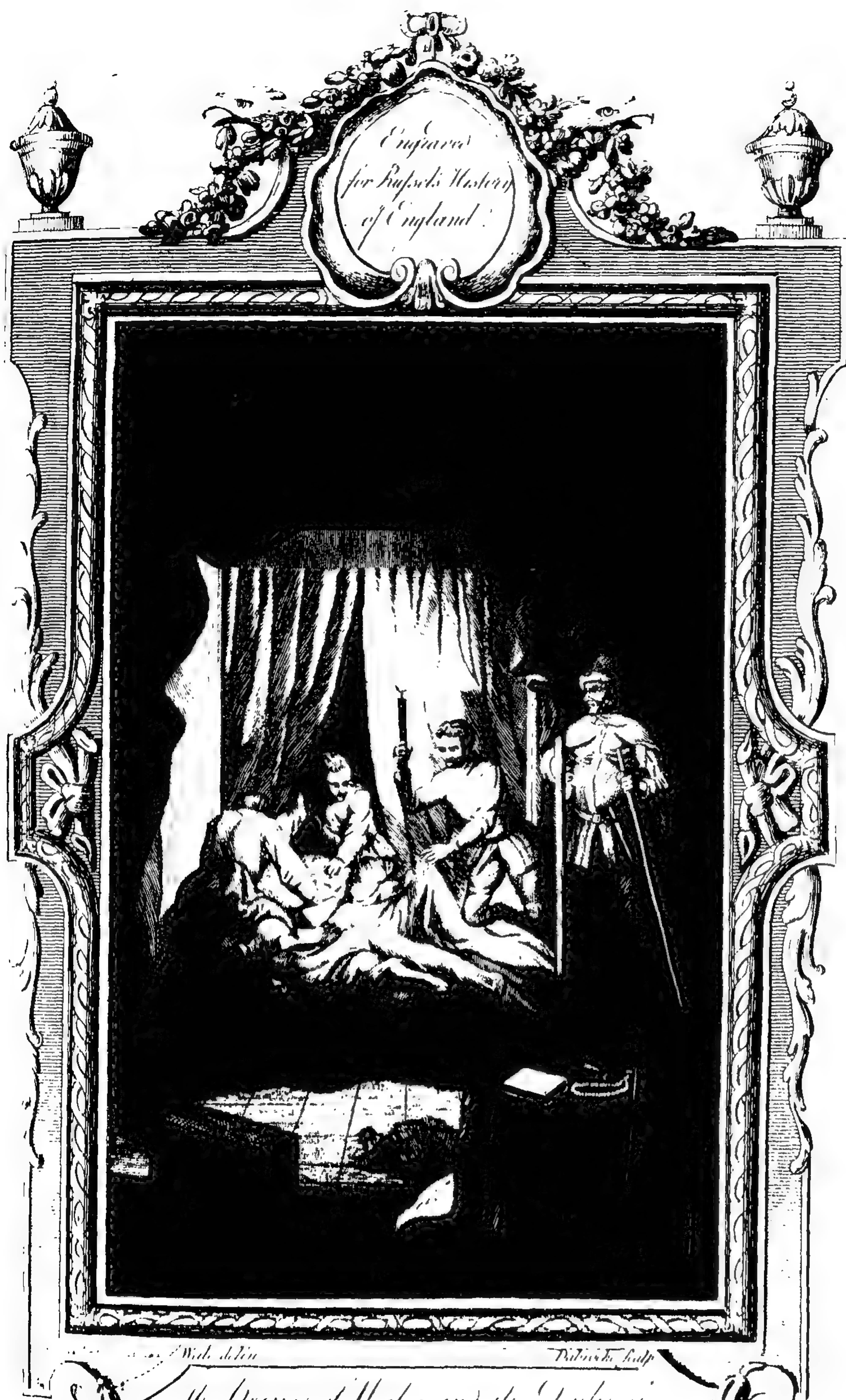
most graciously dayned to raise unto thy royal couche, as Abraham did his hand maide Hagar, though I with not to share her misfortune, and to be driven from my master's presence. Could my unworthy pen give a decent colouring to thy Jane's affection, then might words, whiche be the painting of thoughtes in the true hearte, do justice to the loyal love she beareth unto thy worthy personne.

"But how can the black rivulet, which my pen is eager to drinke, be worthily enabled to expresse, in betonyng termes, the ocean of love that aboundeth in my true hearte? Would to my Savioure, that this ocean of love were not troubled with winds, which blow therein, and raise the waves of affliction within my moody soul. — I am encompassed by three potent enemies; albeit, not the flesh, the worlde, or the devill, unless lord Hallings be resembled to the fish, for he worketh to whyle away my love from thee, and in thy absence to displace thee from the throne whereon the King is established in my hearte.

"The royal partner of thy bosom, the queen, may indeed be likened unto the world, for she encompasseth me round with spies,

who watche out for my thoughts. — And though I would not be harsher in my thought or deed, to say thy noble Countesse is in any shape, like unto the devill, yet I do verily believe her to be more dangerous than the other twaine, though he be terrible outwardly. There be some, and divers some, who say they love me not well unto thy government, nay unto thy children. — Yet the rest, the noble lord Hallings doubted very much, whether he should thee long to reign, in order that thou mayest the better be able to establish thy royal state. Believe what I write, and know that it is my true heart's affection, and with comfort to the weale of thy loyal servant,

• The bones of these unhappy victims were not buried in the reign of Charles II. the cause of which was, that the Six Clerks Office being too much crowded with records and other matters necessary to be preserved, orders were given to remove them to the White Tower, and a new floor was laid into the chapel for the more easy conveyance of them.



*the Prince of Wales and the Duke of
York sons of Edward IV.
& Murdered in the Tower*



Such was the end of these unfortunate princes, who owed their deaths to the very person that ought to have protected them !

Richard, as guardian of his brother's race,
By blood and duty held a parent's place :

lurers, in digging at the foot of the old stairs, came to a wooden chest, containing human bones covered with stones and rubbish. These were the bones of the royal infants so inhumanly murdered, which king Charles caused to be interred in Henry the

Hence, with his hands in royal blood embu'd,
He, in a three-fold light must be review'd;
First, as a REGICIDE we brand his name,
Next as a PARRICIDE his crime proclaim;
Then sink him to a MURD'ERER's low degree,
For equal sins bring equal infamy.

Seventh's Chapel near two other royal children, viz. Mary and Sophia, daughters of James I. and over the place was an ornament of white marble, with an inscription on it in capital letters.

S E C T I O N III.

R I C H A R D III.

(The third King of England of the Line of York, and the last of the Race of Plantagenet.)

RICHARD, having thus usurped the throne of England, was crowned with great pomp at Westminster on the 6th of July 1483. All the peers of the realm attended at this ceremony, that they might not, by their absence, incur the suspicion of the new king, who was now become the object of general terror.

The first step Richard took after his coronation was, to endeavour to gain over the nobility to his interest; but his actions had been too notorious and execrable to prevail on the more virtuous part of that powerful order. Those who adhered to him, however, received considerable emoluments; and the duke of Buckingham in particular, who had so greatly contributed to his obtaining the crown, was loaded with preferments. Richard also, in order to strengthen his power with foreign alliances, sent an ambassador to the court of Castile, with orders to renew the antient alliance between that crown and England. This business was accordingly effected; as was also a commission which he sent for prolonging the truce with the duke of Britany.

The public affairs being now settled, Richard resolved on making a tour through some parts of England, and passing Windsor, Oxford, Gloucester and Coventry, he at length stopped at York, where he appeared in all the pomp of royalty with his queen and his son prince Edward. Before he left York, he was crowned with great ceremony in the cathedral of that city, and his son (then only ten years of age) was created prince of Wales with the usual formalities.

When Richard had finished his progress he returned to London; soon after which a circumstance happened that evinced he was not so securely placed on a throne as he had confidently imagined.

We have already observed with what a lavish hand Charles belloyed honors and riches on the duke of Buckingham, who had been his great friend and supporter. It happened, however, that Buckingham,

presuming too far on his merit, had raised the jealousy or indignation of Richard; and, while they were together at Gloucester during the late excursion, the duke having made some demands which the king thought unreasonable, he gave him such an answer as plainly shewed he was highly displeased. Buckingham, who was haughty, violent, and avaricious, was so offended at the king's refusal that he desired leave to quit the court to look after his private affairs. Richard, not imagining his denial had made so deep an impression on the duke, or perhaps despising the effects of his resentment, granted his request, and Buckingham immediately retired to his castle of Brecknock, where Morton bishop of Ely, who had been committed to his custody by Richard, was confined.

The bishop, who was an able politician, and a zealous friend to the house of Lancaster, considered this disgust as a favourable incident to bring the duke over to his own party, especially as the family of that nobleman had been zealous Lancastrians. The prelate was far from being disappointed in his expectations: Buckingham listened with great attention to his arguments, and a scheme was formed for driving the tyrant from the seat of power, and placing on the throne the young earl of Richmond,† who was to marry the princess Elizabeth, now the lawful successor of Edward IV. This alliance they thought could not fail of engaging the two families of York and Lancaster in their interest; and consequently extinguish the flames of civil discord which had so long spread desolation over the kingdom.

Matters being thus far concerted, it was thought necessary to apply to the queen, who still continued in the sanctuary, in order to obtain her consent and bring her over to their party. That prince's readily accepted the proposals, hoping soon to be in a capacity of retaliating on the head of the usurper all the injuries he had inflicted on her family. The young earl of Richmond engaged to raise as many foreign forces

tany, carrying with him his nephew, young Henry, earl of Richmond. That prince was now considered as the head of the Lancastrian party. He was then, by the female line, to the house of Somerset, and grandson to Sir Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine of France, the widow of Henry V.

In conducting this project that, according to all historians,
 destroyed the making away with the late king's two sons,
 and prince of Wales and Richard duke of York, that their
 disappearance in his absence, he might be the less forgotten.
 It has been already observed, that the earl of Pembroke,
 after the death of Tewkesbury, had fled to the court of Bri-

forces as possible, and solemnly promised to celebrate his marriage with Elizabeth as soon as he arrived in England.

Though the utmost care had been taken to keep these designs an impenetrable secret, yet they escaped not the vigilance of Richard, who first issued a proclamation, offering large rewards for taking any of the conspirators, and then hastened with all expedition to put the kingdom in a posture of defence. He collected his troops, and began his march towards the western counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond proposed to land, and where several of his friends were already in arms, expecting to be joined by the duke of Buckingham.

The duke had collected a powerful army, and was now advancing, by long and hasty marches, into the forest of Deane, in order to cross the Severn, and join his western friends at Salisbury. But on approaching the borders of the river, he found the waters had overflowed their banks in a manner before unknown. The Welsh, alarmed with superstitious terrors at this extraordinary event, and at the same time distressed for want of provisions, abandoned his camp, and Buckingham in a few days was left only with one servant who was faithful enough to attend his master in distress. He had now no other resource than that of concealing himself till the arrival of the earl of Richmond, or some other accident occasioned a revolution in the government. He accordingly disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and took shelter in the house of one Banister, who had been a dependant on him, and whom he had by his liberality raised to a comfortable estate near Shrewsbury; but this wretch, dead to all the feelings of honour and gratitude, and allured by the promised reward in the king's proclamation, betrayed him to John Milton, the sheriff of Shropshire, who conducted him to Salisbury, where Richard then kept his court. The unfortunate duke was immediately tried, condemned, and executed, according to the summary method practised in that age. Previous to his death he begged to be admitted to Richard's presence, with a design, as was supposed, of stabbing him with a dagger, which, on his execution, was found concealed in his bosom.

The other conspirators, who had taken up arms in different places, despairing of success from the duke of Buckingham's fate, immediately dispersed. The marquis of Dorset and bishop of Ely made their escape beyond the seas; and some others were equally fortunate; but several that fell into Richard's hands forfeited their lives.

The earl of Richmond had not been wanting on his part in endeavouring to join his friends on the day appointed. He embarked with 3000 men at St. Maloes on board forty vessels, but being overtaken by a terrible storm, his fleet was separated, and he was obliged to return to the court of Britany, where he was informed of the unwelcome news of the duke of Buckingham, and the dispersion of his friends.

A. D. 1484. Thus ended this threatening insurrection against Richard, who now ventured to summon a parliament, which met on the 23d of January. In this assembly an act of attainder was passed against the bishops of Ely, Salisbury and Exeter, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and other ringleaders of the late insurrection, who had fled the kingdom; and Richard was empowered by the two houses to make grants of their forfeited estates. Among the persons attainted, were the earl of Richmond and his brother; the estate of the latter, however, was given to her husband the lord Stanley, whom the usurper had lately created constable of England, and who became answerable to keep the counsels from all illegal corre-

spondence for the future. Richard's title to the crown was confirmed; and his son Edward, being declared heir apparent, the lords spiritual and temporal unanimously swore to maintain his succession.

Though Richard appeared now to be quietly seated on the throne, yet he still laboured under disagreeable apprehensions from the intended marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth. He saw the danger of such a connection, and determined, if possible, to prevent it. In order to this, he paid his court to the queen dowager with such art and address, made so many professions of a sincere and unalterable friendship, that Elizabeth, tired with confinement, and thinking her former projects totally destroyed, listened to proposals of the murderer of her children, and even promised him her daughter in marriage; Richard having made way for this strange connection by carrying off his former wife by poison.

The queen's consent being obtained, Richard applied to the court of Rome for a dispensation to conclude an alliance which was generally considered as incestuous. But before this papal instrument arrived, the face of affairs was suddenly changed, and Richard was hurled from that pinnacle of power he had so legally ascended.

A. D. 1485. The friends of the earl of Richmond and in particular the noble exiles from England, had prevailed on him to make another attempt for obtaining the English diadem. Accordingly, the earl having received some troops from Charles VIII. who now filled the throne of France, he sailed from Harfleur on the first of August, with a retinue of 2000 persons; and, after a passage of six days, arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, where he landed without opposition. The next day he marched to Havertwest, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. As he advanced he was joined by the partisans of both families, so that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army.

As soon as Richard was informed that the earl of Richmond was preparing for another invasion, he took post at Nottingham, as one of the most central towns of his kingdom, and proposed to march on the first alarm to the place which was most exposed to danger. But he should have remembered that he had much more to fear from his secret than from his open enemies. The duke of Norfolk was the nobleman sincerely attached to his interest; the rest were friends to the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to desert his standard. But the persons that gave Richard the greatest uneasiness, were lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, whose connections with the earl of Richmond were strongly suspected by the usurper. He had, indeed, employed the former to levy a body of five thousand men, but insisted that he should leave his son, lord Strange, as an hostage for his fidelity. He obliged lord Stanley to use the greatest secrecy in his proceedings. He found means indeed, by forming Henry of his friendly intentions; but his equivocal behaviour rendered his designs dangerous to both armies.

Richard was so alarmed at the continual increase of Henry's army, that he determined to give battle as soon as possible, and decide, by a general action, their dispute for the crown of England. He declined not the engagement, and the two armies met in sight of each other at Bosworth, a place in Leicestershire, rendered famous in history for the battle which terminated the quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster. The royal army, which consisted of twelve thousand men, all veterans, and armed, were formed into two lines. The first was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; and the second by Richard in person, who appeared dauntless

Engraved for
Russell's History
of England.



*The Crown of RICHARD III placed on
the Head of the Earl of Richmond
by Lord Stanley after the Battle of
BOSWORTH.*

the royal diadem on his head. The earl's army did not consist of more than five thousand men, which was divided into two lines; the first commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the second by himself in person; Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left. While the two armies were preparing for battle, lord Stanley posted himself, at the head of four thousand men, on a piece of ground fronting the intermediate space between the two armies, while his brother Sir William Stanley, with three thousand, stood facing him on the other side of that interval.

Richard, suspecting Stanley's design, sent him an order to join his army; but receiving an equivocal answer, he was so enraged at his treachery, that he would have struck off the head of his son, had he not been dissuaded from that resolution by some of his chief officers, who represented to him, that such an act could be attended with no advantage, and would certainly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the enemy, though perhaps their intention at present might be to remain neuter, till near the conclusion of the battle, and then declare for the party that seemed to have gained the advantage. Richard submitted to these reasons, well knowing that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies.

All necessary preparations being made, both armies moved forward, and the battle was begun by a general discharge of arrows; after which the combat became close and bloody. The duke of Norfolk made a motion to enclose the left wing of Richmond's army, which being perceived by the earl of Oxford, he fell with the utmost fury upon Norfolk's division, but was in the greatest danger of being surrounded. Lord Stanley saw that it would be impossible for him to extricate himself from his present situation without assistance, and therefore advanced at the head of his sons, and joining Oxford's line secured his flank, and stood ready to receive the front of the line commanded by the king in person. At the same time Sir William Stanley flanked the right of the king's line so critically that they were driven back upon the main body. In the mean time the duke of Norfolk, having strengthened the second line, and the king's presence animating his men, a dreadful dispute ensued. Richard, finding himself deceived by the two Stanleys, collected all his force, and made a most famous charge upon the center of the enemy's army, where he understood the earl of Richmond commanded in person. His spirits, activity and address, supplied all the defects in his strength and person, hoping to decide, with one stroke, the fate of the crown and empire between them, he laid Sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, dead at his feet; he dismounted Sir John Cheney, who supplied Brandon's place; he covered the spot where he fought with his sister, and Richmond himself, who did not desert the combat, must have perished in the unequal contest, had he not been rescued by Sir William Stanley's division.

During this terrible dispute between the centers of both armies, there was almost a total inactivity in the other parts, as if the guilt of Richard had enervated the hands of his soldiers, and sunk their spirits. They were blind to his example, they were unmoved by his actions, and seemed willing to expiate, by their deaths, the crime of fighting under the banner of a tyrant. The earl of Northumberland's men threw down their arms, and opened a passage for Richmond's soldiers to penetrate to the very center of Richard's army. Sensible of his desperate situation, Richard plunged into the thickest of the battle, determined to sell his life as dear as possible. The crown of a diadem, which he that day wore upon his

head, distinguishing his person, occasioned him to be in more danger than he otherwise would have been. But notwithstanding he was in the midst of his enemies, he still supported the battle, and advanced against Henry with all the fury of despair. He called aloud to him to pay the forfeit of his treason and rebellious invasion of his kingdom. Henry declined not the combat; but the two leaders were hardly engaged when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, after performing the most astonishing acts of valour, fell covered with wounds. The loss of the king put an end to the contest; the royalists, deprived of their leader, sought their safety in a precipitate flight.

Richard's crown being found in the field was brought to lord Stanley, who placing it upon Richmond's brows, hailed him king; the whole army repeatedly shouting, "Long live Henry VII. king of England!"

In this battle there fell about 4000 men on the side of the vanquished; but the loss on the other side was very inconsiderable. Among the former were the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, Sir Robert Brackenbury, Sir William Conyers, and Sir Richard Clendon. The body of Richard was found among the slain; but not the least care was taken to preserve it from indignity. It was thrown carelessly across a horse, and in that ignominious manner conveyed to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting populace, where it was buried without any ceremony in the church of the Grey Friars.

The victorious Henry, with a policy that does honour to his prudence, pardoned all that submitted to him. Sir William Catesby, the tool of Richard's crimes, was the only person that suffered. He was discovered after the battle, and conveyed to Leicester, where he was beheaded. Lord Lovel, and the two Staffords, would, in all probability, have suffered the same fate, had they not fortunately made their escape. The young earl of Warwick, son to the deceased duke of Clarence, was the next day, by order of Henry, committed close prisoner to the Tower.

Thus was England delivered of an ambitious, cruel, and unrelenting tyrant, who was destitute of every social quality, and every sentiment of humanity. No law of nature, no tie of consanguinity could restrain the destructive prevalence of his boundless ambition, which seemed to engross his whole soul and stifle every emotion of conscience.

It has been observed by some historians, that in all cases, irrespective of his ambition, he cultivated justice, piety and moderation; but surely such an insinuation, whatever candour it may evince, indicates a flagrant perversion of characteristic display; and we leave the impartial reader to judge, on a review of the more than savage transactions of his reign, whether all or any one of those principles really influenced a single action of his life; or, in other words, whether he ever practised a good deed, from the only motive intrinsically meritorious, the love of doing good.

He possessed great solidity of judgment, a vast fund of eloquence, an acute penetration, and undaunted courage. His stature was low, and his aspect lowering and morose; one of his arms was withered, and one shoulder higher than the other, from whence he acquired the appellation of Crookback. He was the last of the Anjou race named Plantagenet, who had sat on the English throne for the space of three hundred and thirty years; and with his death closed the civil wars between the two houses of York and Lancaster.

Richard left two natural sons, namely, John, surnamed of Gloucester, a minor, whom he had appointed governor of Calais and all the territories

in Picardy belonging to England, and Richard Plantaganet*; also a daughter, named Catharine, who was contracted in marriage to William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, but died before she was of age for consummation.

The only remarkable circumstances that occurred in this reign are the following:

In his first year there happened such a flood in Gloucestershire, that all the country was overflowed by the Severn: several persons were drowned in their beds, cradles with children in them floated about the fields, and beasts were drowned even on the hills. It

* Of this Richard (the second natural son of king Richard III) we have discovered the following curious particulars, which we shall present the reader, as mentioned in a letter from Dr. Thomas Brett to Dr. William Warren, president of Trinity-hall, Cambridge:

“ Dear Will,

Sept. 1, 1733.

“ In the year 1720 (I have forgot the particular day, only remember it was about Michaelmas) I waited on the late lord Heneage, earl of Winchelsea, at Eastwell house in Kent, and found him sitting with the register of the parish of Eastwell lying open before him. He told me that he had been looking there to see who of his own family was mentioned in it. But, says he, I have a curiosity here to shew you. He then shewed it me, and I immediately transcribed it into my almanack, “ Richard Plantagenet was buried the 22d day of December, *anno et supra. La Registre de Eastwell, sub anno 1550.*” This is all the register mentions of him; so that we cannot say, whether he was buried in the church or church-yard; nor is there now any other memorial of him, except the tradition in the family, and some little marks where his house stood. The story my lord told me was this:

When Sir Thomas Moyle built that house (Eastwell place) he observed his chief bricklayer, whenever he left off work, retired with a book. Sir Thomas had curiosity to know what book the man read, but was some time before he could discover it; he still putting the book up if any one came towards him. However, at last Sir Thomas surprised him, and snatched the book from him, and looking into it, found it to be Latin. Hereupon he examined him, and finding he pretty well understood that language, he enquired how he came by his learning? The man replied, as he had been a good master to him, he would venture to trust him with a secret he had never before revealed to any one. He then informed him, That he was boarded with a Latin school-master, without knowing who his parents were, till he was fifteen or sixteen years old; only a gentleman came once a quarter and paid for his board, and took care to see that he wanted nothing. One day this gentleman carried him to a large house, where he passed through several stately rooms, in one of which he left him, bidding him stay there. Soon after, a man,

was this flood that interrupted the duke of Buckingham in his progress against Richard, and was the cause of bringing him to the block.

Banister, who betrayed the duke, was afterwards punished in the most distinguished manner for his perfidy. His eldest son went mad, and died raving like a hog-sty; his eldest daughter, who was very beautiful, was suddenly stricken with a foul leprosy: his second son was deprived of the use of his limbs: his youngest son was suffocated in a puddle of filthy water. He himself, in an extreme old age, found guilty of murder; but saved by his clergy.

superbly dressed, came to him, asked him some questions, spoke kindly to him, and gave him some money. Then the mentioned gentleman returned, and conducted him back to school.

“ Some time after the same gentleman came to him again with a horse and proper accoutrements, and told him, he would take a journey with him into the country. They went into Gloucestershire, and came to Bosworth Field; and he was carried to king Richard the Third’s tent. The king embraced him, and told him he was his son. “ But, child, says he, to-morrow I must fight for my crown; and, assure yourself, if I lose it, I will lose my life too; but I hope to preserve both. Do you stand in such a place, (directing him to a particular spot) where you may see the battle out of danger; and when I have gained the victory come to me; I will then own you to be mine, and take care of you. But, if I should be so unfortunate as to lose the battle, then shift as well as you can, and take care to let me know that I am your father; for no mercy will be shewed to one so nearly related to me.” Then the king gave him a purse of gold, and dismissed him.

“ He followed the king’s directions: and, when the battle was lost, and the king killed, he hastened to Lord Stanley, and his horse and fine cloaths; and the better to conceal himself from all suspicion of being son to a king, and that he might have means to live by his honest labour, he put himself apprentice to a bricklayer. But, having a competent skill in his tongue, he was unwilling to lose it; and having an inclination also to reading, and no delight in the conversation of the vulgar, he was obliged to work with, he generally spent all the time he was to spare in reading by himself.

“ Sir Thomas said, “ You are now old, and almost past labour; I will give you the running of my kitchen as long as you live.” He answered, “ Sir, you have a numerous family, I have been used to live retired; give me leave to buy a house of one room for myself, in such a field, and there, with your leave, I will live and die.” Sir Thomas granted him his request, he built his house, and there continued the remainder of his life.

He died in the year 1550; at which time he was in the 60th year of his age.

B O O K X.

From the Accession of Henry VII. (the first English Monarch of the Name of Tudor) to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

S E C T I O N I.

H E N R Y VII.

THE victorious Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, having given orders concerning the disposal and march of his army after the battle of Bosworth, set out for London, which he entered on the 27th of August, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, who considered him as their deliverer from the most cruel of tyrants. He immediately repaired to St. Paul’s cathedral, where he offered the standards he had taken in the late battle, and Te Deum was sung for his victory. After the service was over, he went to his lodgings at the bishops palace, where, the next day, he assembled a council of

all the nobility, and solemnly renewed the oaths which he had formerly taken to many the prince’s Elizabeth.

The ceremony of the coronation was fixed for the 30th of October, and the intermediate time was employed by Henry in rewarding the zealous services of his friends and adherents. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made constable of the Tower; Thomas of Pembroke, uncle to the king, and guardian of his tender years, was created duke of Bedford. The earldom of Derby was conferred on his father-in-law Thomas Stanley, to whom he owed the important victory of Bosworth; and



and lord Courtney was created earl of Devon-
shire.

The day being arrived, and all necessary preparations made, Henry was crowned with great pomp and solemnity by cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury. To augment the splendor of this ceremony Henry instituted a body guard, consisting of fifty archers called yeomen, under the command of a captain, who were to be always in attendance on his person: a project which, in all probability, Henry considered as indispensably necessary to his own safety, though he prudently concealed his real sentiments under the pretence of augmenting the grandeur of his court.*

As soon as the coronation was over, Henry summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster on the 7th of November. In this assembly the crown was created upon Henry, not by recognition or ordinance, but by settlement. It was enacted, "That the possession of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in him and the heirs of his body;" and as he was under a sentence of attainder that had been denounced against him in the late reign, they extricated themselves from that difficulty by establishing it as a maxim, "That the crown takes away all attainders and corruptions of blood." They passed an act of attainder against the late king and his adherents, among whom were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the viscount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Friers, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir Humphry Stafford.

Though Henry did not request any supplies from the parliament, yet that assembly thought proper to settle on him for life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the same manner by some of his predecessors. But when they presented a bill for the royal assent, they petitioned his majesty to marry the princess Elizabeth. The king promised to comply with their desires; and after having married Edward Stafford, eldest son to the duke of Buckingham, to the honours and estates of his family, which had been forfeited in the late reign, he dissolved the parliament.

Notwithstanding many of the partisans of the house of York had been attainted by the late statute, Henry thought proper to publish a proclamation, offering a general pardon to all that had carried arms against him, provided they submitted within a limited time. This offer was gladly embraced by many of that party, who immediately left their sanctuaries, and submitted to Henry's government.

A. D. 1486. Henry, in order to increase his popularity, now determined to fulfil the promise he had made of marrying the princess Elizabeth; and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated on the 18th of January, to the inexpressible joy of the nation.

As all of the northern counties were warmly attached to the house of York, Henry determined to send a great number of troops into those parts, in order to remove the prejudices of the people and conciliate them to his government. He accordingly let out a great number of troops, but before he reached Lincoln he was informed that lord Lovel, and his two brothers, the lords Manners and Hastings, had left their sanctuary at Colchester abbey, and were once more in arms against the government; and the latter were marching to besiege the city of Worcester; and the former, at the head of three or four thousand men, was advancing to attack him in the north. This intelligence did not intimidate Henry; he doubled a small body of troops, in whom he had great confidence, and sent them against the insurgents,

under the command of the duke of Bedford. But that able general well knew that his little army were formidable only for their zealous attachment to their master, and therefore published a general pardon to all who should lay down their arms. This prudent measure produced the desired effect. Lovel, who was never celebrated for his courage and intrepidity, was so terrified with the fears of desertion among his troops, that he abandoned his army, and made his escape into Flanders, where he was protected by the dukes of Burgundy. His forces immediately submitted; and the other body of insurgents, informed of this miscarriage, raised the siege of Worcester, and dispersed. The two Staffords took sanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but the privilege of that asylum not extending to rebels, they were taken from the altar and brought to London, when Humphrey the elder was executed at Tyburn. The younger was pardoned, on pleading that he acted solely under the influence of his brother.

This was not the only instance Henry had of the great attachment of the people to the family of Edward IV. He had no sooner returned to his capital than he received information of another scheme of a still more dangerous nature, though, at the same time, of a very extraordinary and romantic kind. A report had, for some time, prevailed among the people, that Edward duke of York, youngest son to Edward IV. had eluded his uncle's cruelty, by making his escape from the Tower. The pleasure with which this intelligence was received by the people, encouraged one Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, who wanted neither subtlety nor courage, to raise a fictitious prince to dispute with Henry the possession of the throne. The instrument of this imposture was Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age. He was the son of a baker, but endowed with understanding and address far superior to his years and condition. The seditious priest had first instructed his pupil to personate the duke of York; but another report prevailing about that time, that the earl of Warwick had found means to leave the place of his confinement; and observing that this intelligence was still more acceptable to the people, Simnel, by the dexterity of Simon, was immediately converted into Warwick. However qualified the young impostor might be to sustain the character he was to personate, and however capable the priest might be of giving him the necessary instructions, there is great reason to think, that persons of a much higher rank had joined in this conspiracy; because it appears that Simnel had better information in matters relating to the royal family than he could have derived from a person in Simon's situation. It has ever been suspected, that the queen dowager, discontented with the king, and offended at the state of absolute insignificance to which she was reduced, favoured this ridiculous enterprise. Henry himself seems to have been of this opinion; for he soon after caused the queen dowager to be closely confined in the monastery of Bermondsey, and seized all her lands and revenues: nor did she ever regain her liberty, but ended her life in poverty, solitude and confinement.

Simnel having received sufficient instructions for supporting the character he was to personate, was sent to Ireland, where the deception was not so likely to be discovered, and where the house of York had a great number of partisans. The attempt succeeded. The impostor no sooner claimed the protection of the earl of Kildare, as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman received him as a true Plantagenet.

* It is not known how many of the hundred archers have been ever since preserved by the English; but their number has been increased to one hundred, and they are daily waiting, beside twenty supernumeraries, and

when any one of the hundred dies, his place is supplied from among the twenty.

raguet. The populace followed his example. Simnel was received with acclamations of joy, and crowned in Dublin, with a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin, under the title of Edward VI.

A. D. 1487. This revolt in Ireland greatly alarmed Henry, who immediately pursued such measures as he thought were most likely to suppress it. He ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, and led in possession through the principal streets of London, that the people might be convinced of the absurdity of Simnel's pretensions. This expedient had its proper effect in England; but in Ireland it was thought that the king had produced a counterfeit Warwick; and Henry found it would be absolutely necessary to have recourse to arms, in order to suppress the rebellion. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, on being informed that John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV. had engaged in this conspiracy. Lincoln was a nobleman of courage and capacity, and had formed very aspiring views. The rigour of Henry towards the earl of Warwick, and his jealousy of all the eminent persons among the friends of the house of York, had filled him with apprehensions, and he had retired to the court of the duchess dowager of Burgundy for safety.

That princeess was descended from the house of York, and sympathized in all the misfortunes which had attended her family. She resolved to take advantage of the present revolt in favour of Simnel, and, if possible, to make Henry feel the weight of her resentment. She accordingly sent over to Ireland a body of two thousand veteran forces, under the command of Swart, a brave and experienced officer. The earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel embarked with these forces, and joined Simnel. Flattered with this unexpected reinforcement, and encouraged by the countenance of persons of such high condition, the Irish determined to invade England, where they flattered themselves with being joined by all the partisans of the house of York.

A. D. 1488. Henry was no sooner apprised of the intentions of the rebels, than he raised a considerable army to oppose them. The insurgents landed near Foudrey, in Lancashire, and directed their march towards York; but finding themselves disappointed in the hopes they had formed of being joined by multitudes of the English, it was determined to give Henry battle the first opportunity. They were encamped on a rising ground, at Stoke, a village near Newark, when Henry's army appeared. The insurgents, marching down the hill, began the engagement with great fury; and the battle was maintained for three hours, with equal valour on both sides; though the Irish were dreadfully galled by the arrows of the English, being wholly destitute of defensive armour. The English, under the earl of Lincoln, and the Germans under Swart, made so noble a resistance, that the greater part of Henry's vanguard was cut in pieces; but at length the valour of the royal army bore down all resistance; and, after a bloody conflict, they obtained a complete victory. The earl of Lincoln, Lovel, and Swart, fell in the action, with four thousand of their troops; but Simnel, and his tutor Simon, were taken prisoners. The latter being a priest, was condemned to close imprisonment; but the former, as too contemptible to excite any apprehension in Henry, received a pardon, was made a

scullion in the king's kitchen, and afterwards sent to the post of a falconer. Such was the issue of Simnel's attempt to personate the earl of Warwick; which, however ridiculous in itself, threw the whole nation into the greatest confusion.

After the battle was over the king proceeded to York, and in his progress discovered that the principal cause of this general discontent arose from the long delay of the queen's coronation. To oblige therefore, this complaint, he returned to London at the beginning of November, and on the 25th of the same month the ceremony was performed with the usual formalities, the duke of Bedford assisting as high-steward on the occasion.

A. D. 1489. In the beginning of this year a subsidy was granted by the parliament for assisting the duke of Bretagne in a war lately commenced with France. All the counties paid it without murmuring, except the inhabitants of Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Durham, who, as old adherents to the interest of the house of York, were averse to the present government, and not only refused compliance with the coronation of the tax, but engaged themselves in open rebellion against the king. They were abetted by a popular incendiary called John Chamber, and chosen for their leader Sir John Egremont, a zealous partisan of the house of York, they avowed their rebellion, declaring that they would march to London, and give battle to the royalists.

Henry, on receiving intelligence of this insurrection, dispatched a body of troops against them, under the command of the earl of Surry, whom he had just released from the Tower*. That nobleman met the insurgents at the first onset, and made John Chamber prisoner; but Sir John Egremont escaped, and crossing the seas took refuge with the duchess dowager of Burgundy. The king, who followed the earl of Surry with another body of troops, proceeded to York, where he ordered John Chamber, with the principal accomplices, to be hanged, and granted free pardon to the rest of the insurgents.

A. D. 1490. This year a rebellion broke out in Scotland against James III. at the instigation of his own son. The king had retired to the castle of Edinburgh, and solicited the assistance of Henry, who promised to support him with a body of ten thousand men, withstanding which the rebels prevailed, and James, at that time but fifteen years of age, was proclaimed king of Scotland; and in the month of July ambassadors were sent to the English king, to notify his accession to the throne of that kingdom.

A. D. 1492. The war between France and England was this year terminated by a marriage between Charles and the duchess, than which nothing could be more unacceptable to Henry. He had foreseen it; and foreseen it; but, actuated by his passion and avarice, he neglected to support rebellion with a force that might have prevented a union so prejudicial to England. His chagrin stimulated him more to revenge, as he piqued himself on the success of his policy. A war with France was always dangerous and agreeable to the English, and Henry immediately summoned a parliament to obtain permission. He opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he told them that the king of France, insolent with power, had treated the English with contempt, and refused to pay the tribute which Henry XI. had stipulated with Edward IV. He next as-

* Previous to the release of the earl, Henry went with his queen to the Tower, and ordering that nobleman to be brought before him, he sternly demanded how he could take the part of a Tyrant as the late Richard; when the earl calmly replied, "that if the crown had been placed upon the head of a

poor man, he would have preserved his allegiance to it, and in answer to greatly pleased the king that he forgave him, and he was immediately released, and received the same favour.

Engraved for
Pepys's History
of England.



LAMBERT SIMNEL, who aspired
to the English throne, advised with
CHARLES OF BURGUNDY in the
Rebellion of HENRY VII.

Engraved
for Russell's History
of England



HENRY VII and his QUEEN
visiting the Earl of Surrey
in the Tower of London

the victories of Cressy, Agincourt and Poitiers, and had he did not doubt of being equally successful.

The parliament, allured by the temptation of effecting the conquest of France, not only advised him to engage in the enterprize, but also granted him the necessary subsidies with the greatest alacrity. In consequence of this Henry levied a considerable army, with which he embarked for France, and landed at Calais on the 6th of October. The lateness of the season being considered as an indication that the war would soon be terminated, Henry replied, "It is of little consequence at what season the invasion is begun, as one summer will not be sufficient for the reduction of France." But notwithstanding all his boasts of conquest, he had, at that very time, (perhaps before he landed at Calais) begun a negotiation for a peace. In order, however, to save appearances, he laid siege to Boulogne; and then artfully engaged several persons of distinction in his army to present a petition, requesting him to accommodate his differences with France, on pretence that his allies were not in a condition to give him much assistance, and that it would be difficult to find subsistence for his troops during the winter. The French well knew that Henry wanted nothing but money; and Charles, who was very impatient of undertaking the conquest of Naples, was easily disposed to listen to terms of accommodation. Accordingly a peace was concluded and signed on the 3d of November; by the articles of which it was agreed, that Charles should give Henry 75,000 crowns, besides an annual pension of 25,000 to himself and his heirs. This treaty excited much clamour among Henry's subjects, who loudly exclaimed that he had fleeced his people for the maintenance of a war, which he had undertaken merely for the emolument of himself.

During the transactions of this year, Henry's private enemies had been indefatigable in concerting measures for interrupting his tranquillity; and the dukes of Burgundy in particular meditated vengeance against him. Careless of the means employed to satisfy her resentment, she determined to raise up another impostor, in order to shake the throne of Henry. By means of her emissaries, she propagated, or rather revived a report, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his escape from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered by the cruelty of his uncle, and still lay concealed in some secret retreat. She found that the report was received with pleasure; and that the people entertained the greatest expectations that he would soon make his appearance, and attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. It was now necessary to procure a youth proper for personating Edward, and a young Jew seemed to answer her most sanguine wishes. He was the son of one Warbec, a Jew, who had been converted to christianity, and whose business having called him to London in the reign of Edward IV. his wife was there delivered of a son. He was called Perkin, or Peter, and Edward, who was suspected of carrying on a secret correspondence with Warbec's wife, was his godfather. The comeliness of his person, his illustrious manners, and the verblability of his genius, rendered him extremely well adapted to the part he was to act. He soon learned the lessons necessary for personating the duke of York; but as the season seemed not then favourable for appearing in the world, she sent him to Portugal, under the care of a lady Brumpton, where he continued for some time.

As soon as the duchess found that a war between England and France was inevitable, she determined to produce the impostor; and he was accordingly sent to Ireland, where he assumed the name of Richard Plantagenet. He wrote letters to the earls

of Kildare and Desmond, inviting them to join his party. The vulgar received him with open arms; and the story of his escape from the cruelty of his uncle was soon spread over the whole kingdom, and procured him a prodigious number of adherents.

The French monarch, Charles VIII. imagined that this pretended prince might be of advantage to him during his war with Henry, and Perkin was accordingly invited to the court of France. He was there received with all the honours due to the heir of the English crown. A magnificent palace was assigned him, with a handsome pension, and a guard for his person. Numbers of English gentlemen came to Paris, in order to offer their service to Perkin, who now began to appear dangerous to the government. The countenance of the king of France gave great credit to a fiction extremely well calculated to please the people. But, on the conclusion of the peace with England, Charles found it necessary to forbid Perkin his court.

Perkin left France in the beginning of the year 1493, and retired to the court of the duchess of Burgundy, under pretence of craving her protection. That princess affected a total ignorance of his pretensions, and seemed to examine every circumstance with the most scrupulous anxiety. After many affected doubts, and the severest scrutiny, she burst into a transport of tenderness, embraced him as her nephew, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor of Edward IV. She even assigned him guards, and a magnificent equipage, and honoured him with the title of the "White Rose of England." Many persons of rank and condition came to her court from England, to assist him in his enterprize, and share his fortune; and even Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who had been so instrumental in putting the crown upon the head of Henry, entertained the project of a revolt in his favour.

These mysterious transactions threw the whole nation into a state of uncertainty. The murder of the two princes had been always doubted, the infernal deed having been committed under the impenetrable veil of night and secrecy; and the protection given to Perkin by Charles of France and the duchess dowager of Burgundy, gave countenance to the impostor.

Henry now found that the utmost prudence and precaution were necessary to divert the force of the impending storm. Could he have ascertained the death of the real duke of York, the conspiracy must have fallen to the ground; but that could not be effected, only two of the conspirators being alive; and tho' they agreed in the same story, yet their testimony was not thought sufficient to clear up the fact. Henry, however, found a clue, by means of his spies, which guided him through the labyrinth of this mystery. He discovered the pedigree and adventures of Perkin, and traced the whole conspiracy from its first formation. The story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation; and he bribed Sir Robert Clifford himself, one of the chief persons in the court of the pretended prince, to discover the secrets of his party.

Henry had no sooner procured the necessary intelligence, together with the names of the principal conspirators then in England, than they were arrested, and being tried and convicted, were, as an example to others, immediately executed. But the trial of Stanley required more solemn preparations. His rank and former services seemed to secure him against any accusation and punishment. It was feared that the death of so illustrious a person would be attended with many inconveniences, unless his crime was apparent to the whole nation. The king was, however, determined that he should not escape his vengeance. Clifford was directed to come over privately to England,

England, and to accuse Stanley before the council. The treacherous insurgent obeyed. He threw himself at the king's feet while seated at the council-table, asked pardon for his past offences, and offered to atone for them by any services in his power. Henry told him that the best proof he could give of his penitence, and the only service he could now render him, was to make a full confession of his guilt, and to name his accomplices. Clifford immediately accused Stanley, who was present, as the chief abettor of the conspiracy. Stanley himself could not discover more surprise than was affected by Henry on this occasion. Clifford insisted upon his charge, and offered to lay before the council the whole proof of his guilt. Henry seemed to hesitate, but at last ordered Stanley to be sent to prison, and he was soon after tried and beheaded.

A. D. 1494. These executions, and especially that of Stanley, struck the conspirators with terror. They found that all their secrets were discovered, and abandoned the idol they had worshipped to his fate. Perkin had no other resource than his despair. He embarked from Ireland with his few followers, amounting to about 600, and appeared on the coast of Kent. But the people were not now disposed to favour him: the whole account of his imposture was known, and the late executions had taught the people caution. Perkin mistrusting something of this kind, landed a small party only, in order to discover the true disposition of the Kentishmen, who were drawn up with great regularity to receive him. His retainers met with a very friendly reception, and Perkin himself was invited to land; but the wary youth suspecting the whole to be a deception, and that a design was formed to take him prisoner, refused to commit himself into their hands. Despairing of being able to make themselves masters of the impostor's person, the Kentish men took the whole party, consisting of one hundred and fifty persons, prisoners. These were all tried, condemned and executed; and their bodies hung upon gibbets along the coasts, as a terror to others. Disappointed in the reception he hoped to meet with, Perkin sailed to Corke, but finding no countenance there, except among the very lowest of the people, he was obliged to conceal himself in the bogs and forests of that country.

A. D. 1495. Henry now convoked a parliament, where the estates of all persons convicted of having engaged in the support of Perkin, were confiscated; and the famous statute was enacted, wherein it was declared, "that no person who should by arms, or otherwise, assist the king for the time being, should ever afterwards, either by course of law, or act of parliament, be attainted for such an instance of obedience."

A. D. 1496. Perkin, being now weary of his confinement, and having no hopes of obtaining succour in Ireland, determined to make application to the king of Scotland—who was a weak prince, and entertained no favourable disposition towards England. He accordingly abandoned his retreat, and repaired to the Scottish court, where he was received with the utmost kindness and hospitality. James acknowledged him as the son of Edward IV. and appeared to thoroughly convince of his being the real duke of York, that he rejected an alliance which was now offered him by Henry. He even married the young adventurer to his niece, the lady Catherine Gordon, one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of the age. At the same time he publicly declared that he would assist him with all his forces, in recovering the inheritance of his ancestors; and it was agreed in the Scottish council to carry this design into immediate execution. A numerous army was accordingly assembled, under the command of the king in person, at-

tended by the young adventurer. On their entering Northumberland, Perkin published a manifesto, in which he inveighed bitterly against Henry, as usurper, a tyrant, and a murderer; and invited all his subjects to assist him in recovering the throne of his ancestors.

Though this manifesto was drawn up with spirit and precision, yet it produced very little effect. The claim of Perkin was grown obsolete, and his being assisted by the Scots rendered him an unwelcome visitor to the English. James soon perceived that he had undertaken a task he was unable to perform; and, desirous of repaying himself the expense of the expedition, ravaged Northumberland in the most cruel manner. Perkin pretended to be greatly affected with the miseries of his plundered subjects, and remonstrated strongly against the proceedings of the army. But all his representations were in vain. James told him, "That he was persuaded his concern was only employed in behalf of his enemy, and that he was anxious to preserve what would never belong to him." The depredations were accordingly continued without the least intermission, till at last arrived that a numerous army was advancing against them, when the Scots, fearful of the consequences, retired with precipitation.

The Scottish invasion furnished Henry with an opportunity which he was very fond of embracing, namely, that of extorting money from his subjects. Under pretence of carrying on the war with the kingdom, he summoned a parliament to meet on the 16th of January 1497, when he requested a subsidy, which they readily granted, amounting to 120,000 with two fifteenths. His avarice, which was his ruling passion, rather than his necessity, induced him to solicit this exaction; and the people, oppressed with necessary taxes, were far from being disposed to submit to those which were useless to them. The Cornishmen, who still preserved some remembrance of the ancient ferocity of their ancestors, were highly exasperated at being obliged to support so unnecessary a burden. They complained loudly against this imposition, from which they considered themselves exempted; as the northern counties had been compelled the incursions of the Scots, without being the other parts of the kingdom. Michael Bechet, a carrier of Bodmin, who was considered as the head of the multitude, greatly increased the ill-humour of the people by the most inflammatory reflections on the proceedings of the government. He was joined by Thomas Flamme, a lawyer, who had long been considered as the oracle of the neighbourhood. He persuaded them, that they had no right to pay tax, as the northern nobility were obliged, by the tenures of their estates, to defend the borders against the Scots; adding, that the only way to obtain redress was to deliver a petition to the king, and to second it with such force as would give it effect. Avoiding, at the same time, every species of sedition, in order to convince their fellow-subjects, that the good of the people had induced them to resort to this method for procuring a redress of their grievances.

The populace, inflamed by these speeches, gathered together from all parts of the country, armed with such weapons as they could procure. Thomas and Joseph were chosen then leaders, and they marched directly towards the capital. At Worcester they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman descended from an ancient family, but of a very restless and ambitious temper. Audley, by his authority, prevented the insurgents from committing the least violent disorder during their march. When they arrived at Winchester, instead of continuing their route to London, as they at first intended, they

into Kent, from a ridiculous notion, that the inhabitants of that country would join them in great numbers; but they soon found that their expectations were built on a chimerical foundation: not one of the Kentishmen would join their standard. They were not, however, intimidated by this disappointment; they continued their march to Blackheath, and encamped between Eltham and Greenwich.

The army intended to chastise the Scots being fortunately ready for action, was immediately sent to suppress the insurgents. The troops were divided into three bodies; the first commanded by the earl of Oxford, the second by the king in person, and the third by lord d'Aubigny, a general in whose abilities and courage the soldiers placed the highest confidence. Lord Oxford was directed to post the left wing of his division near Lewisham, and to extend his right to Ads Foot's-Cray, in order to secure all the roads and files by which it was possible to escape in that direction. Lord d'Aubigny was ordered to march directly against the front of the rebels, extending his right wing towards the left of the earl of Oxford's division. The king himself encamped in St. George's field, his troops forming a kind of body of reserve. The excellent disposition rendered it almost impossible for any of the rebels to escape, as they had no shipping to cross the Thames, the only passage that was open.

d'Aubigny advanced against the rebels about four in the afternoon, and attacked their advanced guard with the utmost fury: after a very smart conflict, he drove them from their post, and followed them so far up the hill, that he gained the summit before any assistance could be sent from the main body to oppose him. This advantage inspired d'Aubigny with a kind of contempt for the enemy, tho' they were formidable for their numbers, and far from being deficient in valour. He charged them at the head of his men with great impetuosity; but met with a resistance he did not expect: his valour carried him too far, and he was taken prisoner.

Victory seemed now inclined to declare for the insurgents, but lord Oxford falling in the critical moment in their rear, changed the fortune of the day; they could not stand the shock of these veteran forces, being wholly destitute both of horse and artillery. One hundred of them were cut to pieces, and the rest taken prisoners, with their leaders. Lord d'Aubigny was hanged on Tower-hill;* but Flammeoc and his son were executed at Tyburn.† The rest of the rebels were dismissed without any punishment, a circumstance which Henry's character gave them no reason to regret. Perhaps their mollified behaviour pleaded in their favour; or perhaps he hoped to blot out the remembrance of his former severities by a remembrance of mutual lenity.

The king of Scotland took advantage of this commotion in England. He made a second invasion in the northern counties, and meeting with no opposition, he laid down before Norham castle. The earl of Somerset commanded the few forces in those counties, and as soon as the Cornish rebellion was suppressed, Henry sent the best of his troops to join the earl in Yorkshire. With this reinforcement he advanced against the Scots, who immediately fled the field, and retired with such precipitation that the earl could not overtake them. He, however, continued the pursuit; and made himself master of the strong castle of Ayton, situated between Berwick and Edinburgh.

A negotiation was now entered into for a peace, but the conferences being rendered abortive, only a truce for a few months was concluded. The principal reason that prevented the peace from taking place between the two kingdoms, was James's refusal to give up Perkin Warbeck. But though he would not consent to sacrifice the person he had engaged to protect, he desired him to quit his dominions. The unhappy fugitive was now reduced to a melancholy situation; and he had no other resource than to return to Ireland, where he again resided in a mere state of obscurity.

A. D. 1498. Notwithstanding the great lenity Henry had shewn to the Cornish rebels, yet they were far from being satisfied. They boasted, that they owed not their pardon to Henry's clemency, but to his fear that their punishment would have roused the whole nation; the people being ready to take up arms against the government. Animated by these representations, the people again assembled; and hearing that Perkin was in Ireland, it was agreed to invite him over, and place him at their head. The young adventurer listened to their proposals, and having prevailed upon a few persons to follow his fortune, he landed in Whitland-bay on the coast of Cornwall. He repaired immediately to Bodmin, where, being joined by three or four thousand men, he issued a proclamation, in which he assumed the title of king of England, by the name of Richard IV.

Unacquainted with discipline, and strangers to the danger of supporting themselves against the attacks of a regular army, they were persuaded that their force was invincible, and resolved to undertake the siege of Exeter, which they promised themselves would fall an easy conquest to their arms. They carried this wild project into execution; but being destitute of artillery, and almost every other requisite necessary for forming a regular siege, the assailants, who attempted to scale the walls, were repulsed in every attack.

While the rebels were thus employed in an attempt that exceeded their power, several of the nobility and gentry of Devonshire, formed an association in defence of Henry's government, and raised forces in order to drive the insurgents from the walls of Exeter. Henry also dispatched the lord d'Aubigny at the head of four thousand men, to the relief of that city; and followed himself with a more numerous army.

When Perkin understood that the king was marching against him with a considerable army, he was greatly intimidated; and raising the siege of Exeter, he retired to Taunton in Somersetshire. His army, when he lay before Exeter, consisted of about seven thousand men, but many of these having joined him from the hopes of plunder, left him when he raised the siege.

The young adventurer perceiving that the number of his followers daily decreased, and that lord d'Aubigny was in full march to attack him, did not think proper to venture a battle. He fled with three score horse to the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New-forest, where he and his retinue registered themselves, as persons entitled to the benefit of the sanctuary. Lord d'Aubigny was no sooner informed of their flight, than he detached a party of three hundred horse in pursuit of the fugitives; but finding they were already within the walls, he surrounded the asylum, till he received further instructions from Henry. In the mean time the rebels, finding themselves

* Henry led from Newgate to Tower-hill, dressed in a paper cap, and with his own arms reversed, where he was beheaded on the 23d of June.

† Josephus said to have reconciled himself with great compunction to his punishment, and to have pleaded himself with the notion that "He should be taken in other ages."

elves deserted by their leader, submitted to the mercy of the king, and received a pardon. The lady Catherine Gordon, wife of Perkin, fell into the hands of Henry, who treated her with a kindness that does him honor. He soothed her mind with many tokens of regard, placed her in a reputable station about the queen, and assigned her a pension, which she enjoyed till her death.

The fate of Perkin, however, was not so easily determined; he had taken shelter in a sanctuary which had never been violated. Some of the council advised the king to drag him from the altar by force, and inflict upon him the punishment he so justly deserved for his temerity. But Henry thought the remedy too violent: he was unwilling to offend the whole body of the clergy, who considered these religious retreats as sacred and inviolable. At the same time he was desirous of convincing, even the most bigotted part of his people, that Perkin was an impostor, which would effectually put an end to his pretensions, without depriving him of his life. He therefore caused secret applications to be made to the young adventurer, offering him his pardon, if he would quit his sanctuary, and deliver himself into the king's hands. Perkin, destitute of all assistance, listened to the proposals; and after being conducted in a kind of mock triumph to London, was committed to the Tower.

This year 1498 concluded with a circumstance which gave Henry no small concern. On the 29th of December, a fire broke out in the king's palace at Shene, which burnt with such violence, that in a few hours the building was entirely consumed, with all the rich furniture. As Henry was very fond of that palace, he caused it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner, and gave it the name of Richmond from his title while earl, which name it has ever since retained.

A. D. 1499. While Perkin continued a close prisoner in the tower, he insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants belonging to Sir John Digby, lieutenant of that fortress, and by their assistance opened a correspondence with the unfortunate earl of Warwick, who had been confined in the same prison. This correspondence soon introduced confidence, and it was agreed to take the first opportunity of making their escape, though they perceived this could not be done without killing Sir John Digby. Had this design been effected, had Perkin, acknowledged by many to be the real son of Edward the fourth, been joined by an earl of Warwick, son to the duke of Clarence, and both escaped from the tower, it is probable they would yet have shaken the foundations of Henry's throne; but the inviolable fortune of that monarch protected him; the design was discovered only a few hours before it was intended to have been executed.

Perkin was soon after brought to Westminster-hall, where he was arraigned, condemned, and sentenced to be hanged at Tyburn. Previous to the time fixed for his execution great interest was made to save him. His wife (niece to the king of Scotland) obtained audience of Henry, and, falling at his feet, in the most feeling terms, sued for his pardon; but the king was inflexible, and Perkin suffered according to his sentence. The mayor of Corke, who had been the constant companion of his fortunes, suffered with him.

Two only of Digby's servants, who were concerned in the above attempt, were executed, the other two were preserved as witnesses against the earl of Warwick, who a few days after was brought from the tower to take his trial before the earl of Oxford, created lord high steward of England for that purpose. There was perhaps never a greater stretch of law, than was made use of on the occasion. As the earl had

not been committed for treason, his attempt to escape could not be considered in that light. He therefore lost his life by the artful insinuations of Henry's creatures, who persuaded him to confess the truth of his indictment, which was, his conspiring with Perkin to raise a sedition, and destroy the king. The poor earl, a stranger to the deceit of mankind, received sentence of death, which the unrelenting monarch suffered to be executed upon him on Tower-hill, on the twenty-eighth of November; and with him perished the last male heir of the house of York.

This act of tyranny was thought, even by Henry himself, to stand in need of some apology; and he accordingly pretended, that Ferdinand, king of Arragon, would not consent to the marriage of his daughter with the prince of Wales, while any prince of the house of York remained alive. But this apology was far from satisfying the people: they exclaimed against the injustice of this cruel proceeding; they beheld with detestation a prince, who scrupled not to sacrifice every principle of humanity to the dictates of an avaricious temper.

A. D. 1500. This year was ushered in by a dreadful plague, which raged for some time with the most uncommon violence, upwards of 30,000 persons being swept away by it in the city of London. Among those who fell victims to its fury was cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of great parts and experience in business; but so entirely devoted to the avaricious will of his master, and at the same time so fertile in devising oppressive methods to fleece the people, that he was beheld with detestation, and died without receiving the tribute of a tear.

A. D. 1501. This year was remarkable for the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, to the princess Catherine of Arragon; but the prince, who was then about sixteen years of age, did not long survive his nuptials; he died of a consumption, and, it was said, without consummating his marriage. The king, unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged Henry, his second son, whom he now created prince of Wales, to marry the princess, a dispensation from the pope being obtained for that purpose. A short time after Henry married his eldest daughter Margaret, to James V. king of Scotland; by which he formed a strong alliance with that monarch.

A. D. 1502. Tho' Henry met with a very distinguished loss in the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, yet that did not divert him from his darling pursuit of heaping up riches. Avarice was now the ruling passion of his soul, and was now increased by age to an immoderate degree. He was now possessed of more personal riches than any other sovereign in Europe; but his desire of wealth seemed to increase in proportion as it was gained. He now issued out commissions for imposing taxes and redemptions upon all persons in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, that should be thought to have favoured the Cornish rebels under lord Tipton and Perkin Warbeck. At the same time he issued orders to all the sheriffs, to summon every person possessed of forty pounds a year in land to appear in court, within a limited time, and receive the oath of fealty and knighthood. These oppressive methods produced the hatred of his subjects, though this hatred was not so strong as his great abilities, nurtured deeply with the powers on the continent counted his avarice, and all the malcontents of England were brought into a peaceful acquiescence.

But the natural jealousy of Henry still envenomed upon his repose. He was of a disposition to be easily under the smallest ground of apprehension, and an accident happened which greatly alarmed his peace. Edmund de la Pole, second son of

*Engraved for
Rapin's History
of England:*



*The Wife of Richard Warbeck at
the feet of HENRY VII. when
brought to prison her Husband*

de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. was, on the death of his elder brother, considered as the next lineal heir to the crown, whenever the lines of Edward and of George duke of Clarence, should become extinct. Edmund had claimed the inheritance of his title and estates on the death of his brother; but his extravagance having rendered him unable to support the title of duke, he was obliged to resign that dignity, and Henry, in consequence of that cession, allowed him to retain the lands of the earldom, with the dignity of earl of Suffolk. Edmund was of a very passionate disposition, and happened, in one of his furious sallies, to kill a man. He applied to the king for a pardon, which was not refused; but being little indulgent to persons connected with the house of York, he obliged him to appear personally before the court of King's-bench, and plead his pardon like a common felon. Suffolk so highly repented this affront, that he fled over to Flanders, and was protected by the duchess of Burgundy. Henry was alarmed at his retreat; he thought he saw a new pretender ready to dispute his throne; and in order to prevent any design from being formed against him, he dispatched some of his emissaries to Flanders, promising him every advantage he could desire, if he would return. The offer was accepted: the earl came over to England, where he plunged into all his former excesses, to the ruin of his credit and fortune; and was at length obliged to return into Flanders.

A. D. 1503. Henry, still jealous of Suffolk, endeavoured to prevail on him to return to England, but all his solicitations on that head proved ineffectual; and persuaded that he was forming designs against the government, he had recourse to the same artifice he had so successfully used in the case of Perkin Warbeck. He applied to Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, near Calais, to attempt the discovery of Suffolk's secret intentions. He accordingly abandoned his post, under pretence of disaffection to the government, retired into Flanders, and offered his service to the earl of Suffolk. That nobleman received him with particular marks of esteem, formed a very intimate connection with him, and shewed him, in confidence, several letters he had received from his correspondents, in which the measures of Henry were treated with great freedom. Curson immediately informed Henry of the discoveries he had made, in consequence of which the earl of Devonshire, William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir James Winham, were taken into custody, and the two latter were afterwards condemned and executed. The death of Tyrrel gave universal satisfaction, on account of his participation in the murder of the two young princes, sons to Edward IV. Suffolk was, however, beyond the reach of Henry; but that nobleman, finding the duchess of Burgundy was now become indifferent with regard to the parties of the house of York, retired to the court of Philip, archduke of Austria, where he was received with the greatest marks of respect.

A. D. 1504. The avaricious Henry dedicated his whole thoughts to the accumulating of riches, and pursued methods of acquiring them, however prejudicial to his people. His principal agents in the execution of this business were Sir Richard Empson, and Edward Dudley. The former was the son of a cooper, and by the boldness of his measures endeavoured to conceal the meanness of his birth; the latter was a person of fortune and family, as well as for his abilities; circumstances which render his conduct still more execrable, if possible, than that of a partner in iniquity. The influences of these two men were carried to that height, that they did not even observe the common forms of justice;

they fleeced the subject with the most arbitrary licentiousness. Such as refused tamely to yield up their property, were imprisoned, fined, and some of them executed, in consequence of private trials, without any fair examination, or the verdict of a jury. Henry, who shared the fruits of this oppression, covered the authors with the shield of his authority. Informers, spies, and other vermin of a similar kind, filled every part of the kingdom; while Henry was deaf to the groans of the oppressed, and insensible to the reproaches of his people.

A. D. 1506. Henry's thoughts were diverted for some time from the oppression of his people by an event which happened in Spain. Isabella, queen of Castile, paid the debt of nature, and it was foreseen that this incident would greatly affect the fortunes of her husband Ferdinand king of Arragon. Henry's situation was, in some particulars, similar to that of Ferdinand, and therefore he regarded the issue of these transactions as a precedent for himself. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being, in right of her mother, heiress of Castile, seemed entitled to dispute with Ferdinand the present administration of that kingdom. It was of the utmost importance for Henry to support the pretensions of Ferdinand. He was very sensible that the greater part of his subjects were convinced of the superiority of his wife's title to the crown; and he dreaded lest the prince of Wales, who was every day advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by his own ambition, and the example of the archduke, to lay immediate claim to the crown.

Ferdinand, though so closely connected with Henry, soon found that it would be impossible for him to continue in the administration. His former exactions and impositions had rendered him very unpopular, and a resolution was taken to declare Philip and Joan, king and queen of Castile. Philip therefore embarked with his consort for Spain, on the sixth of January; but being overtaken by a dreadful storm, he was obliged to put into the harbour of Weymouth for safety. Spent with the fatigues of a turbulent voyage, the duke and his consort went on shore to procure some refreshment, contrary to the advice of his council, who strongly opposed the resolution.

Henry, being informed of this circumstance, sent the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name; to assure them that he hoped soon to have the pleasure of embracing them, and that, in the mean time, they might command in his dominions. Philip would willingly have declined the honour of an interview; but he well knew that he must not now depart without the king's consent, and therefore set out immediately for the court, which was then at Windsor, where he and his consort were received by Henry with all the marks of the most cordial friendship. But the English monarch was determined to draw some advantages from this fortunate event, and accordingly hinted to Philip, that as he had changed his condition, by accepting the crown of Castile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries ought to be renewed. No objections were made to this proposal, and a new treaty was drawn up and signed by both princes.

Notwithstanding this treaty was very advantageous to England, yet Henry was far more desirous of succeeding in another attempt, which regarded himself only. He had been very uneasy at the reception the earl of Suffolk had met with at Philip's court, and was determined to employ the present opportunity of procuring that fugitive to be sent back to his own country. Accordingly he complained to Philip, that his subjects found an asylum in his dominions, parti-

cularly the earl of Suffolk. "I really thought," replied the king of Castile, "that a person of so little consequence was incapable of giving you the least uneasiness. But to convince you, that I am desirous of giving you all the satisfaction in my power, I will banish him from my territories." "You will greatly increase the obligation," said the king, "by carrying your complaisance a little farther, and deliver Suffolk into my hands: I can then depend upon his submission and obedience." "If I grant your request," said Philip, I shall bring a stain of dishonour upon us both. It will be said that I was treated as a prisoner in your dominions." "Then there is no farther dispute," replied Henry, "I will take all the dishonour upon myself." Philip perceived that Henry was determined to carry his point, and therefore gave his consent, on condition that no attempt should be made against his life. Henry very readily agreed to this restriction, and even condescended to write a letter to the earl with his own hand; assuring the unfortunate exile, that he should meet with the kindest reception in England. This invitation, added to that of Philip, who was persuaded that Henry would make no difficulty of granting his pardon, produced the desired effect. Suffolk returned to England; but on his appearance, was immediately committed to the Tower.

The king of Castile was now suffered to pursue his voyage to Spain, where he was joyfully received by the Castilians, and put in possession of the throne. Soon after the arrival of this prince, Ferdinand saw his court a desert; grandees, clergy, and people flocked to their young king and queen, and Ferdinand was obliged to put on an air of affection and complaisance for his daughter and her husband. An interview was held between them, when it was agreed that Ferdinand should retire to Arragon, and resign the government of Castile entirely into the hands of Philip and his consort. But Philip died soon after, and Joan, his widow, falling into a deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again reinstated in his authority, and governed till the day of his death, the whole kingdom of Spain.

A. D. 1507. Henry's attention was still engrossed in the accumulating of riches; and the oppressions of Empson and Dudley became more flagitious than ever. Sir William Capel, who had been lord-mayor of London, was now prosecuted upon a frivolous charge of not having punished a person who had paid him false money during the time of his mayoralty, and fined two thousand pounds. He refused to pay so exorbitant a sum, and was immediately sent to the Tower, where he continued till the death of Henry. Laurence Aylmer, lord mayor of London, and his two Sheriffs, were also prosecuted upon charges equally frivolous, and each fined a thousand pounds. But they imitating the example of Capel, were committed to the King's bench prison. Several other gentlemen were prosecuted in the same manner; so that it is no wonder the names of Empson and Dudley became obnoxious to the people. By these iniquitous practices, Henry amassed the enormous sum of two millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, an amazing quantity in those times. His rigid economy daily augmented this heap of wealth; and the more he advanced in years, the more detestable he became in the eyes of his subjects.

A. D. 1508. The avaritious Henry began now to perceive, that neither riches, power, nor success, could secure him from the misfortunes incident to human nature. He had for some time laboured under a consumptive disorder, too inveterate to be conquered by the prescriptions of the healing art, which had exerted all its powers in preserving a life Henry was so unwilling to resign. At length his disorder

became desperate: he found his end was approaching. The thoughts of death effected what reason had attempted in vain. Henry entered deep into himself, and trembled at the gloomy prospect that was opened before him. He now saw the wickedness and folly of accumulating riches by violence and extortion, and was desirous of performing some actions that might recommend him to the mercy of heaven, and the forgiveness of men. He distributed large sums in charity, and released, at his own expence, all prisoners that were confined for debt under forty shillings. He then made his will, in which he strictly enjoined his heir and successor to make restitution of all the those infamous agents of his oppressive avarice, and unjustly taken from the people; and on the 22d of April, 1509, he expired at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the 53d year of his age and the 29th of his reign. He left his son Henry the crown of England, together with one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling in ready money, besides jewels and plate, all of which were deposited in the vaults of a palace.

If we consider this monarch either as a man or a king, we shall find him in some respects inferior to his predecessors; but at the same time it must be acknowledged that few of them possessed so many excellencies as he did upon the whole. His reign was more advantageous to the nation than honourable to himself. He put a final period to the civil wars which had so long distracted the kingdom. He maintained order and regularity in the state: he depressed the exorbitant power of the nobility; and by his firmness and rapidity, together with the friendship and alliance he contracted with foreign princes, he became one of the greatest monarchs in Europe. His reign, in some measure, humanized the ferocious manners of the English. He inherited a fund of good sense, which was greatly improved by study and experience. His judgment was sound, and his sagacity remarkable. His prudence and valour surmounted every difficulty. These shining qualities acquired him the esteem of all the princes of Europe, and he was generally honoured by the appellation of the English Solomon. His activity and firmness, his wisdom, his love of justice, and his courage in war, cannot wipe away from his memory the odious vice of avarice left upon his name.

Henry was in stature somewhat above the size: his person was straight and handsome, and his limbs elegant and well proportioned, though extremely delicate and tender; his countenance grave and melancholy; and his temper fond of turning. He was very difficult of access, but when once engaged in conversation, was remarkably eloquent and persuasive when he had a certain point to gain.—He was buried with great pomp in the chapel built by himself in Westminster, which has ever since retained his name, and is the place of interment for all the successive reigns of England.

This monarch had six children by his queen, but only three survived him; one son, and two daughters.

1. Henry Tudor, born at Greenwich on the fourth of February, 1491, and succeeded to the throne by the name of Henry VIII.

2. Margaret Tudor, born on the tenth of November, 1489, first married to James IV. of Scotland; and afterwards to Archibald, earl of Angus. She left children by both.

3. Mary Tudor, born in the year 1496, first to Lewis XII. king of France, and afterwards to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

The remarkable occurrences that happened during the reign of Henry VII. were as follow.



In his first year an epidemical distemper broke out in London, which swept away many thousands of the inhabitants. This dreadful disease was, from the symptoms attending it, termed the Sweating Sickness, and is thought to have been the first time it appeared in the world.

In his second year the custom of the lord-mayor of London drinking to the Sheriffs was instituted by Sir Henry Collet, the then mayor, the manner of which was thus: Sir Henry took a cup of wine, and drank to John Percival his carver, who then waited at table, standing bareheaded; the lord-mayor drinking to him and styling him sheriff of London for the ensuing year, so far made use of his privilege of election that way, as to desire of Percival to put on his hat and sit down at table: accordingly he sat down, took on him the office of sheriff, and was afterwards lord-mayor himself.

In his ninth year, on the twenty-eighth of April, Joan Boughton, a widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for heresy and professing Wickliff's opinions. This year wheat was sold in London for four shillings a quarter; and Bourdeaux wine, or claret, for thirty shillings a hoghead.

In the tenth year of his reign the body of one Alice Hackney, which had been buried one hundred and seventy-five years, ever since the beginning of the reign of Edward II. was accidentally dug up in the church of St. Mary Hill, London; the skin of the corpse was whole, and the joints of the arms pliable.

In the seventeenth year of his reign, Sir John Shaw, then lord-mayor, first caused his brethren the aldermen to ride to the water-side, when he went to the Exchequer-bar to be sworn: he was also the first that held the mayor's feast in Guildhall, which was before done at Mercers-hall, or Merchant-taylors-hall.

In the following year, on the eighteenth of January, the first stone of the chapel known by the name of Henry VII's chapel, was laid, within the monastery of Westminster, by John Illip, the abbot; Sir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter; Dr. Barnes, master of the Rolls; Sir Edward Stanhope and others assisting at the ceremony. The charge of this building amounted to no more than fourteen thousand pounds, if we may believe the lord Bacon.

In the same year the king gave the title of Merchant Taylors to the company of Taylors, of which he himself was a member, as several of his predecessors had been before him.

The colleges founded in this reign were, Christ's college and St. John's, in Cambridge, by Margaret, countess of Richmond, the king's mother; Jesus college, in the same university, by John Alcock, bishop of Ely; Corpus Christi in Oxford; by Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester; and Brazen Nose college, by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln.

It was likewise in the course of this reign that St. Paul's school was founded by John Collet, dean of that cathedral.

S E C T I O N II.

H E N R Y VIII.

IF W princes, perhaps, ever ascended the throne of their ancestors with greater eclat, or more distinguished advantages, than did Henry VIII. of England, who, at the time of his accession, was only eighteen years of age. Amiable in his person and address, in the bloom of youth, blessed with uncommon talents, and possessed of immense treasures, he sat himself at the head of a flourishing kingdom, where the arts and sciences wanted only a liberal patron to promote their progress; and as the public tranquillity was secured by a long peace and powerful alliances, his people had already formed the most pleasing expectations from his government. Nor were they disappointed; for no sooner was he seated on the throne, than he shewed himself the reverse of his father, by a liberality of temper that even ordered on profusion, but at the same time, though some instances misapplied, was fundamentally beneficial to his subjects.

Young Henry, notwithstanding his disposition was opposite to that of his father, did not, however, think proper to displace those ministers, who had acted with fidelity in the late reign. The members who formed his council were Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor; the earl of Shrewsbury, ward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas Wolsey, master of the wards and constable of the wardrobe; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir John Manners, afterwards lord Marney; Sir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Russell, lord of the treasury; and Sir Henry Wyatt. The first important act of Henry's government was just and prudent, and tended to establish his

popularity in the hearts of his subjects. He issued a proclamation to encourage complaints against all who had made use of the royal authority to the prejudice of his subjects. The opportunity was embraced with avidity; the spies and informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the kingdom, now felt the weight of justice, and fell victims to the resentment of the public. Empton and Dudley, who had been so often loaded with execrations, were cited before the council, to answer for their conduct. But it was soon found, that however obnoxious they were rendered by their late conduct, they could not be condemned by the laws of their country. Empton artfully observed, that the only crime of which both himself and Dudley were accused, consisted in their having enforced a strict execution of the laws, that they had acted intirely in obedience to the king, to whom the execution of the laws was intrusted by the constitution; that it belonged not to them, who were merely instruments in the hands of the supreme power, what laws were recent or obsolete, expedient or hurtful, since they were all equally valid while they remained unrepealed by the legislature. The council perceived Empton's arguments were unanswerable, and therefore thought proper to commit those obnoxious ministers to the Tower, till a new accusation could be formed against them. After some deliberation, it was determined to accuse them of high-treason. It was said, that, conscious of the popular odium incurred by their unjust proceedings, they had summoned their friends, while the late king lay on his death bed, to consult them on the measures necessary to be taken to secure them from

from the resentment of the public." These measures were construed into a conspiracy to seize the person of the new king, and to take up arms in defence of themselves and their party. This strange accusation, however absurd and improbable, was sufficient to convict them of the crime laid to their charge, and they fell victims to the just resentment of an injured people. They were kept in the Tower till the following year, when they were both beheaded on Tower-hill.

While the attention of the public was engaged in the persecution of these wicked ministers, the council were deliberating on a matter of much greater importance, namely, the king's consummating his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to whom he had been affianced during the life of his father. The bishop of Winchester, a zealous prelate, and violently attached to the papal authority, strongly supported the interest of the princess. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, urged, that it was contrary to a positive command of the Deity himself, for a man to marry his brother's widow, and consequently, that the pope's dispensation was invalid. Winchester, in opposition to this argument, urged the unlimited authority of Christ's vicar, and that the pope's dispensation was abundantly sufficient. To this weak argument he added others of a much stronger tendency, founded on political motives. He represented the danger of forcing Ferdinand into an alliance with France, and of the two monarchs joining to resent the affront offered to the king of Arragon in the person of his daughter, after she had been so long affianced to Henry. He expatiated on the known virtue, modesty, and noble dispositions of the princess; her affection for the king, the large dowry she brought, and the necessity of forming a close alliance with Spain, in order to counterbalance the great power of France. These considerations being weighed in the scale of political justice, determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to advise Henry to complete the marriage. Accordingly, the nuptials were celebrated on the 7th day of June 1509; and they were crowned at Westminster on the 24th of the same month.

Henry had hitherto proceeded with a strict attention to the laws of justice and discretion, without discovering any of those youthful extravagancies so dangerous in well regulated governments. He found himself master of more ready money, than perhaps all the rest of the princes of Europe possessed, and his subjects ready to adore him; at the same time his mind was active, his passions were strong, and his power almost unbounded. These were circumstances which gave the most terrible alarms to a council, composed of men, trained up under the late Henry, to austerity, to gravity, to economy, and to a strict conformity with the severest maxims of state. It was in vain for them to attempt the task of disguising Henry's situation from himself, by changing the nature of his studies from books and disputations, to men and politics. Henry refused all submission to their power. The more strictly he had been confined under his late jealous father, the more he tasted the pleasures of a court, and the sweets of freedom. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by his piety, his wisdom, his moderation, and candor, maintained the greatest authority at the council; but he was a man of too much integrity to have any share in the low intrigues practised by courtiers. The two persons who most strongly contended for the king's favour, were Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary of state, and lord privy seal, and Thomas earl of Surrey, treasurer. The prelate, who had enjoyed great credit during the former reign, had acquired such habits of caution and fugacity as he could not easily

lay aside, and still opposed by his remonstrances, those schemes of dissipation and expence, which the youth and passions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surry was a more artful courtier; and though few had borne a greater share in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himself to the humours of his master. None were so forward to promote that liberality, pleasure and magnificence which now began to prevail in the court of the young monarch. He ingratiated himself by this dextrous conduct into the favour of Henry, he profited, as well as the other courtiers, by the lavish disposition of his master; and engaged him in such a course of dissipation and idleness, as soon rendered him entirely heedless of his own concerns, and willing to intrust the administration of affairs entirely to the care of his ministers. The immense treasures amassed by the late king, were gradually dissipated in the giddy expences of a thoughtless monarch. One party of pleasure succeeded another: tilts, tournaments, and carousals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of that age; and the present tranquillity of the nation permitted the indulgence of every amusement, business of a serious nature was very little attended to.

The bishop of Winchester was so highly exasperated at the conduct of the earl of Surry, that he determined to introduce some person to the king, who might be a spy upon his actions. He pitched upon Dr. Thomas Wolley, as a person well qualified to answer his purpose. Though this gentleman was of mean descent, yet he had been particularly distinguished for his prudence, his talents and his learning. He had recommended himself by his address to the late king, who had employed him with advantage in some difficult commissions. Winchester introduced him to Henry, and he was appointed almoner to his majesty's household. His insinuating address, his taste for pleasure, and his love of letters, together with his royal master, that he soon obtained the most distinguished favours, and at length became (as we shall see hereafter) little inferior in popularity to the king himself.

A. D. 1510. While the face of affairs in England wore the smiles of peace and festivity, that of the continent was deformed with alarms resulting from the confederacy of different powers. A league had been formed at Cambray, between the pope, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of France and Spain, for stripping the republic of Venice of all her territories on the continent. This confederacy was planned by that warlike and impious pontiff Julius. Forgetting the cares of religion, in order to extend the power of the holy see, he scrupled not to shed christian blood, the countries over which he acted as vicar of the prince of peace.

The French soon reduced the Venetian territories, and recovered the territories of the contracting princes. But the pope had not obtained possession of the dominions he pretended to belong to the church, than he determined to dissolve the league of Cambray, and reduce the power of Lewis, which he now considered as too formidable. In order to this, he endeavoured to excite the jealousy of Europe against the French monarch, and was particularly desirous of engaging young Henry in his favour. He sent that monarch a consecrated globe, a favour never bestowed by the pope before on their most favourite princes. He entered into a new treaty with the Swiss cantons; and having thus formed a powerful confederacy, he attacked the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France.

Lewis, who never imagined a design would be made for attacking his territories, made no preparation

repelling the attempts of the enemy; but determining not to abandon his ally, he sent orders to Chamont his general, and governor of Milan, to support the duke with all his forces. Chamont prepared immediately to obey the commands of his sovereign, and hearing the pontiff was arrived at Boulogne, he resolved to surprize him. He accordingly led his army towards the city, and had he not been amused with some of the pope's envoys, he would, in all probability, have put an end to all the projects of this enterprising pontiff; but instead of pushing the siege with vigour, he listened to proposals offered by Julius, which that artful churchman never intended to perform. This suspension of hostilities furnished an opportunity for a body of Venetians to throw themselves into the castle; and Chamont, being destitute of artillery sufficient for taking the fortress, was obliged to abandon the enterprise.

A. D. 1511. Lewis, after trying every method he could project to bring about a treaty of peace with the imperious pontiff, at length determined to subdue him by force of arms, and to depose him in a council summoned to meet at Pisa. But no danger could intimidate the old pontiff; he laid siege to Mirandola in person; and though he was then seventy years of age, he mounted the trenches, visited the works, encouraged the engineers, and entered the breach at the head of his forces. After a faint resistance the enemy submitted, and the pope made himself master of the place.

During these transactions Lewis was debating with his council, which met at Pisa, where a few cardinals, who were enemies to the pontiff, made their appearance. But this council proved an idle undertaking, while the papal war was carried on with great success. Julius, without suspending for a moment his military operations, fulminated anathemas against the bishops and all the members that formed the council at Pisa.

A. D. 1512. The assistance of Henry was now strongly solicited by both parties; but at length, by the instigation of Ferdinand king of Spain, uncle to Henry, he was induced to declare against France. The glory of serving the pope, and of conquering provinces, excited the ambition of the young monarch; and the parliament readily granted supplies for an enterprise that was agreeable to the people. Ferdinand, always attentive to his own interest, while he seemed to be acting for that of others, persuaded Henry that it would be more for his advantage not to land his troops at Calais, but at Fontarabia, where he might easily make a conquest of Guienne, and where he promised to assist him with a Spanish army. But the real intention of Ferdinand was to turn this force to the acquisition of the kingdom of Navarre. Julius had excommunicated John d'Albert, its present king, as an adherent to the council of Pisa; and the dominions of an excommunicated prince were an object worthy to excite the violence and rapacity of Ferdinand.

Henry, who suspected not the designs of his uncle, agreed to the proposal. The marquis of Dorset was appointed general of the land forces, which were landed in the province of Guipuscoa, about the middle of June. The English admiral, in his return, made several successful descents on the coast of Brittany, and being joined by a squadron of ships commanded by Sir Thomas Knivet, the depredations were continued with considerable advantages.

Alarmed at the attempts of the English, the French fleet of thirty nine ships, was ordered to sail from Brest under the command of Primauget, an admiral of great courage and conduct. The two fleets soon met, and a furious engagement ensued. At Primauget's ship was set on fire, and determined to push down upon the

English admiral, and grappling with her, both ships soon became involved in the same inevitable destruction. This dreadful scene suspended the action between the other ships; they were struck with astonishment at so frightful a scene of horror and confusion. After some time the French ship blew up, and the dreadful explosion destroyed the English. This alarming catastrophe, in which above sixteen hundred men perished, so affected both parties, that the engagement was not renewed; the French retired to Brest, and the remaining part of the English continued cruising in the Channel.

The Spanish forces, commanded by the duke of Alva, having joined the English, preparations were made for opening the campaign. But Dorset, who little suspected Ferdinand's intentions, was surprized to find, that instead of pursuing the conquest of Guienne, his army moved towards the frontiers of Navarre. The English general complained to Ferdinand, that instead of undertaking the siege of Bayonne, which would open a passage into Guienne, the forces had taken a different route. Ferdinand replied, that as the king of Navarre was connected with France, he thought it would not be advisable to form the siege of Bayonne, till measures were taken for preventing that prince from cutting off their provisions, by forming a camp between the sea and the mountains of Navarre. Dorset agreed to these proposals, and an English officer was sent to that prince to know his intentions. D'Albert declared that he would observe an exact neutrality, and give no obstruction to the attempts of the English. Ferdinand pretended not to be satisfied with this answer, he insisted that the king of Navarre should join the combined army, or deliver into his hands six of the most considerable places in his dominions, together with his eldest son as an hostage. The artful Spaniard well knew that these terms could not be complied with, and on the return of the messenger with intelligence that the proposal was rejected, orders were sent to the duke of Alva to invade Navarre, and reduce the whole kingdom to subjection. The English general now perceived the interests of his master were to be sacrificed to the ambitious views of the Spaniard, and refused to assist in the reduction of Navarre. He retired to his camp at Fontarabia, resolving there to wait for fresh orders from England. But even his inaction answered the views of Ferdinand. It kept the French army in awe; and by preventing Lewis from assisting d'Albert, the kingdom of Navarre fell into the hands of Ferdinand. The season was too far advanced, and the French had taken too many precautions in putting Bayonne in a proper posture of defence, for Dorset to think of making any progress in the reduction of Guienne; he returned to England without having had an opportunity of leading his forces against the enemy. Henry was highly displeased at the ill success of the enterprise; and Dorset found the utmost difficulty to convince him that the miscarriage was entirely owing to the fraudulent designs of Ferdinand, who was now styled in Spain, "the wife, the prudent," in Italy, "the pious;" and in France and England, "the perfidious."

Though this war was attended only with disgrace to the English arms, yet it served greatly to weaken the strength of France. Lewis was obliged to recall his troops for the defence of his own dominions, and by that means lost all the conquests he might have otherwise obtained in Italy. The ambitious pontiff triumphed in the disgrace of the French monarch; but he did not long enjoy his good fortune. He paid the debt of nature on the 21st of February, 1513, and was succeeded in the papal chair by John de Medicis, under the appellation of Leo X. one of the greatest princes that ever filled the pontifical seat. He was the person

of arts, and the friend of learning. Desirous of attaching Henry firmly to his interest, he sent him a vessel loaded with hams and wine, the arrival of which filled the English with exultation, and excited their natural antipathy against France.

A. D. 1513. The English ministry now resolved to raise a considerable army, in order to retrieve the martial glory of their country which had been so greatly injured in the late expedition in France. Hostilities were first commenced at sea, but without any advantage to either of the contending princes. It was on the continent that the decisive blows were intended to be struck. The van of the army, consisting of eight thousand men, was led by the earl of Shrewsbury, assisted by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwater, Hastings, and Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. This division being landed at Calais, was soon followed by another body of six thousand men, under the command of lord Herbert, chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curson, and other gentlemen.

Henry now prepared to follow his forces; but before his departure, he caused the unfortunate earl of Suffolk, who was still a prisoner in the Tower, to be beheaded. What reasons induced him to commit this cruel action, is not absolutely known. Some historians tell us, that it was in obedience to the dying commands of his father; while others think, that Henry, exasperated at the conduct of his brother Edward de la Pole, who had accepted a command in the French service, satiated his vengeance on the unhappy Suffolk.

About the middle of June Henry landed at Calais with the third division of his army consisting of 12000 men. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the principal nobility. But he soon perceived the little reliance he ought to place on the promises of princes; for among all his allies, the Swiss only performed the conditions of their engagements. The emperor Maximilian had promised to join them with a body of 8000 men; but though he had received from Henry 120,000 crowns for that purpose, he failed in his engagements. He made some atonement, however, to the English monarch, by joining him, in the Low Countries, with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were of great service in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-raised forces.

Before Henry landed at Calais, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had formed the siege of Terrouenne, a town situated on the borders of Picardy. The garrison, which consisted of not more than a thousand men, commanded by Teligni and Crequi, made a noble defence. The town was, however, at last reduced to extremities, for want of ammunition and provisions; and Lewis determined, if possible, to send a supply. Eight hundred cavalry were chosen for making this dangerous attempt, each of whom carried behind him a sack of gun powder and two quarters of bacon. Thus equipped, and headed by Fontailles, they made a sudden irruption into the English camp, surmounted all resistance, and advanced to the fosse of the town, where each horseman threw down his burden. Then returning on a gallop, they again forced themselves a passage with very little loss.

Henry was determined to seek revenge for this insult; and being informed that a large body of French horse was approaching, he ordered some troops to pass the Eas, and give them battle. The contest was soon decided. The French cavalry, though consisting chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with the greatest intrepidity in many desperate encounters,

were seized with such an unaccountable panic, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, and were pursued by the English. The duke of Longueville, Bussi d'Amboise, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and several other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners in endeavouring to rally their forces. This action is sometimes called the battle of Guienegaste, but more frequently the "Battle of the Spurs;" because the French that day made more use of their spurs than their swords.

Elated at this success, Henry determined to invest Tournay, a place always incorporated with France, and the cradle of the French monarchy. The city was incapable of making any long defence, the garrison being almost destitute of military stores and provisions. Accordingly the place was hardly invested before the garrison offered to capitulate. The terms were accepted, and Henry entered the city in triumph. Sir Edward Poynings was appointed governor, and the bishop's see being then vacant, Henry conferred it on his favourite Wolsey, who immediately took possession of the revenues, which were very considerable.

The season not permitting of any further expedition, Henry embarked for England, whither he arrived about the middle of October, and was received in London amidst the universal acclamations of his subjects.

While Henry was employed in reducing the towns of France, James IV. of Scotland, who had declared for Lewis, was ravaging the northern parts of Northumberland, at the head of 50,000 men; and made himself master of the castles of Norham, Eral, Werk, Ford, and other fortresses of less importance.

The earl of Surry, who commanded the English forces, marched into the northern counties to stop the ravages of the invaders. His army consisted of about 26,000 men, 5000 of which had been sent over from the army in France. The Scots were encamped on the high grounds near Chiviot hills, in a very advantageous situation. The river Till ran in their front; nor could their camp be approached but by one narrow pass, which was so strongly defended as to render the attempt totally impracticable.

The earl of Surry, perceiving that it would be madness to attack the enemy in their present situation, dispatched an herald to the Scottish monarch, offering to meet him in the plain of Milfield, appointing a day for the combat, and inviting him to try the valour of his forces on equal ground. But the answer he received was far from being satisfactory, and he determined to have recourse to a stratagem, in order, if possible, to draw the Scots from their advantageous situation.

Accordingly, the next day, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick, in order to retaliate the ravages of the enemy, and cut off their provisions. This motion occasioned a council of war to be summoned in the Scottish camp, where an old nobleman, who had learned prudence from experience, advised James to return immediately to Scotland with his booty. The Scotch monarch, however, paid no attention to this prudent advice; but, on the contrary, determined to give battle to the English the next favourable opportunity. The army was accordingly put in motion, the huts in which the soldiers had been quartered were set on fire, and the Scots fled in disorder from the hills. Surry observed the precipitate decampment of the Scottish army, and the smoke of the huts concealing his motions from the enemy, he passed the Till with his van guard and train of artillery at the bridge of Twisel, while the rest of his army crossed the stream at a ford in another part of the river.

James finding, by the motions of Surry, that a battle was inevitable, immediately drew up his army in three divisions. The right was commanded by the earl of Huntley, assisted by lord Hume; the left by the earl of Lenox and Argyle; and the center by the king in person: a fourth body under the earl of Bothwell, formed a corps de reserve. The English army was divided into two lines: the main body of the first was led by lord Howard; the right wing by Sir Edmund Howard; and the left by Sir Marmaduke Constable. The main body of the second line was commanded by the earl of Surry himself; the right wing by lord Dacres, and the left by Sir Edward Stanley.

In this position the armies approached each other, and met in Floudon field. The battle was begun by the earl of Huntley, who charged with such fury, that he broke the left wing of the English, and drove them off the field. But the same success did not attend the other commanders: they could not support the shock of the English; and Huntley at his return found the Scottish army in great disorder. Elated with the success of the wing commanded by Huntley, the division under Lenox and Argyle, had broke their ranks, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of La Motte, the French ambassador, had rushed headlong on the enemy, imagining themselves sure of victory. But they soon found their mistake. Sir Edward Stanley's division stood firm; while Dacres, who commanded in the second line, wheeling about during the action, attacked them so furiously in the rear, that they could not sustain the shock; the greater part of them were cut to pieces, and the rest escaped by a disorderly flight. This misfortune did not, however, intimidate the divisions under the king and Bothwell. Animated by the valour of their leaders, they still made head against the English; and forming themselves into a circle continued the engagement till night put an end to the slaughter. The slain on both sides appeared nearly equal, being about five thousand men: but the morning soon discovered that there was a material disparity. The English had lost very few officers, while the whole power of the Scottish nobility were slain. The king himself was missing; but whether he fell by the sword of the English, or by the poniard of an assassin, is not known. A body supposed to be that of the Scottish monarch, was found among the dead, and conveyed to London in a leaden coffin, where it remained some time unburied, as James lay under the sentence of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and opposition to the Holy See. Henry, however, obtained his absolution from the pontiff, and the body was accordingly interred.

James had made a will before he took the field, by which, on his demise, his queen, Margaret was made regent during the minority of his eldest son, who was but two years old at the time of his father's death. He was immediately acknowledged king, by the name of James V. and the queen mother, who was sister to Henry, entreating that monarch not to let the war during her regency, he readily complied with her request, ordered the earl of Surry to disband his forces, and concluded a peace with Scotland.

A. D. 1514. A parliament being called in January the king made several considerable promotions in the nobility. He created the earl of Surry duke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; James Somerset, lord Montague. Margaret of Anjou, daughter to the duke of Clarence, obtained the title of countess of Salisbury as heiress to her mother the earl of Warwick, who was beheaded by Henry VII. and Wolley, who was both the favour-

rite and minister of Henry, was promoted to the bishoprick of Lincoln.

The great success Henry had obtained over his enemies made Lewis desirous of sheathing the sword of destruction by an honourable peace, and thereby restore peace and tranquillity to his kingdom. In order to effect this he appealed pope Leo X. by renouncing the council of Pisa, which had been transferred to Lyons; and the pontiff, in return, took off the excommunication that had been denounced against him and his kingdom.

Henry was far from being averse to a peace; the perfidious conduct of his allies had convinced him that they were more intent on promoting their own interests, than in fulfilling their promises. A negotiation was therefore opened between the two princes, and a peace soon after concluded on the following conditions: That Tournay should remain in the hands of the English; that Henry should receive a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himself; and that Lewis should marry the princess Mary, Henry's sister, who should bring four hundred thousand crowns, as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as even the former queen of France, who was heiress of Britany. It was also stipulated, that the two princes should mutually assist each other with troops in case either of them should be attacked by an enemy. The princess Mary, one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of the age, was then in her twentieth year and Lewis in his fifty-sixth. He met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence: but his passion for this amiable princess cost him his life. His constitution was too much impaired to withstand the excesses of pleasure into which he plunged. He died in less than three months after his marriage, and left his people to bewail his loss with the tears of affection. He was sincerely beloved by his subjects, and deservedly acquired the honourable appellation of "Father of his country."

Lewis was succeeded by Francis I. a young prince of the most distinguished talents, who immediately renewed the treaty with Henry. The young dowager Mary, three months after the death of her husband, was married to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. This she did without the consent of her brother, who, when he heard of it, for some time expressed great disapprobation, but was at length reconciled, and re-admitted them into his favour.

A. D. 1515. In the beginning of this year the see of York becoming vacant by the death of its late possessor, Henry bestowed it on his favourite Wolley, who now in fact governed the kingdom, though he affected only to follow the inclinations of Henry. He seemed to be only the companion of his master's pleasures, but held in reality the reins of government. Preferments were heaped upon him with unbounded profusion. He was not only archbishop of York, but also bishop of Durham and Lincoln, and earned, on very easy terms, the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which were enjoyed by Italians who resided abroad. He soon after obtained a cardinal's hat which augmented at once his pride and ostentation. His household was composed of eight hundred persons, among whom were several of the nobility. He was the first clergyman who wore silk and gold. But still his ambition was not satisfied; he wanted the great seal of England, then in the hands of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. The primate was a person of great prudence and conduct; he had never engaged in any court intrigues, nor even gave offence to any party. Wolley therefore did not attempt to deprive him of his post of chancellor, which perhaps he could not have effected, but

but took every opportunity of mortifying him, in order to provoke him to resign.

Warham remonstrated with Wolsey on his conduct, but without effect; and being of a peaceable disposition, he chose rather to retire to his see, and employ himself wholly to the duties of his office, than remain at court, where he was every day affronted. Accordingly he resigned the great seal into the hands of Henry, who, two days after, committed it to the custody of Wolsey. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who had so long directed the affairs of government, and even introduced Wolsey to the king's favour, could not bear to find himself neglected. He accordingly obtained leave to retire to his bishopric, and at leaving the council-board he told the king, that "he hoped he would not suffer the servant to be greater than the master." "Fear not, my good lord bishop," replied Henry, "it shall be my care that subjects shall obey, and not command."

A. D. 1516. During this year several commotions happened among the princes on the continent; but they were not productive of any thing remarkable, except a compleat victory obtained by the French monarch over the Milanese, which put an end to the dispute, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the contending parties.

A. D. 1518. This year is remarkable for giving rise to those religious disputes which afterwards produced the reformation. Martin Luther, an Augustin friar, and professor of divinity at Wirtemberg in Germany, stimulated to revenge by the conduct of the pope, exclaimed loudly against the church of Rome. He was a person of great learning, genius and spirit, inflexible and opiniative; and there was no want of abuses whereon to found his invectives. A prodigious number of vain and superstitious ceremonies had been introduced into the exercise of religion: divinity was corrupted with subtleties: the clergy were given up to indolence and pleasure; and the court of Rome had been guilty of numberless frauds and usurpations. Religion, often prostituted, had become a cloak for the most sordid rapacity, and the most unpardonable ambition. An incessant cry of reformation resounded from all quarters, and Luther knew how to take advantage of it. He, however, confined himself, in his first writings, to expose the doctrine of indulgences, and, perhaps, had then no other design. But he went farther than he at first intended, as is the case in disputes, and in almost all transactions. He exhorted all princes to throw off the papal yoke, and railed bitterly against private masses. His writings, full of zeal and fury, spread over Europe; and were the more attended to, as he supported his opinions from scripture and other ancient writings of the christian church. The doctrines he inculcated were flattering to the princes of Europe, because they furnished them with a pretence for throwing off the pope's authority, and for enriching themselves with the wealth of ecclesiastics.

The dominions in Germany, supported by the pope's nuncios, caused Luther's books to be publicly burnt. The pontiff thundered out a new bull against him; but Luther, now protected by the princes of Germany, was not to be intimidated; and he ordered the pope's bull and the decretals to be burnt in the public market place of Wirtemberg.

While these religious disputes prevailed with great violence in Germany, the English were cultivating with avidity the blessings of peace. The arts found encouragement; trade was improved; manufactures were carried on with success. Cardinal Wolsey made the noblest use of his power; he exerted it for the good of his country. His post of chancellor placed him at the fountain of justice, and never was it better

administered. He was particularly careful to purify the law, and to suppress the crimes of perjury, the worst of crimes: he was a firm supporter of the poor, and enforced several excellent laws for the protection of the mercantile and industrious part of the people. We have already observed, that he was a great friend to literature. At this time the English had very little learning, and were wholly destitute of taste. Wolsey saw this, and laboured assiduously to improve the one, and introduce the other. He spared no pains to discover persons of literary accomplishments, nor thought any reward too great to bestow upon them. He employed no ministers but such as were scholars; and under his administration the dignified offices of the law, the church, and the state, were filled with men whose literary merit was their only recommendation. He also founded lectures at Oxford for the improvement of learning; and Henry very readily gave his countenance to the noble and patriotic views of his favourite.

A. D. 1519. Wolsey's attention to the pursuit of literature was greatly interrupted in the beginning of this year by the death of the emperor Maximilian. Francis I. of France, and Charles V. of Spain, declared themselves candidates for the imperial throne. These competitors were worthy of each other: the former was distinguished by his candour, his generosity and his valour; the latter by his prudence, his discretion and his policy. Henry, by the advice of Wolsey, used all his interest to support the election of Charles, who was grandson to the deceased emperor; and by his assistance he was chosen by a majority of only one voice.

A. D. 1520. Though the French monarch could not but be displeased at the interposition of Henry in favour of Charles, yet he was desirous of gaining his friendship and confidence; and in order to effect this he solicited an interview with him near Calais. Wolsey, fond of displaying his riches, magnificence and power, seconded the request of the monarch; and Henry, who was equally fond of pomp and honour, consented to the proposal. Charles was alarmed at this intended interview, and determined, if possible, to prevent its consequences: but he well knew, that unless he could gain Wolsey over to his interest, all his attempts to procure the favour of Henry would be in vain. The cardinal now directed all the affairs of government; he had no competitor in the cabinet. Nor was his pomp less remarkable than his power: he celebrated mass with all the state and magnificence of the Roman pontiff: he was served by bishops, and even earls and dukes presented him with the water and the towel. His dress was superbly magnificent: he wore regal vestments; his shoes were of most gilt, set with pearls and precious stones. When he went abroad, two large crosses of mally silver, the legate and that of York, were carried before him by two tall priests; together with two pole axes, two pillars of mally silver, golden cushions, and a great number of stately horses. Nor was he content with this power, wealth, and authority he enjoyed in England, while there was one degree of ecclesiastical grandeur which he had not attained. He already began to exert measures for obtaining the papal throne. He established a legate court, whose arbitrary jurisdiction resembled that of the inquisition. Though not a rigid reformer of the actions of the clergy, he was, perhaps, still more singular, he joined with him a judge in that court, a man whom the king of England had condemned for perjury. His power in the kingdom dreaded his power; and his views rose to such a height, that he considered even the archbishop of Canterbury as far beneath him. This preface

having wrote a letter to him, in which he subscribed himself, "Your loving brother," Wolsey complained of his presumption. The primate, when informed of the offence he had given, said coolly, "Know ye not that this man is intoxicated with prosperity?" But despotic exertions, when applied against the liberty of men's lives and manners, are particularly offensive. The complaints of the people at last reached the ears of the sovereign: he discovered his dissatisfaction, and Wolsey set bounds to his authority: the decisions of his court were made with more care and less oppression to the parties.

While Henry was at Canterbury, in his way to France, Charles landed at Dover; intimation of which being given to the king, he immediately dispatched Wolsey to compliment him on his arrival. The next day Henry met Charles in person, and conducted him to Canterbury, where he was entertained with the utmost pomp and splendor.

Charles paid his court to Wolsey in the most artful manner; and promised him his assistance in procuring the papacy whenever there should happen a vacancy in the pontifical throne. There was, however, little appearance of this promise being claimed. Leo X. was a young man, and likely to fill the chair of St. Peter, when Wolsey was no more. It soothed, however, the ambition of that powerful prelate, who, in consequence, devoted himself to Charles's interest.

As soon as Charles took leave of Henry, the latter immediately went over to Calais, with his queen and the whole court. Francis, attended in the same manner, came to Ardres, a small town a few miles distant from Calais. The interviews were at first carried on with remarkable precaution; the number of guards on each side were carefully counted, and every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted. Francis, whose soul was above distrust, determined to break through such idle ceremonies: he visited the English monarch without guards or attendants; and Henry, disdainful to be excelled in so noble an instance of confidence, followed the example. From that moment they visited each other without the least ceremony; a generous disdain of suspicion supplied the use of precaution. They passed their time in feasts and tournaments, where they respectively distinguished themselves by their dexterity and address in those martial diversions.

Notwithstanding Charles received daily information from the cardinal of what passed at this interview, yet he was very uneasy with respect to the event. He therefore came to Gravelines, which Henry was no sooner informed of than he immediately took his leave of Francis, and went to pay him a visit, when the most cordial assurances of friendship and esteem passed between the two monarchs. After staying three days at Gravelines, Henry embarked for England, and Charles proceeded to Aix la-Chapelle, where he was crowned emperor with great solemnity on the 23d of October.

A. D. 1521. The face of affairs in the beginning of this year seemed to threaten all Europe with a civil war. The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which subsisted between the new emperor and the French king soon broke forth into action. These two princes invaded the dominions of each other with numerous armies; and, after having gratified their ambition by some petty conquests, and glutted their revenge by committing the most dreadful ravages and devastations, they preferred their complaints to the king of England, as the most proper tribunal to decide the difference between them.

In consequence of this, conferences were opened at Calais, and Wolsey was appointed to officiate as mediator between the contending monarchs. Charles, depending on the favour of Wolsey, demanded

possession of Burgundy, and required to be free from the homage which his ancestors had paid for Flanders and Artois. The emperor well knew that these proposals would be rejected; he made them with that intention, and, it is said, with the approbation of Wolsey. But however that may be, the conferences were broke off, and the cardinal himself soon after made a journey to Bruges, where he was received by the emperor with the same state, magnificence and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself. And he concluded, in the name of his master, an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France.

Thus ended this secret negotiation (for it can be called no other) between Wolsey and Charles; and thus was Henry wrought upon to declare himself the enemy of Francis without the least provocation, and contrary to all the rules of sound policy, considering the increasing power of the emperor, which it was his interest to balance.

Wolsey, having settled matters on such a footing as he thought most for his own interest, returned to England about the latter end of the year; soon after which he meditated the destruction of the duke of Buckingham. He had long borne that nobleman a grudge, on account of his having not only made free with his character in public conversation, but having offered him some personal affronts: in particular, it is said, that the duke one day holding the basin to the king, soon after his return from France, the cardinal, when the king had washed, dipped his hands in the same water, upon which the duke, enraged at his insolence, threw the water into his shoes: the cardinal, fired with indignation, told him, in a threatening tone, that he would sit upon his skirts: the duke, in order to expose the cardinal's malice to the king, came the next day to court richly dressed, but without any skirts to his coat: the king asking him what he meant by appearing in that fashion? he repeated the cardinal's threats, with the occasion of them, adding, that he thus equipped himself to baulk the cardinal of his intention, for that now he could not sit upon his skirts.

This jest, however, proved fatal to the duke, for from that instant Wolsey vowed his destruction. He began to effect his intended purpose by depriving the duke of his two best friends, namely, the earl of Northumberland his father-in-law, and the earl of Surrey his son-in-law; the former of whom he caused to be put under arrest on account of some matter in law concerning a wardship; and the latter he sent into an honourable banishment by making him lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke being thus alone, the cardinal gained over one Knevet, a retainer of the duke's, but who, upon being discharged his service for some misdemeanor, was now his mortal enemy. This fellow accused his master of saying in private company, that, should the king die without issue, he would lay claim to the crown, as the descendant of Anne of Gloucester, grand daughter of Edward III. and that, should he ever ascend the throne, he would punish Wolsey in the most exemplary manner. He also said, that the duke corresponded with one Hopkins, a monk in the priory of Hinton, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, and flattered the duke with assurances of his succeeding to the crown of England.

Wolsey now thought he had got sufficient matter for an accusation, which he so aggravated to the king, that orders were instantly issued for apprehending the duke, who, on the 15th of April, was committed to the Tower. A short time after he was tried by his peers in Westminster hall, and found guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. He made a long and vigorous defence; but his fate was determined, and he was condemned to death. Great interest was made

to save him, but without effect; for, on Friday the 17th of May, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. His death was greatly lamented by the people, who imputed it wholly to the implacable resentment of the cardinal.

The religious disputes in Germany still continued, and several of the princes had already declared in favour of Luther's reformation. England also, where there were still a great many Lollards, who inculcated nearly the same tenets, would have followed the German princes, had not the government firmly opposed the doctrines of the Wirtemberg professor. Capricious fate, which sports with the affairs of the world, so ordered it, that Henry himself should be engaged in this dispute. He had been strictly educated, in an attachment to the court of Rome, and had contracted an aversion to Luther, because he had spoken disrespectfully of Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author. Vanity and resentment, more than zeal for religion, induced Henry to become an author, and to combat the doctrines of the German monk. The book was soon finished and sent to Rome, where it was received with rapture by the pope, who bestowed the title of "Defender of the Faith" upon Henry and his successors.

Luther, who made no difference between noble and ignoble writers, soon wrote an answer to Henry, and treated him with all the acrimony of stile, to which, in the course of his dispute, he had been so long accustomed. The controversy now became more illustrious by Henry's entering the lists; it engaged still more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran party acquired daily new converts in every part of Europe. It became a matter of competition to insult, with most indecency, the pope and the church. They called the pontiff antichrist, denominated his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions, which, however applied, were to be found in the scriptures, and therefore better calculated to act on the ignorant multitude than the most solid arguments.

On the first of December this year died pope Leo X. in the 46th year of his age, and the ninth of his pontificate. He was a prince well qualified by his sound judgment, moderation and temper, to have retarded the progress of the reformation, which now made its way with hasty strides. He was succeeded in the papal throne by Adrian VI. who had been tutor to Charles, the present emperor. This pontiff was a person of great integrity, candour, and simplicity of manners; but the prejudices of the reformers were so violent against the church, that he rather hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues.

A. D. 1522. Wolley had entertained great hopes of being at this time chosen pontiff; and had actually, at different scrutinies, nine, twelve, and nineteen voices. However, though he lost his election, yet the advanced age, and numerous infirmities of Adrian, still gave him hopes that he should soon be able to satisfy his ambition. The emperor never intended to place Wolley in St. Peter's chair. He was desirous of having a pope who would be wholly at his devotion; and he was too well acquainted with the imperious temper of the cardinal to think he would ever be submissive to the will of any person whatever. But in order to dissipate the chagrin of that haughty minister, he paid a new visit to the court of England; where, besides flattering the vanity of the king and cardinal, he repeated to Wolley all the promises he had formerly made him of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. The insinuating address of Charles produced the desired effect: Wolley concealed his resentment, the late treaty was renewed, and it was determined in the English council to declare war against France.

Accordingly, Clarendieux, king at arms, was sent to the French court, with a declaration, that his master looked upon Francis as the first aggressor, and therefore found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor. The bloody standard of war was now displayed; the ambassadors on both sides were recalled; the effects of the merchants were seized in both countries; and Henry fitted out a strong fleet for making prizes of the enemy's ships, and protecting the English commerce. The command of this fleet was given to the earl of Surry, who was now made lord high admiral of England; and the emperor created him high admiral of his dominions.

A. D. 1523. About the middle of June Henry sent over a considerable army to Calais, under the command of the duke of Suffolk, who, on his arrival at St. Omer's, was joined by 3000 foot and 200 horse in the imperial service. It was now determined to march along the banks of the Somme, and, if possible, to provoke the enemy to a decisive engagement: but the French had learned prudence from past misfortunes; they contented themselves with harassing the van of the English army with flying parties, and depended on the strength of their frontier garrisons, and the advanced season of the year, to prevent the English from taking up their winter quarters in their country.

In this they were not deceived: for though the duke of Suffolk made himself master of Bray, Meudon, Roye, and several other considerable places, and even advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, yet he found it would be impossible for him to canton his troops in the places he had conquered, as the duke of Vendome lay in Paris with a large body of troops, and the marshal Tremouille was forming another army by draughts from the garrisons of Picardy. He was therefore obliged to return to Calais, in order to put his army into winter quarters; but before he reached that fortress, many of his soldiers perished by the inclemency of the weather. In consequence of this retreat, most of the places he had taken during the campaign fell again into the hands of the French. Nor had Charles any better success in the attempt made, at the same time, upon Calcuty. His forces invested Bayonne; but the French general, Lesclapart, made such a noble defence, that Charles's troops, after ravaging the adjacent country, were obliged to abandon the enterprise.

The French were so animated at these mischiefs, that they exerted themselves with all their might against the powerful alliance that was formed against their country; and, in all probability, Francis would have been able to have supported himself against the efforts of his enemies, had not the count of Bourbon, the most able of all his generals, persecuted by the hatred of the dukes of Angoulême and the king's mother, sacrificed to his resentment his duty and the love of his country, and entered into the service of Charles V. He was immediately created generalissimo of the emperor's armies, and marched into the duchy of Milan, which the French had invaded under admiral Bonnivet, his greatest enemy. A general thoroughly acquainted with the French troops, their strength and weakness, must have been of considerable advantage to Charles; but there were other circumstances still more in his favour. Most of the princes of Italy were in his interest. The people hated the French government; and he was assisted by some of the most able and distinguished generals in Europe.

Bonnivet crossed the Alps at the head of thirty thousand men, and made himself master of Novato, and some other places of less importance in Italy; and had he marched directly to Milan, he might, perhaps, have recovered that city.

master; but he lost so much time in treating with the inhabitants, that the constable of Bourbon had an opportunity of putting the place into a posture of defence. The rest of the campaign was spent in several fruitless attempts upon Cremona, and other places, none of which he was able to reduce. The Italian generals saw his inabilities, and took care to cut off his provisions; so that Bonniwet was obliged to retire into Piedmont, where he put his army into winter quarters.

While these things were transacting, pope Adrian VI. paid the debt of nature; and Clement VII. of the Medicean family, was elected in his place, by the interest of the imperial party. Wolley was now convinced of the insincerity of the emperor; and justly concluded, that he must never hope to mount the papal throne by his interest. He, however, dissimulated his resentment, congratulated the new pope on his election, and applied for a continuation of the legatine powers he had enjoyed under the two last pontiffs. Clement well knew the necessity of maintaining the friendship of this imperious minister, and he accordingly granted his request, but sent him a commission for life; a very mutual concession, and by which Wolley obtained the whole papal authority in England. He, however, made a noble use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, and another at Ipswich. He invited learned men from every part of Europe, to fill the chairs of these colleges: and, in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some of the lesser monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. These proceedings were countenanced at Rome, there being now an immediate necessity for learned men to defend the church against the forcible attacks of the reformers.

A. D. 1524. Francis, who had been hitherto successful in Italy, imprudently sent off a large detachment from his army, under the command of the duke of Alva, towards Naples; while Pavia, which he had long time invested, being well provided for defence, the imperial generals flattered themselves with an easy conquest. From this circumstance, an opportunity of striking the French at a very considerable advantage. The arrival of the duke of Bourbon, with a numerous army, determined them to raise the siege; and he attacked the French with such courage, resolution and conduct, that the troops of Francis were routed, and himself taken prisoner, after having eminently distinguished his personal valour. He was immediately carried to the strong castle of St. Mark, where he remained for some time under the care of Alvazon, the Spanish governor, who treated him with the greatest respect.

A. D. 1525. The captivity of the French monarch produced a sudden change in the politics of England. The state was reduced to the very brink of ruin, and the king was become so formidable as to threaten the general liberties of Europe. Henry determined to espouse the cause of the latter, and espouse the interest of the former.

Was prompted by his own inclination, and the advice of the cardinal, who was desirous of revenge for the ill offices he had done him in the exercise of the papacy, he imparted his sentiments to the king's regent of France, (mother to the captive monarch,) who sending her ambassadors to the court of London, a treaty of peace and alliance was signed by the two parties on the 30th of July.

The natural consequence of this alliance was, a declaration against the emperor, but as the treasury was almost exhausted, Henry committed the care of recruiting his army, who, instead of calling a parliament, he expected a repulse, issued a decree in

the king's name, for levying through the whole kingdom, one sixth of all the lay revenues, and one fourth of those belonging to the clergy. This tax was considered as such a violent encroachment on the liberty of the subject, and such a flagrant violation of Magna Charta, that it produced a dreadful clamour in every part of the nation, and it was feared a rebellion would be the consequence. Henry, when informed of this alarming ferment, disowned the measure, declaring, "That no necessities of the crown should make him attempt the raising of money any other way than by the people's consent in parliament."

The cardinal, disappointed in this attempt, had recourse to the old method of benevolences, which he imagined would appear less odious to the people. But he was deceived; it occasioned very loud complaints and remonstrances. The more illegal the imposts he levied, the more the sufferers were enraged. They regarded them not as necessary supplies for the state, but as violent and tyrannical exactions. A lawyer having observed, that all benevolences had been abolished by act of parliament in the reign of Richard III. it was answered, that Richard was an usurper, that his parliaments were factious assemblies; and that his statutes were of no force against a legal king. The judges who were consulted on this occasion, went so far as to affirm, that the king could by commission, exact whatever sums he pleased. This despotic maxim was not, however, admitted by the people; they had recourse to arms; and Henry had no better method of suppressing the insurgents, than by granting them a general pardon.

Henry seems to have been hitherto unacquainted with the measures of the cardinal, and to have imagined that the people were happy and contented under his administration; but the clamours and frequent insurrections which had happened in consequence of the late attempts to oppress the subject having convinced him to the contrary, he was highly incensed against his favourite, who was obliged to have recourse to the most humble and abject submission to appease the wrath of his master. He produced his will, in which he had left all his riches to the king, and laboured to convince him that what he did was to promote his honour, and would prove in the end highly advantageous. At the same time he made him a present of his stately palace at Hampton-court, in return for which the king granted him his letters patent for the founding his college at Oxford.

A. D. 1526. Notwithstanding the interposition of almost all the powers in Europe, in behalf of the captive Francis, yet he did not obtain his liberty till the middle of March, after signing a treaty very advantageous to the emperor. But he no sooner reached his own dominions than he disclaimed the whole agreement as compulsive. He determined, if possible, to be revenged on Charles; to effect which he concluded an alliance with Clement VII. the Venetians, and the principalities of Italy; a confederacy of which the king of England was declared the protector.

Charles, irritated at this league, determined to take ample vengeance on those allies that had deserted him in the time of danger, particularly the Roman pontiff, who, though he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had so ungratefully abandoned the interest of his benefactor. He accordingly ordered the duke of Bourbon to advance towards Rome, and attack the pope in his capital. Bourbon executed the emperor's commands with the greatest bravery and conduct, but was killed as he was mounting a ladder to scale the walls. His death inspired his followers with fury and revenge. Rome taken by assault, was pillaged, and became a scene

scene of the most shocking barbarities. That renowned city never suffered more, even from barbarians, than now from the hands of Christians. Whatever was respectable in modesty, whatever was sacred in religion, seemed only to increase the brutality of the soldiers. The pope himself was taken prisoner, and treated with every indignity. When intelligence was brought the emperor of the success of his arms against the Roman capital, he affected the utmost sorrow, put himself and his whole court into mourning, and ordered prayers to be offered up for the deliverance of the pope. But the artifice was too gross to impose even upon the ignorant and superstitious multitude.

The case was very different with Francis and Henry: they were extremely concerned for the misfortunes of the pontiff, and determined to carry their arms into Italy. Wolsey himself, by order of Henry, crossed the seas to have an interview with Francis, who met him at Amiens; where it was stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should marry the princess Mary: and as it was apprehended that Charles would immediately summon a general council, they both agreed not to acknowledge it, but to govern the churches in their respective dominions by their own authority, during the pope's imprisonment. Soon after, a new treaty was negotiated between the two monarchs; by which Henry renounced his ancient pretensions to the crown of France; and Francis, in return, bound himself and his successors to pay annually the sum of fifty thousand crowns.

During these transactions on the continent Henry's attention was engaged in an affair of the most important nature. His consort Catherine of Arragon, who was six years older than himself, had lost his affection, and he now formed the resolution of obtaining a divorce. She was the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, (king and queen of Spain) and aunt to Charles V. She had been married to Henry eighteen years, and brought him three children; one of whom, the princess Mary, afterwards queen of England, was still living. The queen could neither be reproached with bad conduct, nor even with that peevish temper which so frequently accompanies female virtue. But all her gentle and amiable accomplishments could not fire a heart devoted to pleasure. She had been first married to prince Arthur, elder brother to Henry; and upon his death, she was betrothed to him. This marriage had always been considered as illegal by most of the foreign states; had been strongly opposed as such by Warham archbishop of Canterbury; and his opinion had been confirmed by the two houses of Convocation. These authorities strengthened Henry's scruples; and it was thought that the pope had no power to dispense with a positive law of the Deity.

Henry now became anxiously solicitous to convince himself of the illegitimacy of his marriage. The great progress he had made in casuistical divinity enabled him to examine the question thoroughly. The celebrated Thomas Aquinas, whose authority was great in the church, and absolute with Henry, had treated of that very case, and expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. "The prohibitions (says that famous casuist) contained in Leviticus, and among the rest, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them."

From these arguments Henry was convinced that his marriage was unlawful; and an incident now happened which prompted him to persevere in procuring a divorce from Catherine. Anne Boleyn, a young

lady celebrated for her beauty and mental accomplishments, had been lately created maid of honor to the queen, and soon acquired an entire ascendancy over the affections of Henry. He endeavoured, by every means he could project, to seduce her, but the virtue or ambition of Anne resisted all his arts; and the king perceiving that there was no other method of gratifying his passion, determined to make her his partner in the throne.

A. D. 1528. Henry was little aware of the many obstacles that would oppose his intended purposes. Before any advances could be made it was necessary that the bull of pope Julius should be annulled at Rome; a proceeding which no pontiff would readily be willing to adopt. Clement, though still a prisoner to Charles, was desirous of procuring the favour of Henry, who was alone able to assist him in his distress. He therefore listened to the proposals of that monarch, and seemed willing to annul the bull of his predecessor. He granted a commission to Wolsey to examine, as legate, the validity of the marriage, and promised to expedite a bull of divorce, but Clement, with all his dexterity and address, wanted intrepidity, firmness, and integrity. Charles V. discovered his intention; and threatened, if he favoured the English monarch, to summon a general council, and cause him to be deposed. At the same time, he flattered him with the hopes of re-establishing his family in the duchy of Florence, if he complied with his desires. The offers and threatenings of Charles were two powerful for Clement to withstand; he granted a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolsey, for trying the validity of the king's marriage. But he could not be induced to promise, that he would not recall this commission. Campeggio artfully protracted his departure for England; and when he arrived there with a bull in the style requested by Henry, he refused to communicate it to any person except the king and Wolsey.

A. D. 1529 As this bull could not be executed till the marriage was pronounced illegal, a court was appointed to be held in Blackfriars for the trial of the cause, and the king and queen were cited to appear on the 18th of June. Wolsey, as a proof of his impartiality, allowed Campeggio to preside, though he himself was a senior cardinal.

On the day appointed the king and queen attended, when Henry being called, readily answered to his name; but the queen, instead of answering, he rose from her seat, threw herself at the feet of her husband, and addressed him in the most pathetic terms. She began with observing, that she was a stranger in his dominions, destitute of friends, counsel, of assistance; exposed to all the calumnies which her enemies were pleased to heap upon her. She told him, that her conduct, ever since her marriage, had been intrepachable; and protested that he had received her a virgin to his bed. She then, that in espousing him, she had followed the example of those able princes, Henry VII. and Ferdinand the Catholic. She expressed her fears of the legates, appealed from them to the king, and after making the king a low reverence, she retired from the court, nor would she ever after appear before the legates.

Henry did not attempt to reproach her with her crime: on the contrary, he declared that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and modesty. But he still insisted on the scruple with which she had been agitated. He mentioned the contrary of her marriage with his brother Arthur, declared his doubts of the validity of pope Julius's dispensation,

Engraved for Russet's
History of England.



The DUKES of SUFFOLK & NORFOLK
receiving the Great Seal of England from
CARDINAL WOLSEY on his Resignation

and expressed his desire that the court might give judgment according to the rules of equity and religion.

As soon as the king had finished his speech, the legates proceeded in their commission, and first examined into the proofs of the consummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine. And it must be owned by every impartial enquirer, that the fact was established as far as the nature of the transaction would admit of proof. Every person now expected that the sentence of divorce would be soon pronounced, but that moment was still at a great distance. Campeggio spun out the trial, till he received his final instructions from Rome; when he burnt the decretal ball, and declared that the cause was removed to Rome.

This event induced Henry to suspect Wolsey of treachery, and from that moment we may justly date the fall of that powerful minister. Both the emperor and Catherine made the utmost efforts to ruin him in the king's opinion: they were at great pains to propagate reports, by means of their agents, wholly calculated to accomplish his destruction. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, at the head of a powerful party, exerted all their influence to supplant him in the royal favour, and embraced every opportunity of misrepresenting his actions. But, perhaps, all their endeavours, added to the envy and malignancy of the world, would not have been sufficient to have effected his disgrace, without the powerful assistance of Anne Boleyn, who had now gained an entire ascendancy over the mind of her royal lover.

It was generally expected that the disgrace of the king would have immediately followed the removal of the cause to Rome; but in this the people were deceived. Henry had so much command over his passion, as not to intimate any dislike to the proceedings of his minister; but Campeggio had no sooner received his audience of leave, than Henry, in order to vent the chagrin resulting from his disappointment, made a progress through several of the counties adjacent to his capital, without taking the cardinal with him. From this neglect Wolsey prognosticated that his fall was at no great distance. He, however, still continued to discharge the duties of his office; and observing no alteration in the behaviour of the court towards him, he began to flatter himself that his disgrace was not absolutely determined. But his enemies, with Anne Boleyn at their head, had so prevailed on the king, during his absence, against the minister, that on his return to London, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both sworn enemies to Wolsey, presented to demand the great seal, which Wolsey refused proper to refuse, asserting, that he held it by the oath of his life. The next day they returned with orders under the king's signet, and Wolsey immediately delivered the seal into their hands. The king then gave it to Sir Thomas More, a man of great virtue and integrity. Wolsey was ordered to leave the Tower of York palace, which, though it belonged to the archiepiscopal see, was seized by Henry, and afterwards the residence of the kings of England under the title of Whitehall. A cupboard of gold, a thousand pieces of holland, which were given to him, with all his rich furniture, were ordered to the king's use. Wolsey immediately dismissed his numerous retinue, and retired to Esher, where he possessed on the banks of the Thames.

Henry was desirous of suspending the blow which he had just given to his favourite; yet the enemies of Wolsey, particularly Anne Boleyn, so exasperated him by false accusations, that he gave orders to the prosecution of the parliament. The commons presented an accusation against him

consisting of forty-four articles; but they were all so vague and indeterminate, that the Commons rejected the bill. Thomas Cromwell, formerly one of his domestics, defended him in that assembly with a force and courage which, instead of hurting his fortune, as might have been expected, laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king. True merit sometimes acquires an ascendancy over vicious minds. But the opposition of the Commons was not sufficient to divert the dreadful storm that threatened to overwhelm this once powerful minister. He was condemned, on pretence of his having solicited bulls from Rome, though the king had given his consent to that measure; and the cardinal was never able to recover from this disgrace: he fell a sacrifice to the envy and malevolence of his enemies. The king, however, would not suffer this prosecution to be carried to extremities: he even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored him part of his plate and furniture; and continued, from time to time, to intimate, that he still entertained for him his former affections.

Henry had now but little hopes of succeeding in his solicitations for a divorce from Rome. The policy of Clement VII. and the intrigues and power of Charles V. had abundantly convinced him that every attempt of that kind would prove abortive. A treaty had been lately concluded between the emperor and the pope, and another between the former and the French monarch. These treaties restored peace to Italy, and Clement no longer depended on Henry's assistance. It was therefore necessary to have recourse to some other expedient, or drop all thoughts of obtaining a divorce from Catherine. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, discovered a method which seemed to promise the removal of every difficulty. He proposed to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point; alledging, that if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his Majesty's scruples must cease of course: if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the opinion of all the learned, when joined with the solicitations of so great a monarch. Henry was highly delighted with this proposal, and determined to carry it immediately into execution. He also found, upon inquiry, that Cranmer was a person of acknowledged piety, learning, and moderation, and therefore determined to have him near his person. Accordingly he sent for him to court, entered into conversation with him, and conceived so high an opinion of him, that he ever after consulted him in all cases of importance.

A. D. 1530. The advice of Cranmer had the desired effect. The universities were consulted, and those of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Thoulouse, Angiers, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, Bologna, Oxford and Cambridge pronounced a decision agreeable to his wishes. They maintained, "That the marriage of a person with his brother's widow was contrary to the divine law; and, consequently, could not be authorized by any dispensation."

This decision, however, had not any effect on the court of Rome: they still refused to listen to Henry's remonstrances. A spirited letter was therefore written to the pope, signed by the principal prelates and nobility of England; in which, after mentioning the many good offices which the king had formerly done for his Holiness, the judgment of so many learned universities, and the little regard he had paid to all these weighty considerations: they plainly told him, "that if he continued to amuse and deceive the English monarch in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connections with the see of Rome, and do themselves that justice which they had so long demanded in vain from his Holiness."

While these things were transacting, Wolsey still continued in privacy at his country-seat at Esher, which he had received from Henry in return for Hampton-court. He had been reinstated in the revenues of his archbishopric, and those of the see of Winchester; and even entertained hopes of again recovering the king's favour. The courtiers were alarmed, and procured an order for him to remove to his archiepiscopal see. He immediately obeyed, and retired to Cawood in Yorkshire, where he applied himself strictly to execute the duties of his ecclesiastical charge. Nor did he labour in vain. The assiduity with which he discharged his pastoral duties, his charity to the poor, his hospitality, and the obliging reception he gave to all who visited him in his retreat, soon gained him the love and esteem of all orders of men in the neighbourhood of his residence.

Wolsey was not, however, long suffered to enjoy this happiness unmolested. The earl of Northumberland and Sir Peter Walsby were sent down to arrest him for high-treason, and to conduct him to London. No respect was paid to his ecclesiastical character; the privileges of the church were no longer regarded. He made no opposition to the royal orders; but immediately set out for London with some degree of cheerfulness. They were met upon the road by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, at the head of a party of the guards. But the cardinal, partly by the fatigues of his journey, and partly by the great anxiety of his mind, was seized with a disorder which soon turned to a dysentery; so that he reached Leicester-abbey with the utmost difficulty. He perceived his dissolution was approaching; and told the abbots and monks, who advanced to receive him with great respect, that he was come to lay his bones among them. He was immediately carried to his bed, from which he never more arose. The folly of ambitious pursuits, and the vanity of human grandeur, now appeared in their genuine colours; and he sincerely regretted the time he had spent in assiduously studying the headstrong passions of an ungrate-

ful prince. "Had I," said he, "served my God as diligently as I served my king, he would not have forsaken me in my grey hairs." With these reflections Wolsey paid the debt of nature on the twenty-third of November, in the sixtieth year of his age and was interred, at his own request, in the chapel of Leicester-abbey.

This great minister exhibits a striking example of the folly and weakness of those who mistake the paths of ambition for the paths of happiness. His character has been loaded, perhaps unjustly, with the most violent reproaches. Great allowances should certainly be made for the obstinacy and violence of Henry's temper: Wolsey was often obliged to pursue measures his better judgement condemned. His successors could not hold the helm of government with so steady a hand: they were far more criminal than the cardinal. The ambition he entertained of filling St. Peter's chair proceeded, perhaps, in part at least, from a desire he entertained of being serviceable to his country in that important station. Henry himself, when informed of the death of the cardinal, regretted his loss, and spoke of him in the most favourable terms: and it should be remembered, that a minister who is odious to the nation he governs, cannot be transmitted in very favourable colours to posterity.*

A. D. 1532. The measures Henry had for some time pursued clearly evinced his intentions of eclipsing the power of the Roman pontiff in England. At his instigation the parliament, which met in the beginning of this year, passed an act against levying the annates, or first fruits, a tax hitherto paid to the pope for granting bulls to the new prelates. This statute declared, "That the kingdom was impoverished by the great sums paid to the Roman pontiff: that, since the second year of the late reign, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been sent to Rome on account of annates or first-fruits, palls and bulls for bishoprics: that the annates had been originally designed as a contribution for sup-

porting

* The character of this celebrated personage is thus drawn by a masterly pen: "His manner had a striking resemblance of merit, while it breathed the very soul of impurity. He could, at once, prompt to virtue and to vice; and he opened his house as a mart of lust and excess for gratifying the passions of his young prodigal master. His learning was rather elegant than deep; and his state was more arrogant than graceful. With the grave he was severe; with the lewd he was lascivious. His rivals, like under-wood beneath a baleful shade, shrunk and shrivelled up as his credit grew, and his designs prospered. He was equally rapacious as profuse. In prosperity elate, in adversity dejected; under equal circumstances, impatient; in doubtful ones intrepid. Of his superiors, envious; towards his competitors, severe; but easy to his inferiors, from a principle, not of humility, but of pride, being desirous of seeing his own slaves the masters of others. It cost him more to preserve the appearances, than it would have done to have practised the duties of religion. Though crafty, he chose to overbear; and though venal, he was generous. He was guarded on all sides but on that of vanity, which was the gap through which those calamities poured, that afterwards deluged his fortunes. He knew how to entice by friendship, and to retain by politeness; his purse was open, his interest was ready, to all who were willing or able to serve his purposes. He could accommodate himself to every disposition, and, thereby, (master of those with whom he dealt) he deceived the worthy, he attracted the abandoned. With him vanity produced more noble effects than virtue did in others. From his first introduction to court, his great principle was to reign in the cabinet; but he drove the chariot of government over precipices which, at last, dismounted his ambition. For his abilities raising him from the stables to the church, (he having been originally only the son of a butcher at Ipswich in Suffolk) from the church to the cabinet, he sought to rise from the cabinet to the popedom, a state then more revered than was the sovereignty itself."

The dark and light shades of this great man's portraiture are finely delineated by our immortal poet Shakespeare, in the speeches which he respectively puts in the mouths of Queen Cath-

rine and Griffith her gentleman usher. His blemishes are thus depicted by the queen:

—————he was a man
Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
Himself with princes. One that by suggestion
Ty'd all the kingdom; Simony was fair play,
His own opinion was his law. I th' presence
He would say untruths, and be ever double
Both in his words and meaning. He was never,
But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
His promises were, as he then was, mighty;
But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
Of his own body he was ill, and gave
The clergy ill example.

In answer to this Griffith thus describes his merits:

—————This Cardinal,
Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashioned to much honour. From his cradle
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading;
Lusty and stout to them that lov'd him not.
But to those men that sought him, sweet as honey.
And though he were unsatisfied in getting,
Which was a sin, yet in bellowing.
He was most princely; ever witness for him
Those twins of learning, that he raised,
Ipswich and Oxford; one of which fell with him.
Unwilling to outlive the good that did it.
The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue
His overthrow heap'd up happiness upon him.
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little.
And to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him; he dy'd leaving God

porting a war against the infidels; but as they were not applied to that purpose, it was decreed, that they should not be paid for the future: that no more than five per cent. of the annual revenue should be given for the bulls of the bishoprics: that if the pope should refuse to grant them upon these terms, the bishop elect should be presented by the king to the metropolitan of the province, in order to be consecrated; but should the metropolitan refuse consecration, on pretence of wanting palls and bulls, two prelates appointed by the king should perform the ceremony, and the elect should then be considered as lawfully consecrated. The parliament, however, at the same time, declared that the king should be at liberty to annul or confirm this act, within a limited time; and if, in that interval, he should compromise his difference with the court of Rome, it should obtain the force of a law; but should the pope, on account of this act, endeavour to disturb the peace of the kingdom with the sentences of excommunication and interdict, these censures should be utterly disregarded. All ecclesiastics were forbid to receive or publish such censures, and enjoined to celebrate divine service in the same manner as if they had never been issued."

The whole nation were now convinced that Henry's intention was to marry Anne Boleyn; and either force the pope to agree to his measures, or withdraw his obedience from the holy see. The chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a man of strict virtue, incapable of making his religion submissive to his interest, and, at the same time, too much a philosopher to be over solicitous to advance his fortune, begged leave to resign the seals, and retired from that elevated station with more joy than an ambitious person would have felt in being placed in that exalted seat of power. Soon after Sir Thomas More's resignation, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature; an event which gave Henry no small satisfaction, as he flattered himself he should now easily procure the affair of his divorce to be determined in his own dominions. For though the deceased prelate was convinced that Henry's marriage with Catherine was unlawful, yet he was too much devoted to the see of Rome to do any act, or exert his own authority in opposition to the papal power. The king named for his successor Dr. Thomas Cranmer, and he was soon after placed in the archiepiscopal chair.

A. D. 1533. Henry had exerted his utmost influence to prevail upon Catherine to withdraw her appeal from Rome; but all his attempts proving abortive, and a treaty of offensive alliance being concluded with Francis I. he privately married Anne Boleyn about the middle of January. Her father, mother, and brother, together with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and archbishop Cranmer, were present at the ceremony.

The new queen soon becoming pregnant, Henry, to preserve her reputation, publicly owned his marriage. This circumstance rendered it necessary that Catherine's divorce should now be finished; and it was determined in the council, that the archbishop should pronounce the sentence. Accordingly Cranmer repaired to Dunstable, in the neighbourhood of which the queen resided, and cited Catherine to appear. As she took not the least notice of the citation, she was declared contumacious, and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Anbur's consummation of his marriage were produced; the opinions of the universities were read; together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations of Canterbury and York: and after these preparatory steps, Cranmer annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, as unlawful. He then, by a subsequent sentence, ratified the king's

marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was soon after publicly crowned with the greatest pomp and ceremony. On the seventh of September, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and afterwards swayed the sceptre of England.

No sooner did the intelligence of these transactions reach the court of Rome, than the whole consistory was in the most violent ferment. The cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to launch the dreadful bolt of excommunication against the English monarch; but the pontiff could not be prevailed upon to proceed any farther than to threaten Henry with that sentence, if he annulled not the criminal acts he had committed within a limited time. The mediation of Francis I. who had entered into a negotiation with Clement for the marriage of his second son, the duke of Orleans, with Catherine of Medicis, the pope's niece, seemed, however, likely to produce an accommodation. Henry was prevailed upon to submit his cause to the holy see, provided the cardinals of the imperial party were excluded from the Roman consistory during his trial; and the pope was disposed to gratify his desire. A day was even appointed for the return of the messenger with Henry's definitive answer; but the courier who carried the king's acquiescence in writing, was detained by accident beyond the limited time. In vain did the bishop of Paris request the pope to wait a few days for the messenger: Clement was so highly exasperated, that he would listen to no remonstrances. He entered the consistory enflamed with anger; and, with a precipitation fatal to the power of the Roman see, pronounced the legitimacy of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and declared him excommunicated if he refused to obey the sentence. Two days after, the messenger arrived; but the evil was not to be redressed. The obedience of England, one of the richest jewels in the papal crown, was lost by this hasty decision. A kingdom the most devoted of any in Europe to the apostolical see, was become its irreconcilable enemy.

A. D. 1534. The parliament met on the 15th of January, when the principal business done was, to enact laws wholly subversive of the papal authority. They had already proscribed all appeals to Rome, and all the rights and regulations of the apostolic chamber. The people had for some years been persuaded, that a general council was far superior to the Roman pontiff; it was now publicly maintained, that the pope was only a bishop, and that his power extended no farther than the limits of his own diocese. The people, the parliament, and even the clergy, adopted this opinion. The statute of Henry IV. against heretics was moderated. By another statute it was declared, that no synod or convocation of the clergy should be assembled without the king's permission; that his majesty should nominate sixteen persons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and constitutions of the church, with a power to abolish such as were useless, and confirm those that were necessary. The parliament next confirmed the statute against annates: it was enacted, "That for the future the pope should have no share in the election or confirmation of bishops; but that, when a see became vacant, the king should send to the chapter a *congè d'élire*, or licence, to elect a new bishop; and if the election should not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the right of choosing should fall to the king; that the bishop elect should swear fealty to his majesty; that no person should presume to apply to the bishop of Rome for bulls, palls, or any other religious purpose; that Peter's-pence, together with all procurations, delegations, bulls, and dispensations, issued by the court of Rome, should be entirely abolished; that the archbishop

bishop of Canterbury should be empowered to grant such dispensations as were consistent with the law of God, provided that part of the money thence arising should be paid unto the king's exchequer : that all religious houses, whether exempted or non-exempted, should be subject to the visitation of the archbishop : that the king's marriage with Catherine should be deemed null and void ; and that the succession should be settled upon the issue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female."

The same parliament also passed an act of attainder against Elizabeth Barton, commonly called "The Holy Maid of Kent," a native of the parish of Aldington, who had been employed by certain ecclesiastics to raise disturbances in the kingdom. This woman had been long subject to hysteric fits, during which her body was thrown into unusual convulsions, and she frequently uttered many strange and incoherent expressions ; whence the ignorant and credulous multitude were induced to believe that she spoke by the inspiration of heaven. The party who still supported the pope's authority, considered this person as a proper instrument to gain proselytes to their party, and condemn the methods that had been taken to procure the divorce. They, however, waited till the belief of her having an immediate intercourse with heaven was established with the people. This being effected, they taught her to declaim against the new doctrines, which she called heresy ; against innovations in ecclesiastical government, and against the king's divorce from Catherine. She even at last had the boldness to assert, "that if the king prosecuted his divorce, and married another woman, he should not wear the crown a month longer, but should die the death of a villain." Henry, for some time, neglected to take any notice of this woman ; he considered her pretended prophecies as the effects of a disordered brain, and which would be disregarded as soon as they ceased to be a novelty. But finding that she was supported, not only by the monks, but also by the pope's agents in England, he resolved to proceed against her with the utmost severity. Both the maid herself, and her accomplices, were accordingly examined in the Star-chamber, where they readily confessed all the particulars of their guilt ; in consequence of which they were committed to the Tower, and soon after hanged at Tyburn. The detection of this imposture tended greatly to injure the credit of the ecclesiastics, especially the monks, who now became the objects of Henry's resentment.

While these things were transacting, intelligence of the excommunication fulminated by Clement reached England, and added greatly to the general ferment. The appeal of the king to the general council of the clergy was affixed to all the gates of the churches. The convocation declared, that the bishop of Rome had no authority in England ; and that the power which he and his predecessors had hitherto exercised there, was nothing more than an usurpation tolerated by its kings. Thus was the church of England separated from the authority of the Roman see ; and all subjection to the pope totally annihilated !

As soon as the parliament rose, Henry sent commissioners through the whole kingdom, to administer the oath of allegiance and succession to all his subjects ; and Filmer, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, refusing to take it, were committed to the Tower.

But though Henry had renounced the pope's authority, he was far from being a friend to the reformers. Their tenets were, however, embraced by great numbers of the English, and all ranks of men were disposed to favour their attempts to remove many of the superstitious practices from the public worship. The king's book against Luther had done him honour

with the Catholics ; and the answer of that reformer, who treated him with a sovereign contempt, failed not to wound his vanity. He did not, therefore, abandon the tenets of the Roman church, though he denied the authority of the pontiff. His ministers and courtiers knew not which religion to adopt ; they wavered between both, and seemed extremely cautious of declaring their real opinions. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who were firmly attached to the ancient religion, though they pretended to acknowledge the king's supremacy, used every method in their power to exasperate Henry against the reformers. On the other hand, the new queen, with archbishop Crammer, and secretary Cromwell, who were friends to the protestants, artfully excited his resentment against the Holy See, while they themselves professed the established faith. Thus the professors of both religions were equally subject to persecution. It was as criminal to acknowledge the pope's supremacy as to embrace the tenets of Luther ; and Henry alike condemned to the flames those who spoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and those who declared for the reformed religion. In particular, he now ordered the prior of the Carthusian monks, the prior of Hexham, Benase, a monk of Sion College, and John Haile, vicar of Isleworth, together with three monks of the Charter-house, to be hanged and quartered for denying his supremacy, which sentence was executed with full rigour at Tyburn on the 18th of July.

The reformers also, at the same time, felt the weight of Henry's violent hand. The spirit of liberty cherished by that whole sect alarmed the rapacious monarch, and he was determined to employ persecution and violence against them ; but he should have remembered, that the zeal of sectaries is always increased by opposition. A gentleman of the Temple, and a clergyman, having embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, were seized by the government, and put to the torture. Their sufferings proved too strong for their zeal ; they abjured the tenets of Luther, and were set at liberty. But feeling afterwards the deepest compunctions for their imitations, they boldly preached against the superstitions of the established religion, and were condemned to the flames. It was expected by their enemies, that they would again recant when brought to the stake, but they were mistaken : they suffered with the most unshaken intrepidity ; and even in the midst of their torments, gloried in the tenets they had before inculcated. Another disciple of the reformers, was surrounded with the flames, embraced, with a transport of joy, the faggots which were to put a period to his life. It was not, indeed, easy to avoid the danger of incurring the king's displeasure ; his misplaced zeal considered the most innocent actions as heresy. To teach children the Lord's prayer in the vulgar tongue, to read the translation of the New Testament, to speak against pilgrimages, and to neglect the faults of the church, were considered as criminal, and punished with the utmost severity.

A. D. 1535. These persecutions at length reached Filmer, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who still continued prisoners in the Tower, and were now singled out for a terror to the bold supporters of the king's measures. Henry was determined that they should renounce the pope, and acknowledge his marriage and succession, as established by parliament. The pope thought to save Filmer's life by giving him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial ; but in this he only gave Henry the satisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block for Filmer refusing to take the oath of supremacy. A commission was made out for trying him by his peers for misprision of treason in the case of the Maid of Kent.

and also for denying the king's supremacy; and on the 17th of May he was tried before the lord-chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, with some other lords and all the judges, who found him guilty, and he was sentenced to be beheaded on Tower-hill. He received the notice of his execution with great composure of mind in the morning before he was beheaded; and when he came to the block, after a short prayer in favour of popery, and praying for the king, and that God would bless him with good counsel, he calmly resigned his neck to the executioner on the 22d of June. He had the character of a learned and devout man, but was naturally very obstinate, and much addicted to the superstition of his education.

The same oath of supremacy, for the rejecting of which Fisher lost his head, being also tendered to Sir Thomas More, he refused to take it likewise, for which he was tried by the same court, and lost his head on Tower-hill the first day of July following. Henry was greatly reproached on account of the death of this man, who was universally esteemed for his virtue, and admired for his wit and pleasantries,* which did not forsake him even in his last moments; and he died with an unconcern that in others would have appeared to be levity, but in him was nature.

These executions were followed by fresh injunctions issued by the king to all archbishops and bishops, for enforcing the doctrine of the king's supremacy: a declaration was also sent them by secretary Cromwell to the same effect, which they were ordered to read from the pulpit; nor does it appear that one prelate refused to comply with these orders, so much did they stand in awe of Henry's fiery and vindictive temper; and this seems to be the period from whence may be dated the king's resolution to govern by force and absolute power.

Paul III. who had lately succeeded Clement VII. in the papal chair, had flattered himself with being able to reconcile Henry to the Roman see. He had always favoured Henry's cause before his advancement to the papacy, and even gained the friendship of that capricious monarch. Sensible of the loss the apostolic see must sustain by a breach with England, he was very desirous of putting a friendly period to this alarming dispute. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and seemed to promise a favourable issue, when the news of Fisher's execution re-kindled the rage of the sacred college. A cardinal put to death in defence of the rights of the holy see merited the

severest vengeance, and the pontiff hastened to fulminate the thunders of the Vatican. Henry was cited to appear at the pope's tribunal, with all his adherents, within ninety days; and in case of disobedience, the king was declared to be excommunicated, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn illegitimate; his subjects were freed from all oaths of allegiance; his kingdom was given up to the ambition of the first invader; and his leagues with all Catholic princes were dissolved. Paul, however, thought proper to delay the publication of these censures till it should appear that an accommodation with England was absolutely desperate; and till Charles V. at this time greatly pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes of Germany, should be in a condition to execute the violent measures of the consistory.

Henry was not in the least intimidated by the threatnings of the pope: the thunder of the Vatican was no longer terrible to the English. He feared not the attempts of Charles, who had a formidable barrier against him in the German princes. To these Henry sent ambassadors, proposing an union of interest; but as they suspected his sincerity, no alliance was concluded between them.

A. D. 1536. In the beginning of this year the unhappy queen Catherine was seized with a dangerous distemper at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, which put a period to her life and misfortunes on the 29th of January, in the 50th year of her age. A short time before she expired, she wrote a very affecting letter to the king, to whom she gave the appellation of "her most dear lord, king and husband." Henry appeared greatly touched at reading this letter, and even dropped some tears at the remembrance of a woman whose virtues deserved a better fate. Queen Anne, however, did not behave with even due decorum on this occasion: she rejoiced openly at the death of Catherine, and seemed to take pleasure in communicating her satisfaction to the public, little suspecting that her own fate was so near at hand. The remains of the unfortunate Catherine were deposited in the abbey church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an episcopal cathedral.

Henry now determined to take a severe revenge for all the affronts he had received from the monkish clergy. That numerous body of men, knowing their power was so closely connected with the Roman see, that they must stand or fall together, exerted all their influence to depreciate the Reformation, and load-

approved of the act of Supremacy, his answer was, "This question is like a two-edged sword; if I answer one way it will destroy my body; and if the other way, my soul." But what particularly deserves to be remembered of him is, that while he executed the high office of lord chancellor, his expedition in determining causes was such, that one day when he called for the next cause, it was answered, "There are no more to be heard." This circumstance, together with his accustomed attention to the expeditious discharge of all causes belonging to his court, gave rise to the following lines, which, after his death, appeared in most of the public prints.

When More some years had chancellor been
No more suits did remain,
The same shall never more be seen
Till More be there again.

He was born in Milk-street, in the city of London, in the year 1480. When he had passed through the Grammar-schools, he was sent to Oxford, and afterwards entered at Lincoln's inn to study the municipal laws of the nation. He was called up to the bar, but although he made a very considerable figure as a lawyer, yet the classic authors were his greatest favourites. He was the author of several works, but his most celebrated piece is that called *Utopia*, which has been translated into English by Bishop Burnet.

* The following circumstances will evince the ready turn of wit, as well as fondness for humour, with which this gentleman was possessed. When he was first committed to the Tower, on his entrance, the gentleman porter asking for his fee, which is the upper garment, Sir Thomas took off his cap to give him, saying, "This is the uppermost garment I have." But that not pleasing, he pulled out a handful of angels, which he gave to the porter. A knight who was in his company, said, "He is glad to find he was so full of angels." "Yes," replied Sir Thomas, "I always love to have my best friends about me." At the time he had been close prisoner for some time, his books were all sent from him, on which he shut up all the windows of his room, and being asked why he did so? "It is time," said he, to stop them, when the wares are all gone." On the day of his execution, as he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one of his friends, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down, let me sit for myself." When the executioner asked him to forgive, he readily answered, "Why man, thou hast never offended me, but my neck is so short that you will have no credit in forgiving me." When he laid his head down upon the block, the executioner, who was a grey-headed man, stroked it, and said to the executioner, "I pray you let me lay my head over the block, lest you cut it; for, though you have a warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut off my beard." The above particulars relative to this gentleman, it may be proper to add the following:—When he was in the Tower, it being demanded of him

loaded Henry with the most atrocious crimes. They declaimed, with the utmost violence, against the followers of Luther; while the religionists, in their turn, imputed to the monks those frequent fasts which oppressed the industrious to enrich the idle; those superstitious rites of devotion which were often considered as more meritorious than a discharge of the moral duties; those vain subtilties which adulterated theology; and that captious casuistry which tyrannized over the reasons and consciences of men. But, perhaps, the revenues of the convents had inspired him with a desire of being master of their riches. He was, however, fearful of the consequences that might result from this attempt, as religious retreats had so long been considered as sacred and inviolable. A council was therefore summoned, where the affair was resolved, that a general visitation should be made of all the monasteries; that a strict inquest should be taken of all their titles and revenues; and that the morals of the religious, and the regulations observed in each order, should be closely inspected. Cromwell was created vicar-general, and inquisitor-general of all the monasteries, and other privileged places. The visitation was accordingly performed, and the report of the visitors was published for the satisfaction of the people.

As soon as the parliament met, an act was passed for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, the preamble to which ran thus: "That small religious houses, under the number of twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of the most abominable vices, and consumed and wasted the church lands belonging to them: that for above two hundred years, many visitations for reforming these abuses had been made without success, their vicious methods of life daily increasing; so that unless the small houses were dissolved, and the religious distributed into the greatest monasteries, no reformation could be expected." It was therefore declared, that all houses, whose revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year, should be suppressed, their revenues converted to better uses, and the religious compelled to reform themselves.

No sooner was this act passed, than orders were issued, that all nuns and friars under twenty-four years of age should be immediately dismissed and absolved from their vows; and that all others above that age should have free liberty to leave their houses and retire wherever they pleased. No less than three hundred and seventy-six of these lesser monasteries were thus dissolved; and their revenues, which amounted to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were given to the king, together with their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at one hundred thousand pounds.

While the parliament was engaged in passing an act for suppressing the lesser monasteries, the convocation deliberated upon a proposition of the utmost importance to the reformers. This was a new translation of the Bible. Tindal, some years before, had published a version of the scriptures; but it being found, upon examination, to be inaccurate and unfaithful, it had been committed publicly to the flames by order of the government. It was therefore now proposed to publish a new translation, which should be free from those objections. This motion was strongly opposed by the popish party, and as warmly supported by the friends of the Reformation, who considered it as the only means of discovering to the people the many errors and superstitious abundances of the church of Rome. After a long contest, the motion was carried, and a new translation of the Scriptures was ordered to be made by persons esteemed capable of executing so arduous a task.

The reforming party, however, now received a considerable injury from the loss of one of their greatest

advocates. Anne Boleyn, who had so long continued her ascendancy over the heart of Henry, had now lost the power of pleasing. Jane Seymour, one of the maids of honour to the queen, and a lady of singular beauty and merit, had inspired him with a new passion, and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of his appetite. Anne was of a lively and gay disposition; and, though strictly virtuous, she was not sufficiently careful in her behaviour. She had been bred at the court of France, and contracted the easy carriage so familiar to that sprightly people. Calumny converted her imprudence into vice; and the Austrian party, who had been exasperated at the divorce of Catherine, improved the report, to render the king suspicious of her virtue. The viscountess Rochford in particular, (who was wife to the queen's brother, and a woman of the most abandoned character) pretended that her own husband carried on a criminal correspondence with his sister; besides which she asserted, that Anne had likewise granted favours to Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with one Mark Smeton, a musician. This information fired Henry's brain, who was also not a little chagrined at an accident which befel the queen some time before, of her being delivered of a dead child.

Nothing, however, material transpired till the first of May, when a tilting match was held at Greenwich, in which the lord Rochford was chief challenger, and Henry Norris the principal antagonist. During the diversions the king observed her majesty drop her handkerchief, which one of the suspected persons took up, and used to wipe his face. To a mind prepared like Henry's, this accident, which though, in all probability, entirely casual, was a demonstration of his wife's infidelity. Accordingly, all on a sudden the diversions were broke up, and Henry, without taking notice of the queen or her court, with no more than six persons in his retinue, abruptly quitted the place, and retired to his palace at Westminster.

The queen immediately followed, and on her arrival at the palace was met by the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords of the council, who signified to her, that it was his majesty's pleasure she should be confined to her chamber. At the same time the lords Rochford and Norris were committed to the Tower, as were Brereton, Weston, and Smeton. The next day the queen was conducted to the same prison by the duke of Norfolk and other lords, who resigned her into the custody of Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower; and a commission was made out for trying her on the twelfth of May in that place, the duke of Norfolk being appointed lord high steward on that occasion, with twenty-six other peers. The charges brought against her were of the most detestable nature, viz. "That she had procured her brother, and the four other persons in custody, to be with her, and that she had made each of them believe that he had the preference above all married in her heart; and that she had said to each of them, 'that the king never had her heart.'" Smeton had, by fair promises, been brought to confess, that he had three carnal knowledge of her; but it was not thought proper to confront him with her; nor indeed could he be an evidence, as he had been condemned three days before to suffer, notwithstanding his assurances of pardon upon confession. The only thing that appeared in relation to her brother the lord Rochford was, his laying his hand on the queen's bed while he whispered to her; an action done before company, and warranted from the near relationship between them. In short, to the eternal infamy of her judges, she was condemned without any proof ever known upon what evidence her sentence was given.

grounded; and the nineteenth of May was the day appointed for her execution, which was that of being burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleasure.

Henry, not satisfied with this act of severity, insisted on being divorced from her before her death, and archbishop Cranmer was sent to the Tower, and received her confession of pre-contract, or promise of marriage, between the lord Henry Percy (then earl of Northumberland) and herself, before that she had made with the king; upon which the archbishop pronounced, according to the rules of canon law, the sentence of divorce. It was probably a tenderness for her daughter, (afterwards the famous queen Elizabeth) that induced her to make this confession, for the earl of Northumberland protested, in the most solemn manner, that no such contract had ever passed between them. It was, however, expected that she would have defended her innocence when about to die, but the same motives seem to have operated even then, as she feared every thing for her daughter from the savage temper of the king, should she expose him too much. Accordingly, on the day of her execution, when she came on the scaffold, she made no reflections on the hardships she had sustained, nor said any thing touching the grounds on which sentence had been passed upon her; she only desired "that every body would judge the best," acknowledged her obligations to the king, prayed for him, and entreated the spectators to do the same for her; and then submitting her neck to the fatal stroke, her head was severed from her body at one blow, by an executioner who had been sent for from Calais on account of his remarkable dexterity in the bloody profession.—Her body was privately interred in the Tower.

The lord Rochford was tried and condemned at the same time with the queen his sister, and, together with the other four gentlemen, suffered death three days before her; all of them, Smeton excepted, declaring, at the place of execution, the queen's and their own innocence of the facts for which they suffered.

Thus fell the celebrated Anne Boleyn, who had so long reigned sovereign of Henry's affections. Her unhappy fate was deplored by the people, who considered her as the innocent victim of her husband's inordinate passion. If this opinion needed any confirmation, the behaviour of Henry himself was sufficient for that purpose. He married the lady Jane Seymour the very next day after her execution, so eager was he to satisfy his brutal appetite. His obdurate heart was not at all affected by the bloody catastrophe of a woman who had for several years been the object of his most tender affections. Nor was he satisfied with his sanguinary action: he caused his marriage with Anne to be declared illegal, under pretence of a pre-contract of marriage with the earl of Northumberland; by which cruel process, Elizabeth, her daughter, as well as Mary, the daughter of Catherine, became illegitimate.

The princess Elizabeth was about three years of age when her mother fell a sacrifice to Henry's jealousy. She had been hitherto styled princess of Wales, but was now divested of that title. The princess Mary, whom he had treated with great severity on account of her tender attachment to her mother, and her refusing to renounce the pope's supremacy, was now persuaded by the Romish party to attempt a reconciliation with her father. Accordingly she subscribed to the king's supremacy, renounced the authority of the bishop of Rome, and acknowledged the illegality of her mother's marriage, in order the more effectually to remove the princess Elizabeth from the king's pre-eminence and affections. But Henry, though he was reconciled to Mary, continued his affection to Elizabeth, and caused her to be educated at court with all the care and tenderness of a father.

On the 8th of June a new parliament met at Westminster, when a statute was passed, which confirmed the late queen's divorce, declared the children by the king's two first marriages illegitimate; and adjudged the crown, after his decease, to the issue of his present queen, or any other person he might marry after her death. At the same time, they gave Henry full power to settle the mode of such succession, either by will, or letters patent under the great seal; and pronounced all those who maintained the validity of his two former marriages guilty of high-treason.

An universal commotion now prevailed throughout the kingdom on account of the suppression of the lesser monasteries; and the pope having repeated the sentence of excommunication against Henry, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid his subjects to pay him any obedience. The monks exerted all their influence to persuade the people that they were under an indispensable duty of taking up arms against a prince who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. The ignorant multitude eagerly listened to these insinuations; they had been always taught to consider as sacred what was now devoted to destruction. Upwards of twenty thousand men assembled in Lincolnshire, under the command of Thomas Mackerel, prior of Barlings. This undisciplined multitude published their grievances in a petition to the king; complaining of the suppression of the monasteries, the subversion of the ancient religion, the establishing new tenets, &c. Henry sent an answer to this petition; and dispatched the duke of Suffolk, at the head of a small body of troops, to reduce the insurgents to obedience. But they were in no condition to contend with regular forces; and on being promised a pardon, readily dispersed.

This peace, however, was but of short continuance. The priests renewed their practices for animating the people to a revolt; and soon collected a numerous body of men, who were persuaded that religion itself depended upon their defending the ancient superstitions of the church. The duke of Norfolk was sent at the head of 5000 troops to quell the insurgents; but by putting the martial law into strict execution against every one who refused to take the oath of supremacy, he, instead of lessening, increased the disorders. Two gentlemen, Musgrave and Treby, putting themselves at the head of eight thousand peasants, made an unsuccessful attempt on Castle, and were afterwards entirely routed by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave made his escape; but Treby, with about seventy of his followers, being taken prisoners, were all hanged on the walls of Castle.

A. D. 1537. Henry had been now so accustomed to slaughter, by frequent executions, that he seemed to delight in blood. He ordered Thomas Fitzgerald, son to the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, who had suffered a long confinement in the Tower for an insurrection in Ireland, to be executed, in order to intimidate the people, who seemed ripe for a revolt. But Stephen Fitzgerald, the earl's youngest son, escaped to the continent, and retired to cardinal Pole, who made use of him in the designs he had formed of recovering England to the obedience of the Holy See.

On the 12th of October the queen was delivered of a prince at Hampton Court, to the inexpressible joy of Henry in particular, and the nation in general. He had now obtained the object of his most ardent wishes: he was blessed with a son, the undoubted heir of all his dominions; but his satisfaction was greatly lessened by the death of the queen, which happened soon after her delivery. She was the most beloved of all his wives, and highly celebrated for her humble deportment, her goodness and her affability. The young

young prince was baptized by the name of Edward, and three days after declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. At the same time the queen's brother, Sir Edward Seymour, was created earl of Hertford; Sir William Fitzwilliams, earl of Southampton; and Sir William Paulet, lord St. John.

A. D. 1538. Henry's power and authority were greatly strengthened by the birth of a prince: his subjects paid him respect through fear, and the greatest princes of Europe courted his friendship. The monks were the only people of whom he had the least disagreeable apprehension; and he was determined to eclipse the probability of their being ever able to give him any future disturbance, by a total abolition of all the monasteries throughout the kingdom.

To effect this he procured addresses from the two universities; wherein the pernicious nature of religious houses, which harboured only a multitude of lazy drones and swarms of impostors, were fully displayed, and the king requested to remove so great an evil. A visitation was accordingly appointed, and the visitors were particularly enjoined to enquire into the impostures that had been practised to draw the people into such excessive adoration as had been paid to their images, relics and other miraculous productions. Nor was the enquiry destitute of success; several astonishing discoveries were made, which tended greatly to lessen the authority of the Romish priests in the eyes of the people.

One of the most singular instruments of deception was found at Boxley in Kent. It was a remarkable crucifix, held in the highest veneration, and distinguished by the appellation of the Rood of Grace. It had been often seen to move, to bend and raise itself, shake its head, hands and feet, roll its eyes, and move its lips. On removing the image it was discovered that the whole was effected by certain springs concealed in the body, which was hollow from the wall against which it was placed. This instrument of religious deception was brought to London, and the whole contrivance exhibited to the people at St. Paul's Cross by Hilsey bishop of Rochester, who, after preaching a sermon suitable to the occasion, committed the idol to the flames.

It is little to be wondered at that discoveries like these should raise a general indignation among the people. The authors of such scandalous abuses were detested; the monasteries were considered as infamous; and the crimes of a few were extended to the whole body of the religious.* This gave Henry the advantage he desired; and the monks, convinced that it would be madness to make any opposition, surrendered their monasteries, and many of them received pensions for their subsistence. No less than five hundred and forty-five monasteries were dissolved, twenty-eight of which had abbots, who enjoyed seats in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in the several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chauntries and free chapels; and one hundred and ten hospitals. The whole annual revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand one hundred pounds.

Whilst Henry was thus employed in demolishing the basis of superstition, it could not be supposed he would overlook the most famous and respected of all instruments of popish idolatry, the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket was indebted, for the honour of being ranked among the saints, to the vigorous efforts he had exerted in defence of the authority of the Holy See; and a saint of that character must be highly obnoxious to Henry, who was

determined to abolish the power of the Roman pontiff in England. He could not bear the thought that such a furious and obstinate rebel to his prince should be held in the highest veneration by the people; his tomb frequented by pilgrims, and enriched with superb presents. It was not uncommon, in these times, to carry on processions against the dead, and Henry availed himself of the practice. The life of Becket underwent a strict examination; his actions were condemned by the generality of the people; and the miracles pretended to be wrought at his tomb were proved to be forgeries. His name was therefore ordered to be erased out of the Calendar, the office composed for his festival expunged from the Breviary, his bones to be burnt, and his ashes dispersed by the winds. The rich shrine of the saint had also attracted the rapacity of Henry, who converted the whole to his own use. Among the spoils was a diamond esteemed the most valuable in Europe. It was a present from Lewis VII. of France, who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas. This jewel was, by Henry's orders, set in a ring, and worn afterwards by that monarch. At the same time, Henry, in order to conciliate the people to these innovations, established new bishoprics, gave large donations to his court, and settled salaries on the abbots and monks.

As soon as the court of Rome received intelligence of these proceedings in England, that city was filled with satires and libels against the person of Henry. Cardinal Pole's style was easily distinguished in these invectives, which were soon dispersed over all Europe. Henry, whose vanity and sanguinary disposition was increased, determined to revenge the insult. The cardinal himself was beyond his power; but several gentlemen of distinction, among whom were his two brothers, were arrested, as his accomplices in a conspiracy against the king's life; and all of them were executed, except Sir Geoffrey Pole, who was pardoned on account of his having discovered a plot which he knew of the cardinal's intentions.

The pope had hitherto suspended the bull of excommunication formerly passed against Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch: but finding that the late proceedings in England had rendered a reconciliation impossible, he published the bull with great solemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring powers against a prince whom he considered as a threat to destruction.

Henry, however, was not to be intimidated. He knew that the thunder of the Vatican had no other force; and that the cultivation of reason had removed a corner of the veil which ignorance and superstition had formed to conceal the rays of truth from the eyes of mankind. He therefore left the pope's power at defiance; and enacted a new canon law for the clergy, by which they renounced the authority of the Roman pontiff. The new translation of the Bible was also now finished, and presented to Cromwell, who was persuaded that nothing would so effectually eradicate the popish superstitions as the toleration of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue. But Henry, who halted half way between Catholics and the Protestants, would not permit the criminate use of the scriptures; he would only have a copy of the translation to be deposited in every parish church, where it was ordered to be kept in a chest; and took care to inform the people by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not his duty, but of his goodness and liberality, and that who therefore should use it moderately, should be of virtue not of flattery; and ordered, that the same

* A late celebrated historical writer, in speaking of the general suppression of religious houses by Henry VIII. observes, "that he might with equal propriety have suppressed all the uni-

versities in the kingdom, because some few were more useful than many more were idle and abandoned."

read the bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest while he sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful passages without the advice of the learned." This indulgence was, however, considered as a great acquisition by the friends to the Reformation; especially as they obtained a royal warrant, enjoining the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English. At the same time they were ordered to recommend good works; and to teach the people, that relics, rosaries, and other superstitious trifles were unnecessary to salvation.

Although Henry had proceeded with such animosity against the Roman pontiff, yet he prided himself on his zeal for the catholic faith: he was even ambitious of defending it by disputation, as well as by persecution; and the doctrine of the real presence, or that of Transubstantiation, (the most incomprehensible of all the dogmas in the Romish religion) was the point he maintained with the greatest obstinacy. One Lambert, a schoolmaster of London, had ventured to doubt of the real presence; and being cited to appear before the bishops, he appealed to the king. Henry was charmed with having so fine an opportunity of displaying his theological talents. He thought it no derogation from his dignity to hold a public disputation with that reformer. Notice was accordingly given that the king intended to enter the lists against Lambert, and scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience. The king himself appeared in the ensigns of majesty seated upon his throne, having the prelates on his right hand, and the temporal peers on his left.

The bishop of Chichester, who opened the conference, informed the schoolmaster, that the king had taken the present opportunity of convincing him of his errors; adding, that if he still continued to persevere in his heretical opinions, he must expect the severest punishment. Lambert defended his opinion with great intrepidity; but the king, assisted by ten bishops, who all engaged in the dispute, (if indeed so partial a contest deserves the name) effectually confounded the disputant, after the conference had lasted five hours. But though confounded and reduced to silence, he was not convinced: and when the king asked him whether he would live or die? Lambert replied, that he threw himself entirely on his majesty's clemency. The king replied, that he protected not heretics, and he must either abjure his opinions or perish. Lambert chose the latter, and died with the utmost intrepidity amidst the most dreadful torture.

A. D. 1539. Henry was so intoxicated with the praises that had been lavished on him on account of his dispute with Lambert, that he exalted, with more violence than ever, a submission to his religious sentiments. To think different from him on theological subjects was equal to committing a capital crime; and he took the advantage of the servility of his parliament, to make his own opinion the standard of orthodoxy in England. The chancellor informed the two houses, that it was his majesty's desire to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion with regard to religion; and a committee was immediately appointed to draw up a bill for effecting that purpose. But it was soon found that such a diversity of sentiments prevailed among the members of the committee that there were no hopes of their ever making a report. A bill was, therefore, drawn up, either by Henry himself, or some member of the privy council, and presented to the house, where it was passed into a law. It was called "The bill of the Six Articles," or, as the protestants justly termed it, "The Bloody bill." By this law the presence in the eucharist; communion in one kind, the perpetual abstinence of vows of chastity, the celibacy of ecclesiastics; the utility of private masses; and the ne-

cessity of auricular confession, were established. Whoever denied the real presence was subjected to death by fire; nor was he even admitted to abjure his error. The punishment of the other articles was also remarkably severe; for though abjuration was admitted, the offender was punished by the confiscation of goods and chattles, and imprisonment. Those who continued obstinate, or who relapsed, were capitally punished. The clergy, who ventured to marry were also subject to death; and fines and imprisonment were inflicted on all those who refused to confess themselves, or to receive the eucharist at appointed seasons. It is difficult to conceive the idea of regulations more unjust and severe. Crammer alone had the courage to oppose this bill; but when it was passed into a law, he immediately separated himself from his wife, and Henry was satisfied with this proof of his submission. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics on account of this act, and being accused of having spoken against it, were committed prisoners to the Tower.

The parliament also passed an act, whereby the king was empowered to nominate any number of bishops, sees for bishops, and cathedral churches, as he thought proper, and to endow them with such possessions as he might judge convenient. an act was likewise passed, by which the parliament invested in the crown all the abbey-lands, upon the false pretence, that the surrenders made by the abbots, priors, and superiors, had been "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of common law." Nor did any of the mitred abbots, who still kept their seats in the House of Peers, enter any protest against this statute; though it was sufficiently known that arts of all kinds had been employed; that every motive, calculated to work upon the frailty of human nature, had been set before them; and that it was at last with the utmost difficulty those dignified ecclesiastics agreed to a concession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself.

By the slavish concession of the parliament Henry's will was now become the law of the land: and both the Protestant and Popish parties cultivated his favour with the most abject submission. Bonner, lately made bishop of London, though in secret a zealous partizan of the pope's authority, found means, by the most profound dissimulation, to obtain letters patent for enjoying both the spiritual and temporal revenues of his see during the king's pleasure: and Gardiner, a biggotted son of the Romish church, maintained his influence by the most extravagant submission.

These prelates encouraged the Catholics to be extremely vigilant in informing against all who refused to subscribe to the six articles; and no less than five hundred persons were soon thrown into prison. But though Cromwell and Crammer had not interest enough to prevent the act from passing, they were able, for some time, to elude its execution: they even remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents, and obtained permission to let them at liberty. Thus the uncertainty of Henry's temper gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in their turn. The law of the six articles, which seemed intended to extirpate the reformed religion, was soon followed by a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family; a concession regarded by the Protestants as a decisive victory over the Catholics.

Henry had for some time intimated his intentions of entering into a new marriage. Cromwell now thought it a convenient opportunity of strengthening his party by recommending to the king a protestant princess. He accordingly proposed Anne, daughter to the duke of Cleves, and the younger sister to

the duchess of Saxony. The king was so well pleased with the proposal, that he immediately sent over Cromwell to negotiate the treaty of marriage. The famous Hans Holbein was ordered to draw the lady's picture, which he did in so flattering a manner, that when Cromwell presented it to Henry, he became enraptured with her person, and pleased himself with expectations of the most distinguished enjoyments. In short, the negotiation went on so briskly, that the match was concluded in a few weeks, and the earl of Southampton was ordered to go with a fleet of fifty ships to bring over the new queen, who landed in England about the middle of December.

The union of this princess with Henry would, in all probability, have totally frustrated the attempts of the popish party for the future, had she answered the beauty and great character given of her by her friends; but when the king, all impatience to see his consort, of whom he had entertained so high an idea, beheld her on her arrival at Rochester, whither he went for that purpose, he was so disappointed, that he is said to have sworn in a rage, "that they had brought over a Flanders mare to him." But however gross and indelicate his expressions might be, his behaviour was more decent, for the next day he made her a private visit. This lady is generally allowed to have possessed a great sweetness of temper; but as her person was far from being delicate, as she had a masculine turn and floridness of features, could speak nothing but German, which Henry did not understand, and was extremely defective in all the winning graces of behaviour and conversation, he conceived an utter aversion to her, and even then would abruptly have broken off the match, had not his affairs at home required the friendship and alliance of the German princes her relations. These considerations, which were strongly urged by Cranmer and Cromwell, made the king at length consent to proceed in the marriage, but with so visible a reluctance, that Cromwell and his party dreaded the consequences.

A. D. 1540. The marriage was accordingly celebrated on the 6th of January; but it served only to increase Henry's dislike into downright loathing. He told Cromwell the next morning, that he suspected the queen was no maid, and that he could never conquer his aversion to so disagreeable a partner.

The parliament meeting on the 12th of April, Cromwell opened the sessions with a speech, in which he informed the two houses, that the king, in order to terminate all disputes about religion, had appointed commissioners to examine the six articles, that a standard of faith might be established upon the word of God alone; and that after the truth should be thus made known to his people, he was resolved to punish, with the utmost severity, all those who should presume to prefer their own opinions to the established articles of belief. These commissioners, being approved by the parliament, received orders to begin their enquiry without delay; and in the mean time the king created Cromwell earl of Essex.*

The time, however, was now come when this faithful minister was to taste the bitter cup of adversity. The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves had been principally effected by him; and though the king had so lately conferred favours on him, yet he was secretly disgusted on that account, and now treated him with a visible indifference. The duke of Norfolk and Gardiner (who were inveterate foes to Cromwell)

observed this prognostic of the minister's fall, and determined to improve it. They well knew, that he was hated by the nobility, because they saw themselves eclipsed at court by a person of mean extraction; that he was odious to the catholics, because they regarded him as a sworn enemy to the church of Rome; and that he was suspected by the protestants of having betrayed their interest through timidity. They did not, however, think it prudent to attack him abruptly, but to have recourse to stratagem. They introduced Catherine Howard, a beautiful young lady, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, at court. The king was highly pleased with Catherine; and Gardiner, at once the pander and the priest, made frequent entertainments at his own house for the royal lover and his mistress. The stratagem succeeded; and Henry was so pleased with his mistress, that he offered to make her his partner in the throne.

Norfolk and Gardiner now acquired the highest credit in the cabinet, and made use of the vilest insinuations to ruin the minister. They represented to Henry, that the nation in general was dissatisfied with his administration, and persuaded that Cromwell had abused his majesty's confidence. They added that as these complaints and murmurings chiefly regarded religion, it would be prudent to satisfy the people by examining his conduct strictly, and even, if necessary, to sacrifice him in order to procure the tranquillity of the kingdom. Henry, who was exasperated against Cromwell, readily listened to these insinuations, and it was determined that the minister should fall a victim to the resentment of the public.

This resolution, however, was kept so secret, that not suspecting any danger, the destined victim came to the council-board on the 13th of June, where the duke of Norfolk, by Henry's order, arrested him for high treason; in consequence of which he was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he experienced the common fate of all degraded ministers. He was no sooner seized than forsaken by all his friends except Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpose; for the unfortunate Cromwell, without being heard in his own defence, was, by a bill of attainder, found guilty of divers heresies and treasons, and condemned to suffer death as the king should think proper to direct.

While Cromwell was under this woeful sentence Henry determined to procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves. He found no difficulty in obtaining assent from the convocation in his favour. Cranmer said that there had been a pre-contract between the queen and the marquis of Lorraine; that the king had not "inwardly" given his consent, and that he had never consummated his marriage. These objections were certainly very frivolous, but as the queen made no opposition, they were thought sufficient, sentence was pronounced for a dissolution of the marriage, and the decision of the clergy was ratified by the parliament. The queen expressed no dissatisfaction. She was satisfied on being informed, that the king would, by letters patent, declare her his lawful sister, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, except his own wife and daughter; that an estate of three thousand pounds a year should be allotted for her maintenance; and that she might either live in England, or return to her own country. She chose the former, and was even prevailed upon

* During this session the order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem was suppressed, on account of their dependence on the pope and the emperor, and all their effects in England and Ireland confiscated for the use of the king, who allotted good

yearly for their maintenance. About this time also Henry gave three hospitals, namely, those of Bridewell, St. Dunstons, and St. Thomas, into the hands of the city of London.

Engraved for *Rafael's*
(*History of England*).



*Thomas Lord Cromwell presenting the
picture of Anne of Cleves to
HENRY VIII.*

to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, informing him, that she had been treated in the most tender and generous manner by the king, though she could not have him for her husband; and conjuring him not to break the harmony that subsisted between the two courts, on account of any thing that had happened to her in England. Thus was the marriage with Anne of Cleves dissolved on the most frivolous pretences that ever were urged before any court of justice.

As Cromwell's execution had been postponed on account of the king's divorce, he was in some hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having written the king a very submissive letter, with which his majesty was so moved, that he caused it to be thrice read over to him; but the solicitations of Norfolk and Gardiner rendered the endeavours of the prisoner or his friends fruitless. On this occasion Cranmer was the only person who discharged the part of a true friend: he wrote a very pathetic letter to Henry, interceding for the unhappy Cromwell, declaring his firm belief of his innocence from any disloyal meaning, and even went so far as to wish that Henry might find another counsellor equal to him in capacity, diligence and fidelity; but the fallen favourite's ruin being resolved on, the king signed a warrant for beheading him on the twenty-eighth of July.

When he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence: he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transactions: he acknowledged his offences against God and his prince, who had raised him from a low degree; confessed that he had been seduced, but that now he died in the catholic faith. He then desired the spectators to pray for the king, the prince, and for himself; and having spent a little time at his own private devotion, submitted his neck to the execution, who mangled him in a most shocking manner. The care he had taken in his last moments to say nothing that might offend the king, turned to the advantage of his son Gregory, who was, a few months afterwards, created a peer, by the title of Lord Cromwell*.

A few days after the death of Cromwell, Henry gave a terrible instance of that cruelty which seemed now to have taken possession of his soul. Papists and Protestants were equally the objects of his internal passion: they both suffered for the tenets of their religion. The former denied the king's supremacy, and the latter the real presence in the sacrament; both were contrary to the religious establishment of Henry, and therefore both equally subject to punishment. Dr. Barnes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming minister, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, were condemned to the stake for heresy; but they did not suffer alone, three bigotted catholics shared the same fate, and perished in the same flames, for denying the king's supremacy; and to increase the absurdity of this indiscriminate cruelty, they were drawn to the place of execution on three hurdles, a papist and a protestant on each. Barnes discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the debate between him and the sheriff turned upon the invocation of saints, he said, that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. This promiscuous punishment of protestants and catholics gave occasion to a foreigner, then in England, to say, That it was of no consequence whether they were for or against the pope, since both lost their lives for their opinions.

On the 8th of August Catherine Howard (to whom the king had been some time privately married) was publicly declared queen of England. By this marriage the popish interest was strengthened, and that party made a strong push at Cranmer; but the king's affection for him was so riveted, that their endeavours proved abortive.

A. D. 1541. It is little to be wondered at that Henry's despotic cruelty should have excited the general hatred of the people; they conceived an abhorrence for the author of such detestable proceedings, and some alarming symptoms of an insurrection appeared in several parts of the kingdom. The king's suspicion fell upon cardinal Pole; and this was to him a sufficient reason for putting the coun-
tels

* Thomas Cromwell was born at Putney, in Surry; his father was only a country blacksmith, but he being blessed with a great genius and a ready capacity to learn languages, acquired great reputation in the art of war under the duke of Bourbon, and he accompanied at the taking of Rome in 1527, and in the more rare tongues, and interests of the states through which he travelled, and, upon his return, recommended him to the favour of the king. Mr. Cromwell soon improved the royal patronage to his own advantage, for the king, who took pleasure in promoting a low birth to great honour, being highly satisfied with the management of the affairs committed to him, declared him pay counsellor and master of the jewel-house, in 1531; and afterwards named him to be clerk of the hanaper, and chamberlain of the exchequer. In 1534, he was appointed principal secretary of state and master of the Rolls; and in 1535, he was created vicar general over all the spiritualities under his majesty, and head of the church. On the second of July 1536, he was made lord keeper of the privy seal; and on the ninth of the same month was advanced to the dignity of a baron of Great Britain, with the style and title of lord Cromwell, baron of Cromwell, in the county of Rutland. In 1540, on the 12th of July, he was created earl of Essex, and soon after made lord high treasurer of England. His chief fault was obsequiousness to the king's pleasure, the effect of an inordinate zeal for his master's service, in other respects he was a man sufficiently to be admired for his prodigious parts, excellent judgment, infinite application to business, wonderful dexterity in managing affairs, but more in the exercise of his authority, calmness of temper in his dealings with all persons, and, (under provocations) a great readiness to forgive the faults of others, an uncommon generosity and nobleness of mind, notwithstanding the meanness of his extraction, and an unexampled condescension in the height of his pomp, and being to take notice of his old acquaintance, and shew his respect for them received. As a proof of the justness of the foregoing character, it may not be improper to recite the following circumstance.

When he was abroad in a military character, in a very low sta-

tion, he fell sick, and was unable to follow the army. He was observed one day by an Italian merchant to walk very pensive, and had all the appearance of penury and wretchedness. The merchant enquired of him the place of his birth, and fortune; and upon conversing with him was so well pleased with the account he gave of himself, that he supplied him with money and credit to carry him to England. It happened some years after (when Cromwell had attained the most distinguished honours from his sovereign) that this Italian merchant's circumstances decayed, and he came to England to solicit the payment of some debts due to him by his correspondents; who finding him necessitous, were disposed to put him off, and to take the advantage of his want, to avoid payment. This not a little embarrassed the foreigner, who was now in a situation forlorn enough. As chance would have it, lord Cromwell, then earl of Essex, riding to court, saw this merchant walking with a dejected countenance, which put him in mind of his former situation. He immediately ordered one of his attendants to desire the merchant to come to his house. His lordship asked the merchant whether he knew him? He answered, No. Cromwell then related the circumstance of the merchant's relieving a certain Englishman, and asked if he remembered it? The merchant answered, that he had always made it his business to do good, but did not remember that circumstance. His lordship then enquired the reason of his coming to England, and upon the merchant's telling him the story, he so interested himself, as soon to procure the payment of all his debts. Cromwell then informed the merchant, that he was himself the person he had thus relieved, and for every shilling which the merchant had given him, he returned to him the value of an hundred, telling him that this was the payment of his debts. He then made him a magnificent present, and asked him whether he chose to settle in England or return to his own country. The foreigner chose the latter, and returned to spend the remainder of his days in competence and quiet, for having experienced in lord Essex, one of the most distinguished instances of generosity and gratitude.

ness of Salisbury, the mother of that prelate, to death. She was the last of the Plantagenet race, and venerable both for her age and her virtues. She was led to the place of execution; but even in those distressful circumstances she did not lose her courage. She refused to submit to a sentence pronounced without a trial; and, running about the scaffold, she told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it in the best manner he could. Nor was it till after he had aimed many blows at her neck, that he at last gave her the finishing stroke. The fate of this unhappy princess drew tears from all the beholders; nor was there scarce a single person who did not lament her cruel and untimely dissolution.

Henry had been so often alarmed at the frequent insurrections of the popish faction in the northern counties, that he now determined to visit those parts in person, in order, if possible, to terminate these disorders, by punishing, with the utmost severity, all who had presumed to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The inhabitants were no strangers to his cruel disposition, and therefore wisely determined to avoid his vengeance, by offering him a considerable sum of money. Henry accepted of the commutation, and desisted from carrying his designs into execution.

Before Henry left London, he had dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland, to propose an interview with James V. who agreed to meet Henry at York, in order to concert measures for the peace of both kingdoms. But at the instigation of his queen, and the principal part of the Scotch nobility, he was prevailed on to alter his resolution. He therefore, after delaying his journey for some days, sent excuses to Henry, who waited for him at York. The English monarch was irritated at this disappointment, and vowed the most severe revenge; but an event, which happened soon after his departure, obliged him to postpone the execution of his intentions.

During Henry's stay at York, a person named Lascelles informed the archbishop of Canterbury, that the queen, in the former part of her life, had been little better than a common strumpet. He offered to confirm his information by the evidence of his sister, who had lived as a servant in the old duchess of Norfolk's house, where the queen had been educated, and where she had carried on a criminal intrigue with Derham and Mannoek, two menial servants. Struck with this intelligence, which it was dangerous either to conceal or discover, Crammer communicated it to the chancellor and the earl of Hertford, and requested their advice with regard to the most prudent method of proceeding in so delicate an affair. They knew that Henry, though extremely scrupulous in every particular that regarded his honour, was captivated by the youth, beauty, and agreeable disposition of Catherine. He had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to heaven for the felicity he enjoyed in the conjugal state; and had desired the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of thanksgiving for that purpose. But notwithstanding these demonstrations of the king's esteem for Catherine, it was resolved that the matter should not be buried in silence, and that the primate himself was the most proper person to disclose it to his majesty. Crammer, unwilling to speak upon so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole proceeding, and sent it by a special messenger to the king. It is impossible to express the surprise and confusion of Henry when he received the archbishop's relation of the queen's infamous conduct; but, at the same time, he thought himself so fully convinced of his consort's fidelity, that he at last gave no credit to the information, and declared that he looked upon the whole as a malicious forgery; but as he could not tell till he knew the certainty of the matter, he ordered it to be enquired into with such precau-

tions as might preserve the queen from any scandal should she be found innocent. It was therefore resolved, that the lord privy-seal should examine Lascelles. This he accordingly did, and found him steady in his information. The sister of Lascelles was next examined, and she confirmed the testimony of her brother by undeniable evidence. It was now thought necessary to arrest Derham and Mannoek, which was easily done, as they had not the least suspicion of their danger. They both confessed repeated acts of impurity with the queen before her marriage; and it was proved, that she had since entertained one Culpepper a whole night in her bed-chamber, and had at different times made him very considerable presents.

When Henry received the report of these examinations, his grief and distraction deprived him of speech; and he could only vent his distress by a torrent of tears. He appointed the primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffolk, and the bishop of Winchester, to interrogate the queen on this subject. She at first denied the charge; but finding her illicit amours were fully discovered, she confessed the whole to the archbishop, who wrote the narrative from her mouth, and she signed it with her own hand.

A. D. 1542. Henry was now convinced of the infidelity of his queen, and determined to take a severe revenge on her and her accomplices. A parliament, (the usual instrument of Henry's tyranny) was immediately summoned; and the queen's confession being laid before them, they presented an address to his majesty, in which, after entreating him not to be concerned at this untoward misfortune, to which all men are subject, they desired leave to frame a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices. They received a gracious answer; and proceeded immediately to attain of high-treason the queen, and the countess of Rochford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this act both Derham and Culpepper were included. They also passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the duchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, and William Howard and his lady, the countess of Esherwater, and nine other persons; because they were acquainted with the queen's illicit amours, and did not make the necessary discovery before her marriage.

Under this tyrannical government the ties of natural affection became crimes; and it was expected, that relations should expose the secret failings of each other. Nor were the parliament ashamed to add the fury and madness of the king. They passed an act, whereby it was declared, that any person who was, or vehemently suspected any guilt in the queen, and did not, within twenty days, reveal it to the king and council, should be guilty of treason; and that if the king married any woman who had been married, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, unless she revealed her guilt previous to her marriage.

In consequence of this act, the queen and the countess of Rochford were beheaded the twelfth of February on Tower hill. The queen confessed her immorality in the former part of her life; but endeavoured to persuade the world, that she had never violated the rules of virtue since her marriage with the king. Lady Rochford found very little pity from her countrymen: her execution was considered as a punishment from heaven for her having been the principal cause of the death of Anne Boleyn, and that of her husband; and this notorious instance of her guilt tended greatly to clear their character in the opinion of the world. The duchess of Norfolk, and the other persons attainted of misprision of treason, were pardoned. Derham and Culpepper

and Mannoek was got off by forfeiting his estate, which was very considerable.

This disagreeable affair being ended, Henry now determined to revenge the affront he had received from the Scottish monarch. He published a manifesto, in which he reproached James with the breach of his promise, with having afforded an asylum to several English rebels, and with retaining some territories which belonged to England. He also revived the old claim of the dependence of the crown of Scotland, and summoned James to do homage for his kingdom.

The Scottish monarch made no answer to this declaration; but employed his whole attention to raise an army, in order to disappoint the ambitious designs of Henry. His resentment was greatly increased by the French ambassador, who had brought with him considerable supplies of men and money, and was extremely lavish of the promises he made in the name of his master, of effectual assistance and support.

Henry having raised an army of 30,000 men, gave the command of them to the duke of Norfolk, who collected his forces at Newcastle. The earl of Southampton was appointed to command the van; but when at Newcastle, universally regretted for his conduct as a statesman, and his approved courage and prudence as a general.

On the 20th of October, the English army entered Scotland, and were met by a herald from James, who expostulated with the duke of Norfolk on the injustice of invading the kingdom before any declaration of war had been published. But his remonstrances were in vain: the English general ravaged all the country bordering on the Tweed, and retired to Berwick on account of the severity of the weather. A detachment of Huntley had indeed been sent by James, but he did not send more than ten thousand men; but his forces were inferior to the English, that he was obliged to retire upon the defensive.

The Scottish monarch, however, was far from being intimidated. He levied an army of fifteen thousand men, and being joined by the earl of Huntley and a great body of artillery, he determined to invade England, on the western side of the Solway Frith. He appeared thither in person; but as soon as every body was for crossing into England, he left the command of his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, who was hated by the Scottish nobility. The consequences of so imprudent an action were soon felt. The officers chose to sacrifice their country, and their own honour, rather than to serve under a person they detested. Accordingly when Sinclair read his commission at the head of the army, the nobility retired from their polls; the commons following their example, threw down their arms, so that the uproar and confusion became general through the whole army. A body of five thousand English forces, under the command of Sir John Alesbury, who hovered round the Scottish army, observing the motions of the enemy, perceiving the disorder that prevailed among their ranks, attacked them with much fury, that they fought then safely, and without flight. The earls of Cathers and Angus, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, and the general Sinclair, with about two hundred horse, and eight hundred common soldiers, were taken prisoners, and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the English.

The battle, or rather rout, happened at Solway Moss, in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. James was taken prisoner, where he received the alarming news of the defeat and dissipation of his army, and the loss of his artillery. He could not suppress his rage and regret to affected his health, and he retired immediately to his bed, and

soon after expired, in the flower of his age. Before his death, news arrived that his queen was safely delivered; on which he asked, with some emotion, whether she had brought him a son or a daughter? Being told the latter, he turned about in his bed, and exclaimed, "How many miseries await this poor kingdom! Henry will be master of it, either by arms or by marriage."

The death of James, and the birth of a daughter, heirs of a kingdom whose friendship was of so much importance to England, gave a new turn to the deliberations in the English council. It was now determined not to drive the Scots to despair, by taking the utmost advantage of the late victory: on the contrary, a scheme was formed for uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage between Edward prince of Wales and the young queen of Scotland. The Scottish prisoners were accordingly interrogated on this subject; and as they were well disposed to encourage the contrivance, they were all set at liberty, on condition of their promising to return to London, if the project should become abortive.

A. D. 1543. The great success of Henry's arms against the Scotch so pleased the parliament, (which met on the 22d of January) that they granted him a considerable subsidy. They afterwards passed an act for permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants, to have English bibles, and other religious books mentioned in the statute, in their houses, for the instruction of their families. This act, which was procured by the influence of Crammer, contained a clause, which mitigated the punishment of those who should be found guilty of heresy; but the king was empowered either to repeal or suspend the force of the act whenever he found it expedient.

When the Scottish prisoners returned to their own country they found it involved in the greatest confusion. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, was, after the infant princess, the next heir to the crown. He was a nobleman of a weak capacity, of a peaceable disposition, and a friend to the Reformation; but not at all adapted to hold the helm of government in these tempestuous times. The friends of the reformed religion, who were now pretty numerous in Scotland, exhorted him, however, to claim the regency, by virtue of his proximity of blood. Arran listened to their importunities, and resolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament. He was powerfully opposed by the popish faction, at the head of whom was Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland; a priest of unpopular manners, a zealous Roman Catholic, and of a persecuting spirit. He published the will of the late monarch soon after his death, by which that prince had left the government to him, in conjunction with the earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Murray. By virtue of this instrument, which is said to have been forged by that ambitious churchman, he took possession of the government; and having joined his interest with that of the queen-dowager, sister to the duke of Guise, he obtained the consent of the convention of the States, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

The Cardinal, however, did not long enjoy the power he had thus usurped. The return of the Scottish prisoners enabled Arran to make the most powerful opposition to the Cardinal's administration; and the nation being exasperated at his forgery, the majority of the parliament declared in favor of Arran, and the cardinal was committed to prison. A negotiation was immediately opened with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, and a treaty of marriage was concluded; by which it was stipulated, that the queen should remain in Scotland till she was ten years of age, that she should then be sent to England, in order to be educated, that six Scotch noble

men should be sent as hostages to Henry; and that Scotland, notwithstanding its union with England, should still preserve its laws and privileges. But Beaton, having found means to escape from prison, excited the ecclesiastics against this treaty, and awakened the natural antipathy of the Scots against the English. The popish party were indefatigable in persuading the people that an union with England must be productive of their own slavery. Their endeavours had the desired effect; the English ambassador was insulted by the populace, and the regent had no longer any power to protect him.

Persuaded that these violent proceedings must occasion a rupture between the two kingdoms, Sadler summoned the prisoners to return to England, pursuant to their engagements; but all of them refused to obey, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassils, who preferred his honour to his liberty. Henry was so pleased with this noble behaviour, that he received him with great marks of esteem, loaded him with presents, and gave him his liberty without ransom. Beaton was not at all displeased at this refusal of the prisoners, though it reflected disgrace upon their country. He well knew that they must now depend wholly on the government for support, and oppose the English with all their power. A war was now expected between the two kingdoms, and Francis engaged to support the interest of Scotland.

Matthew Stewart, earl of Lenox, had been for some time, and was still at the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in an ancient and hereditary enmity with the family of Hamilton, by whom his father had been murdered, proposed that he should visit his native country, and join in supporting the cardinal and the queen-mother; promising, that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should be sent after him. He was also flattered with the hopes of espousing the queen-dowager; and in case of the death of Mary, the infant princess, of ascending the Scottish throne in preference to the earl of Arrian, whose legitimacy was liable to some objections.

Tempted by these alluring prospects, Lenox returned to Scotland, and, on his arrival, exerted all his interest for breaking off the marriage treaty. He assembled a considerable number of forces, in order to wrest the young queen from the hands of the regent; who being unable or unwilling to contend with his enemies, agreed to an accommodation. This important point being gained, the queen and the cardinal, who had now no farther occasion for the assistance of Lenox, desired Francis to recall him; but the earl, informed of their design, withdrew to his castle at Dumbarton, and the following year threw himself into the arms of the English.

Exasperated at the conduct of Francis relative to Scotland, Henry determined to break off his alliance with that monarch, and to conclude with the emperor an offensive and defensive league against France. He therefore sent a message to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with the Turks, and to make reparation for the damage the infidels had done in Christendom. Francis refused to comply with this haughty demand, in consequence of which Henry immediately declared war against that monarch.

During these transactions a circumstance happened that seemed to promise the most distinguished advantages to the cause of the Reformation. The king, on the 12th of July, married Catherine Parr, widow to Neville, lord Latimer, a woman of great virtue and prudence, and well affected to the reformed religion. The new queen, however, had the mortification to find that the persecutions against the reformers were not yet at an end, for, a few days

after her marriage, Anthony Perfonne, a priest, Robert Tellwood, a singing-man, and Henry Lamer, a taylor, were, at the instigation of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, burnt at Windsor, for reading the writings of the reformed. At the same time the bishop's own secretary was executed for denying the king's supremacy.

A. D. 1544. In the month of January Henry convoked a parliament, who passed an act for regulating the pre-eminence of those who might lay claim to the throne. Prince Edward and his posterity were to be the first rank; the next was placed in the present queen, or any future wife; the third was assigned to the princess Mary and her issue; and the fourth to Elizabeth and her children. But to convince the princesses, that this distinction was the absolute result of their father's indulgence, the act subjected them to any conditions he might think proper to require. By a clause in this statute all subjects were obliged to take a new oath, renouncing the papal authority, under pain of incurring heavy penalties, which were decreed against all those who should violate any article contained in this act of parliament.

During this session, the title of king of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Anglican and Irish Churches for ever united to the crown of England.

In the spring of this year, Henry sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet amounted to near 200 sail, and had on board a body of ten thousand men. Dudley, lord Lisle, commanded the navy, and the earl of Hertford the land forces. His troops were landed in the neighbourhood of Leith, and, after defeating a small body that opposed their landing, they took that town, and thence advanced to Edinburgh, the gates of which were soon taken, and the city, after being pillaged by the soldiers, was set on fire. The regent and the cardinal, on the condition to oppose to great a force, retreated toirling. No opposition being made to their march, they continued their ravages, burnt Haddington, and Dunbar, and retired into England, having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. This expedition has been censured as ill-concerted; for Henry intended to solicit an alliance, but he proceeded with too much violence; and if he meant to succeed in his conquest, he neglected to improve his opportunity, however, be observed, that having formed an union with the emperor, formed the project of the salvation of France, he was solicitous of employing his whole force on the continent.

The plan formed by these two powers was to invade France at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men; and it was to march directly to Paris, without entering any siege, and thence proceed to the capture of the kingdom. Had this plan been executed, it would, in all probability, have been very fortunate for the French monarch, had he taken the head of an army of sixty thousand men, and taken the field before Henry landed at Calais, not to lose time while he was waiting for moderate Charles invaded Luxembourg, and made himself master of the place. He then moved to Commercy on the Meuse, which he lost, and Ligny met with the same fate. But on the Marne, which he next beheld, he met with brave resistance, under the command of the governor.

During these transactions Henry landed at the head of thirty thousand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earls of Arundel, Oxford and Surrey, the lord St. Ferris, Montjoy, and Grey of Wilton, Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and a

ber of the most opulent persons in the kingdom. Soon after his arrival he was joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand infantry and four thousand horse.

Henry finding the emperor employed in taking places, imitated his example, and invested Montreuil and Boulogne, the latter of which surrendered on the 26th of July. These sieges necessarily produced delays; and Charles finding the season considerably advanced, and that the scheme for subduing France was likely to prove abortive, concluded a separate peace with Francis. In consequence of this treaty, the count de Buren withdrew his forces from the English army, and Henry was obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, and return to his own kingdom, after having levied a great expence on the nation for acquisitions neither honorable to himself or advantageous to his kingdom.

A. D. 1545. Francis was determined to make one grand effort against England. He had employed all the last winter, and great part of this spring, in making preparations for the recovery of Boulogne, and a descent on the English coast. He had fitted out one hundred and fifty large ships of war, with fifty of a smaller size, and brought twenty-five gallees from Marseilles to Havre de Grace. They sailed early in the month of July; and on the 18th of the same month advanced towards the English fleet, then riding at St. Helens. Here a cannonade began which lasted several hours, but with very little effect, the art of gunnery being then in its infancy, and the guns and tackle very ill adapted for the intended purposes. Finding their attempt to destroy the English fleet abortive, they made a descent on the Isle of Wight, and committed the most dreadful ravages, but being repulsed by the militia of the country, they fled to their ships, which soon after sailed for France.

In the mean time Francis was exerting all his efforts to take Boulogne; and though he had an army of 200,000 men, yet his endeavours proved abortive. All he could do was, to ravage the little territory of Oye, from whence the garrison of Calais used to have their forage and provisions; after which he retired to Amiens, and then took up his winter quarters.

A. D. 1546. Henry having obtained the necessary subsidies from his parliament, made fresh preparations for carrying on the war with France; but an accident happened at the opening of the campaign, which gave very little hopes of success to the English. The earl of Surrey, who commanded the English forces in Boulogne, attempted to intercept a convoy of provisions going to the fort of Outre Eau, which the French had built at the mouth of the port; but was obliged to return with some loss, without effecting his purpose. This was followed by a more considerable defeat. The earl, not the least intimidated by his unsuccessful attempt, attacked the Maréchal de Buz, who was conducting a much larger convoy, but fortune again declared for the French; the English general was routed, with the loss of about eight hundred men on the spot, (among whom was Sir Ed. Poyning) and one hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

Henry, whose animosity against Francis was neither political nor personal, began now to think of listening to offers of accommodation with the French monarch. He was sufficiently gratified his capricious humour by what way he had carried on against Francis; and he began to apprehend, from his great increase of popularity, and visible decay of strength, that his approaching end was near. He was desirous of finishing a war which might prove dangerous to the king, and ruin the minority of his son. Francis, like his father, was not averse to an accommodation.

duke of Orleans, he was afraid that Charles should again attack him at a time when he might be unprovided both with men and money to make a suitable defence.

Each being thus desirous of terminating the quarrel, commissioners were appointed, who met at Campe (a place between Ardres and Guines) on the 7th of July, where a peace was concluded on the following conditions: That the king of France should pay regularly the pension settled by former treaties. That Francis should pay in eight years the sum of two millions of golden crowns, in consideration of the pension, as also the expence Henry had been at in reducing Boulogne. That Henry should keep possession of Boulogne, together with its territories, till the whole debt was discharged; when that place should revert to its former possessor. And lastly, that the Scots, as well as the emperor, should be included in this treaty.

Thus Henry terminated a war which had cost him above one million three hundred and forty-three thousand pounds sterling; and all he acquired in return was, only a bad security for a debt which did not amount to one third of the value.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace died Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, and brother-in-law to the king. This nobleman was always a sincere and powerful friend to Cranmer, was well affected to the reformation, and took every opportunity of supporting its professors. He enjoyed the favours of Henry from his earliest youth, which affords one instance that the king was not wholly incapable of a cordial and steady friendship. Henry was sitting in council when he was informed of Suffolk's death, and dropped a tear to his memory. At the same time he declared, that during the whole time of his correspondence with that nobleman, he had never made any attempt to injure an adversary, nor even ever whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person whatever. He added, "Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?" This question was only answered by that confusion of countenance which is naturally excited from conscientious guilt.

The death of Suffolk inspired the popish party with the hopes of being able to ruin Cranmer. They well knew the king's passion for orthodoxy, and represented the primate as the principal cause of its making no greater progress. Henry, in order to see how far they would carry their malice, pretended to listen to the accusation, and desired the council to enquire into Cranmer's conduct; promising, that if he was really the secret support of heresy, he would send him to the Tower, and bring him to condign punishment.

When Cranmer's enemies received this promise, they considered the primate's ruin as inevitable, and his old friends from mercenary motives, as well as the opposite party who were actuated by animosity, began to treat him with disrespect. Among other mortifying instances of neglect, he was obliged to wait several hours with the servants at the door of the council-chamber before he could gain admittance, and on his being at last called in, they told him they had agreed to send him to the Tower. Unmoved by this threat, Cranmer told them that he was not obliged to submit to their sentence, and that he appealed to the king himself. This appeal had, however, no effect upon the council, who were determined on his destruction. The primate therefore produced a ring which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. Terror and confusion now seized the whole party; and when they came before the king, he reproved them in the harshest terms, and told them, that he was thoroughly acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their envious and malicious spirit; adding, that he was determined to crush all their cal-

bals, and, since gentle methods were in vain, to teach them, by the severest discipline, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service.

But though the king would not suffer any impeachment to be brought against his favourite Cranmer, he was not disposed to shew the same lenity to others, who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself in matters of religion. The spirit of persecution was far from being subsided: the good and the virtuous still felt the fiery hand of a bigotted zeal. Among those who suffered for their religious opinions was Mrs. Anne Askew, a gentlewoman of good birth and excellent parts, who was well known to many persons at court, and had entered into a strict connection with the queen. This lady, being convicted of denying the real presence in the eucharist, was condemned to the flames, and chose to suffer death rather than purchase pardon at the expence of abjuring her faith. Chancellor Wriothesley, who was a zealous papist, was sent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies with whom she had been intimate. But this scheme proved abortive: she refused to discover any of her friends: and though she was put to the torture in the most cruel manner, she still continued resolute in preserving an inviolable secrecy. She was at length carried to the place of execution, and burnt alive, without having shewn the least inclination to retract. Three other persons suffered with her, and imitated her courage and constancy. All the arguments used by the bishop of Salisbury to prevail upon them to recant their errors were urged in vain. They maintained their tenets in the midst of the flames, and seemed to glory in their sufferings.

The queen, who had been the principal confidant of Anne Askew, happily escaped by the fidelity and resolution of that lady; but she soon after found herself in the utmost danger of falling a victim to the dogmatical zeal of her husband.

Henry, who was now very corpulent, and of a bad habit of body, was afflicted with an ulcer in his leg, which threatened his life, and at the same time greatly increased the peevish and passionate temper to which he was always subject. The tenderness of Catherine was remarkable on this occasion; she attended him with the utmost assiduity, and used every method in her power to soothe his pains, and prevent those dreadful gusts of humour so frequent and fatal in their consequences. The king's favourite topic was theology, and Catharine was frequently obliged to discuss the more abstruse tenets of religion with him. Whether her arguments were too strong for the king to answer, or whether she inadvertently dropt some expressions that shewed she was attached to the Lutheran principles, is not absolutely known; but the king was highly provoked at her presuming to differ from him in any theological speculation. He even complained to Gardiner of the queen's obstinacy; and that furious prelate, pleased at having an opportunity of crushing the very head of the protestant party, persuaded the king to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up, against his consort. The chancellor seconded the arguments of Gardiner, and soon after brought the articles to be signed. Fortunately for Catherine, the chancellor dropped the fatal paper, which was found by one of the queen's party, and immediately put into her hands. Sensible of the danger to which she was exposed, she determined, if possible, to avert the storm by prudence and discretion. She accordingly went into the king's chamber, when his majesty, as usual, began with her on the topic of religion. He found she affected to decline the subject, and expressed uncommon deference to his opinion, telling him that to his learning

and judgment she perfectly resigned herself. So, by St. Mary, replied Henry; you are too good a doctor, Kate, to instruct us as we take it that we should be instructed, or directed by us." The queen's answer was mild and prudent: she said, that such theological speculations were above her comprehension, and that her opinion, very ill suited to the natural talents of her sex. She added, that though she had been engaged in these speculations, it was only to clear her mind, and profit by his instructions; that his eloquence had withdrawn the veil of obscurity which she had so long wished to be removed, and to effect which she had made use of arguments, though she knew when she urged them they were not conclusive. "But is it even so, sweetheart," (replied Henry with great marks of tenderness) then we are friends again."

At the time this reconciliation happened, no party of condition was present, but lady Herbert, the queen's sister; and it was so profound a secret, that the next day, while Henry and Catherine were walking in the palace garden, Gardiner appeared, with a party of guards, to arrest the queen and conduct her to the Tower. The king no sooner saw the prelate approach, than he took him aside, and was observed to speak to him in a very angry tone of voice. The queen was greatly alarmed, especially on observing the terms knave, fool, and beast frequently repeated. The prelate retired in confusion, and the queen generously interposed to mitigate the passion of the king, who replied, "Poor soul! you know not how little that man is intitled to your favour."

The base part Gardiner acted on this occasion struck such an impression on the mind of the king, that he could never after bear the sight of him, and though the bishop sought, by the vilest adulation, to reinstate himself in the king's favour, yet all his endeavours proved abortive.

A. D. 1547. The disgrace of Gardiner was followed by the persecution of the duke of Norfolk and his son the earl of Surry; both of whom were the advocates for the catholic party, and the former was strongly suspected of having been principally concerned with Gardiner in the late attempt against the queen.

The duke of Norfolk was, by his birth, next to the throne; and had distinguished himself by a long series of services to the state. He was uncle to both Henry's queens, and always considered as the most powerful subject in the kingdom. He was an implacable enemy to the reformation, and had taken every opportunity to enforce the laws against it. The earl of Surry, son to the duke of Norfolk, was a nobleman of great merit, but of very little discretion. Hurried away by his ambition, and exasperated by some affronts he had lately received, he was imprudently irritated the peevish humour of Henry by some menacing expressions; and the king, persuaded that he entertained views of marrying the daughter of Mary, determined to prevent the great power of that family from becoming formidable to the government during his son's minority. Both Norfolk and Surry were accordingly arrested, and sent to the Tower. Surry was accused of entertaining in his house a number of Italians, who were suspected to be spies for the pope; and of carrying on a correspondence with cardinal Pole, because one of his domestics had paid a visit to that prelate in Italy. He was also accused of aspiring to the crown, because he quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor upon his escutcheon. It was well known that both himself and his son had openly, during many years, and even to the probation of the heralds, maintained that the crown was theirs. But however frivolous the accusations may appear, they were then thought sufficient to justify the king's

He was condemned by the lord-chancellor, who presided at his trial, and was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 19th of January.

But it was not so easy to convict the duke of Norfolk: no suspicion of a crime could be found to allege against him, except his having once said that the king was sickly and could not hold out long, and that the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, thro' the diversities of religious opinions. But Henry had recourse to the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny. He assembled a parliament, and the house of Peers, without examining the prisoner without evidence, or even the form of a trial, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. It deserves, however, to be remembered, that Crammer, though the duke had been always his most inveterate enemy, refused to have any share in so unjust a prosecution, and accordingly retired to his palace at Croydon in Surry. The Commons not being so expeditious in passing as Henry expected, he sent a message to the king, requesting that as Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, the bill might be hastened, and another might be appointed to officiate at the ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. This frivolous excuse was, however, sufficient for the obsequious commons. They passed the bill immediately, and the same day it received the royal assent, by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And Henry was so intent upon the death of this innocent nobleman, that he signed the warrant for his execution almost in the same hour, when heaven was pleased to put a period to his own existence: and thereby spared his soul from any further load of actual, though not of intentional guilt.*

Though the hour of Henry's dissolution appeared already at hand, yet none of his attendants had the courage to inform him of his dangerous situation, (an act having been passed in his reign, which rendered it capital for any person to foretel the king's death) but in the violence of his passion, he should cause himself, in all its rigour, to be executed on the anvil of such friendly intelligence; especially as his late treatment of the Howard family had demonstrated his cruelty did not subside as the springs of life decayed. At length Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose the fatal secret, and exhorted the king to prepare for that awful change which was so near at hand, as his legs were already mortified. He was contrary to all expectation, thanked him for his information, and desired that Crammer might be sent for, but before the archbishop arrived, the king was speechless. The prelate beseeching the king to give him some sign of his trusting in God, through the merits of our Redeemer, he spazzed, and with great fervency, and immediately after died, on the twenty eighth of January, in the thirty eighth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Henry, a short time before his death, had made his will, in which, pursuant to the power given by the statute, he had settled the succession to the crown and kingdom in the following manner: First, upon the issue of Wales and his posterity. Secondly, upon the issue of his present queen, or those of any marriage he might contract. Thirdly, upon the issue of Mary and her issue, but with this express condition, that she should marry with the consent of his executors, of his will. Fourthly, on the prin-

cess Elizabeth, with the same proviso. Fifthly, upon the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his sister, the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk. Sixthly, on the lady Eleanor Brandon, youngest sister to Frances. Lastly, in failure of all these, upon the next lawful heir. By another clause in his will he named the following sixteen executors: The archbishop of Canterbury; the lord Chancellor; the earl of Hertford, uncle to young Edward; the lord St. John; the lord Russell; the lord viscount Lisle; Cuthbert Tonsil, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown; Sir Edward Montague; the chief justice Bromley; Sir William Paget; Sir Anthony Denny; Sir William Herbert; Sir Edward Watton; and his brother Dr. Watton. To the lords who were his executors he left five hundred marks, and to the commons three hundred; and ordered his executors to pay all his debts. He made the prince of Wales heir to all his moveables, but strictly charged him to be subject to the advice of his council till he was eighteen years of age. He left three thousand pounds a year to each of his daughters, with ten thousand pounds addition, as their whole fortune, if his executors thought proper. To the queen he left three thousand pounds in plate and jewels, and a thousand pounds in money. Another clause in his will sufficiently suggested, that he was far from being settled with regard to his notions of religion: he left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he had destroyed all those institutions, established by his ancestors and others, for the benefit of their souls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith he published during the latter years of his reign, yet he was determined to take care of the future repose of his own soul, by adhering to the safer side of the question.

A revival of the reign and actions of Henry VIII. will afford the reader a more striking display of his character, than any summary we can possibly give at the close of them. There we may observe the frailty of human foresight, which is so prone to represent men and things to us, through a delusive glass. Henry ascended the throne, esteemed for his assiduity, extraordinary study and generosity; but these qualities gradually degenerated into moroseness, peevishness, and profligation. He soon evinced a most insatiable avarice; to the gratification of which, he sacrificed every laudible principle. He assumed to himself a lawless dominion over the reason of others, and set himself up as chief arbiter in all religious disputes.

He wrested the supremacy from the see of Rome, rather from reasons of state and convenience, than motives of justice and conscience. Alleviating his propensity to human nature, he became a stranger to its tenderest emotions, and a slave to its impetuous passions. He never contributed to happiness of which he was not to partake; if, therefore, there are any traces of beneficence in his life, they arise, not from a view of alleviating the afflictions of others, but procuring repose for himself. His conduct with respect to religion, stirred up many noisy disputants, while his bigotry and cruelty blotted the founts of free enquiry.

As he perverted law to the destruction of humanity, so he established religion on the ruins of reason. He mistook the impulse of passion for the dictates of reason, and the dread commanded by power, for the

* Had the commencement of this reign, especially as the king was considered as unjust and tyrannical,

the reverence due to superior judgment. But of all his foibles, his capricious amours are the most glaring; nor can we think it possible for any human being to read, without shuddering at the thought, of a man, in the character of a monarch, who having obtained possession of the most desirable object of his passion, could send her to the block, in order to pave the way for the gratification of a new, and unwarrantable desire.

Nevertheless, Henry, though thus encircled with vices, may be deemed the stock on which were engrafted those tender sprigs that afterwards spread a grateful shade, and now afford an impenetrable shelter to the civil and religious liberties of mankind: but with respect to himself, as before hinted, he seems in this case to have been actuated by the impulse of passion rather than the dictates of religion and conscience; which affords us this important lesson: That the great disposer of all events frequently pursues means, to us the most apparently improbable, to execute his wise and benevolent designs.

Henry VIII. had issue as follows:

By his first wife, Catharine of Spain, he had two sons, both of whom died infants. And a daughter named Mary, who succeeded her brother Edward to the throne of England.

By his second wife, Anne Boleyn, he had the famous queen Elizabeth; and a male child, still born.

By his third wife, Jane Seymour, he had a son named Edward, who immediately succeeded him on the throne.

By his three last wives, Anne of Cleves, Catharine Howard, and Catharine Parr, he had no issue.*

He had one natural son by Elizabeth, daughter of John Blount, widow of Sir Gilbert Tallebois. This youth, when seven years of age, was created knight of the garter, earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, and made lieutenant of all the king's forces north of the Trent. He was afterwards constituted admiral of England, and at last made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He died on the 24th of July, 1536, in the 17th year of his age; and was buried at Thetford in Norfolk.

The most remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign are as follow:

In his second year hats were first manufactured in London, before which both men and women wore close knit woollen caps.

The date of the commencement of the royal or English navy may be fixed from the 4th year of this king's reign, when the first navy office was appointed, with commissioners to manage naval affairs, and a number of stout ships of war began to be permanently and regularly kept on foot by the crown.

In his ninth year the sweating sickness raged with the utmost violence throughout the kingdom, particularly in London. The effects were very sudden, for it proved fatal in three hours after the patient was affected. It was computed that in some towns half,

and in others one third, of the inhabitants died of this dreadful distemper. It is remarkable that this disorder was peculiar only to Englishmen, many whom being abroad at the time it raged in England received the infection and died, though no English native was known to be the least affected by it, whence the foreigners called it *ender Anglica* or *English Sweat*.

In the 12th year of this king's reign, muskets were first generally introduced into the English army, and bows and arrows totally laid aside.

In his 15th year there was so severe a frost, that great numbers of people perished. Some lost their fingers, others their toes, and many their nails.

The following year the plague raged so violent in London, that his majesty removed to Eltham: Michaelmas term was adjourned, and the court much deserted by its inhabitants, that the next Christmas was called the Still Christmas. This year is also remarkable for the first voyage being made round the world, which was performed in a large ship, part of a Spanish squadron, under the command of an officer named Pizarro.

In his 18th year corn was so scarce all over the kingdom, that it produced a general famine, and many of the poorer sort of the inhabitants perished through mere want. This dreadful calamity, however, was stopped by the interposition of his majesty and the company of Merchant Adventurers, the former supplying the city with 1000 quarters, and the latter importing large quantities from Bantzick.

In his 20th year one Richard Rose, cook to the bishop of Rochester, was boiled to death in a cauldron of oil, in Smithfield, agreeable to his sentence, for putting poison into some soup, by which ten people, who had eat of it, died. It was intended for his master, who luckily escaped, owing to his being greatly indisposed on that day.

In his 30th year the manner of casting pipes of lead for conveying water under-ground, without the use of folder, was first invented by Robert Breton, one of the king's chaplains. Robert Cooper, a smith, was the first that made the instruments and put the invention into practice.

The summer of the following year was very hot, that it produced a general drought all over the kingdom: small rivers were entirely dried up, and many cattle perished for want of water. The river Thames was so empty, that the high water above London-bridge, and continued to rise, and water was increased by rain.

In his 34th year pins were first made in England, before which the ladies used small wooden bodkins.

The following year an act of parliament was passed, whereby pressing for the sea service was made a criminal punishment. In consequence of which the aldermen of London was pressed, and obliged to serve on board the fleet in foreign parts, before he could pay a tax levied on him by the king.

In his 37th year, on Tuesday, in February, William Foxley, pot maker to the North Tower,

* As the following poetical lines may be easily retained in the memory, they will serve as a memorial, by which the names, order of succession, and fate of all Henry's wives will be readily recalled.

The first, who never spard him in anger's gulf,
Of Catherine of Spain, to escape his snuff;
A passion led him, or as caprice led,
To several courts took from church to bed,
Catherine of Cleves, in youthful pride,
Became his first, and long remain'd his bride;
But once more, captivated him,
Henry divorc'd her in a furious whim.

Short was his second wife, Anne Boleyn,
Who lost her head to let him true again;
Jane Seymour then succeeded as his third,
And proving pregnant soon in child-bed dy'd;
To Anne of Cleves the fourth time he wed,
Till a divorce espel'd her from his bed;
Then Catherine Howard, his fifth wife became,
Who lost her head for a licentious theme;
His sixth wife, Catharine Parr, a widow,
Outlived the King, and saw him to his grave.



Tower of London, fell asleep, and could not be waked till the first day of next term, which was full fourteen days: and when he awoke, was found in all respects the same as if he had slept but one night; and lived in perfect health forty years after.

By a law passed during this reign, those convicted

of swearing falsely were punished by having the letter F stamped on their faces with a red hot iron.

Henry VIII. was the first king of England who took the title of Majesty, the sovereigns before being addressed by the stile of, My Liege, Your Highness or Your Grace.

S E C T I O N III.

E D W A R D VI.

THIS monarch was little more than nine years of age when he acceded to the throne of England. At the time of his father's death he was with his sister Elizabeth at Hertford; from whence he was conducted by his uncle the earl of Hertford, and Sir Thomas Brown, to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king by the name of Edward VI.

Henry VIII. by his will, had fixed the majority of the prince at the 18th year of his age, and appointed fifteen executors, to whom, during the minority, he committed the administration of public affairs, and the care of the king's person. And to these fifteen executors, in whom the whole regal authority was involved, were joined twelve counsellors, to assist with their advice as occasion might require.

No sooner, however, had these agents settled the form of government agreeable to Henry's will, than a change was proposed. Some of them observed, that it would be very troublesome for the people, and particularly for foreign ministers, to be obliged to apply to sixteen persons of equal authority; and moved, that one should be chosen amongst them to be head and president, with the title of protector of the king's realm, and governor of his person.

Though this proposal appeared not only reasonable, but also necessary, to the majority of the regents, yet it was strongly opposed by Wriothesley the chancellor, a person of a very ambitious and active disposition. He asserted that they had no power to depart from the tenor of the late king's will, authorized by an act of parliament. His remonstrances, however, had no effect on the council; they determined to choose a protector in order the more effectually to provide for the public tranquillity. No difficulty occurred as to the person proper for this exalted station. Edward Seymour earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the king, and more interested in his preference, he had himself no pretensions to the crown, and was not so attached to the office, but with this restriction: that as he should enjoy all the exterior symbols of sovereignty, he should yet be bound, in the exercise of power, to follow the opinion of the majority of the council. On his being appointed to this elevation, he was immediately created duke of Somerset, and at the same time the chancellor was expelled out of Southampton.

It had at first been resolved that the coronation of the young king should be performed on the 19th of May; but it was thought more proper to defer it till the 20th, which was Shrove-sunday, and the lord of Exeter was appointed to act as lord high steward on that occasion. Accordingly, the king, being conducted out of the Tower through the city, took his lodgings in his palace of Westminster on the 19th, and the next day was crowned with the usual

pomp and solemnity. The ceremony was performed by Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by other bishops, and the principal nobility of the realm.

A short time after the king's coronation, the lord-chancellor (notwithstanding the mark of favour he had so lately received) displayed that natural enmity which had so long subsisted in his heart against the protector; and he determined to make his station as uneasy as possible, by opposing every measure he should think proper to adopt. To effect this he devoted his whole time to the affairs of the cabinet; and as his office of chancellor necessarily engrossed a considerable part of his attention, he ventured, without any warrant from the king, protector, or regency, or any other authority than his own, to put the great seal in commission; and appointed four lawyers to execute, in his absence, the office of lord high chancellor of England. A measure so replete with arrogance and presumption could not fail of giving umbrage to the government; and it was determined to suppress the haughty spirit of the ambitious chancellor. The judges being consulted on this occasion, declared, that the commission he had granted was contrary to the laws of England; and that the earl of Southampton, for taking such an unconstitutional step, had not only forfeited his high office, but also rendered himself subject to the severest punishment. A council was now summoned, and the chancellor ordered to attend. But he was so far from making any submission, that he defended his own power in the most haughty manner, and with very indecent language. He called the authority of the council and protector in question, and told them he would not submit to any sentence they might pronounce against him. He was therefore deprived of the seals, and committed a prisoner to his own house, where he continued till the 29th of June, when he entered into a recognizance of 1000*l.* to pay whatever fine they should think proper to impose on him.

The ambition of the protector was greatly increased by the fall of Southampton; and he now thought himself at full liberty to engross the sole management of affairs into his own hands. With this view he obtained from the young king a patent, which invested him, under the title of protector, with the whole regal authority. He appointed a council, consisting of all the former members, except Southampton; and enjoyed the power of choosing other counsellors, and to consult with such only as he thought proper.

During these translations in England, Francis I. king of France paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded by his son the dauphin, who assumed the sceptre by the name of Henry II. This prince was, in a great measure governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the queen dowager.

dowager of Scotland; and being zealous champions for the papal authority, and the Roman Catholic religion, they determined to prevent the intended marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland. Accordingly they persuaded Henry to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, and to reject the late treaties which had been concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I.

This perfidious behaviour, however, did not intimidate the Protector: he determined, if possible, to execute the dying injunction of his late master, who had left positive directions that a marriage should take place between the young queen of Scots and his son Edward, by which means the two kingdoms might be happily united. But before he proceeded to carry this design into execution, he thought it necessary to provide for the tranquillity of the public, and to place the reformation (for which he was a strong advocate) on such a basis, that it might be able to baffle all the attempts of its open and concealed enemies.

The Protector was very materially assisted in this business by the affection young Edward himself had to the reformed principles, and by the cool and politic councils of Cranmer. This prelate had, without being seen to stir in the matter, procured several of the best works written abroad against popery, to be translated and published in England. He also published a catechism, which he translated and improved from the Latin; and composed several homilies to be delivered by priests in the nature of sermons.

It was now ordered that a general visitation should be made of all the churches in England. Accordingly the whole kingdom was divided into six circuits, each of which was assigned to a certain number of visitors, who were partly lay men and partly ecclesiastics. The chief purport of their instructions was, to abolish certain abuses that had been introduced into divine service, and particularly with regard to images; but at the same time they were directed to proceed with delicacy and reserve. The visitors discharged their business, and preserved the injunctions laid on them, in the most punctual manner: and with this visitation commenced the execution of the design formed in the late reign for perfecting the reformation.

The affairs at home being thus adjusted to the satisfaction of the Protector, his whole attention was now turned towards prosecuting the war with Scotland. He assembled an army of 18000 men, and equipped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war, and the other loaded with ammunition and provisions. The command of the fleet was given to lord Clinton, while he himself, assisted by the earl of Warwick, led the land forces.

Alarmed at this powerful armament, the French ambassador applied by orders from his court, to the regency, desiring that a negotiation might be opened, in order, if possible, to restore peace between the two kingdoms, without the effusion of human blood. The request was complied with, and Tonsal, bishop of Durham, and Sir Thomas Roke, were appointed to meet the Scottish commissioners at Newcastle, where the conferences were opened on the fourth of August. But the English plenipotentiaries refusing to proceed in the negotiation, unless the marriage between the two sovereigns was previously settled, and the Scottish commissioners declaring they had no power to consent to the marriage, the negotiations became abortive.

In consequence of this the protector entered Scotland on the second of September. But before he commenced hostilities he published a manifesto, in which he recapitulated the reasons that induced the English to have recourse to arms, and urged, by a variety of arguments, the expediency and even necessity of the marriage of the young queen of Scots and Ed-

ward being immediately concluded. These arguments were drawn from the situation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by surrounding them with the ocean, seemed to have designed for one empire; from the familiarity of the inhabitants in their laws, language, customs, and manners, whereby they were naturally adapted to be united, and to become one people; from the equality of the young king and queen, with regard to age and fortune; from the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually exposed from the hostile attempts of a richer and more powerful neighbour; and from the many advantages that must result to the inhabitants of both kingdoms from living in a state of peace and security. The protector added, that exclusive of these considerations, positive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound in honour to perform, what their interest and safety so strongly demanded.

These remonstrances, however, were rendered totally abortive by the arts and intrigues of the queen dowager of Scotland, who was warmly attached to the interest of France and the Roman catholic religion. The Protector, therefore, found himself obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to compel the Scots to adopt a measure which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to embrace. He accordingly continued his march towards Edinburgh without meeting with any opposition, except from a few small castles, which were forced to surrender at discretion.

The earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, had collected the whole force of the kingdom: and his army, which was double to that of the English in numbers, had taken post at Musselburgh, on a very advantageous spot of ground, secured by the back of the river Esk, about six miles from Edinburgh, while the English lay encamped at Preston-Pans. In this situation several skirmishes passed between the two troops of each army, but without any thing decisive; and Somerset, finding it impossible to draw the Scots to an engagement, and fearing he should soon be distressed for want of provisions, sent an herald to Arran, offering to abandon his enterprize, and to pay all the damages the Scots had suffered from hostilities, provided he would give his promise, that the young queen should not be given in marriage to any foreign prince, till she reached the age of chasteity, and had chosen for herself.

These moderate terms induced the Scots to agree, that the English were intimidated, and that if the enemy was attacked, the victory would be theirs. The priests and monks, who had come to the camp in great numbers, laboured assiduously to prevail on this opinion, adding, that they had now an opportunity of inflicting vengeance on their old enemy. A movement made by the English to move their ships, confirmed them in this opinion. The protector was going to embark in the forenoon, with this idea, and determined to cut off his retreat. They quitted their camp, crossed the river, and advanced, with great precipitation, into the plain where the Scottish regent drew up his army in three divisions: the first, which consisted of the best troops, was commanded by the earl of Angus, the second by the regent himself; and the third by James Huntley. The earl of Argyll headed a body of Highland archers, who formed a guard to the rear.

When Somerset saw the Scots leave their advantageous camp, he was highly pleased, thinking he now had an opportunity of bringing on a decisive action. He drew up his troops in two lines, the first of which was commanded by the earl of Warwick, and the second by the Protector himself.

Grey of Wilton led a reserved body of cavalry, and had orders to fall upon the flank of the van of the Scottish army, as soon as they should be engaged in close fight with the first line of the English.

The Scottish army at length advanced to the charge; when a dreadful fire from the cannon of the English ships threw the Highland archers into the greatest confusion. Lord Grey perceived the situation of the enemy, and could not resist the opportunity of attacking them before they recovered from their surprise. But he soon perceived he had acted with too much precipitation. The spot occupied by the enemy was fallow land, broken ridges, and separated from him by a slough and a ditch. These impediments rendered the shock of his body of horse feeble and irregular; and the Scottish infantry standing firm, he was repulsed with considerable loss: he himself was dangerously wounded; lord Edward Seymour, son to the Protector, was unhorsed; and the English standard in danger of being taken. But the earl of Warwick and the duke of Somerset advanced with so much celerity to support the English horse, that they soon formed behind the infantry, and the battle now became general. The English artillery, planted on a neighbouring eminence, played full on one of their flanks, while the cannon of the ships galled them on the other; and the lord Grey, eager to repair his error, charged them in front with so much fury, that their first line gave way, and an orderly retreat was begun: but the Highland archers betaking themselves to flight, spread a panic through the whole army; the retreat was changed into a precipitate flight, and the whole became one general scene of confusion, terror, and consternation. The bravest of Scots were put to the sword, and the route and slaughter became so general, that from the field of battle to Edinburgh, the whole ground was covered with the dying and the dead. The priests and monks received no quarter, for having engaged in an enterprize so foreign to their profession. Few victories have been more decisive or more complete. Above ten thousand perished in the engagement and pursuit, and about fifteen hundred surrendered themselves prisoners. The English lost not more than two hundred men. This action is known in history by the name of the battle of Pinkie, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood where it was fought.

The earl of Arran fled with the queen dowager to Sirling-castle, and the Scottish army was so entirely dispersed, that Arran found the utmost difficulty of checking the incursions of small parties of the English. The Protector marched directly to Leith, which made no opposition; but he failed in his attempt against Edinburgh castle. He, however, plundered the town, while the fleet under lord Clinton, burnt all the places on the sea coasts, and took all the shipping in the firth of Forth. Had the duke pursued all the advantages of his late victory, he might have given law to the conquered. But a cabal having been raised against him at London, he hastened his return, leaving Warwick with full powers to negotiate a treaty with Arran, who had desired leave to send commissioners for that purpose. The latter, however, meant only to gain time till the succours could arrive from France; and accordingly no Scottish commissioners appeared at the place appointed for the conferences to be held.

No sooner did the Protector arrive in London, than he found that his brother Thomas, who had married Catharine Parr, the queen dowager, and had lately been created lord high-admiral of England, was become his greatest opposer. He had not only joined in the cabals of his enemies, but also made several vigorous efforts to supplant him in the high post

he enjoyed. He had already gained such an ascendancy over Edward, that he had persuaded the king to write a letter with his own hand to the house of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of the king's person. Though this attempt struck at the foundation of the Protector's greatness, he still endeavoured to reclaim his brother by gentle and munificent methods; but finding he was still determined to pursue his scheme, Somerset found it necessary to summon a parliament, as the only authority that could support him against the machinations of his brother.

Previous, however, to the opening of the session, he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and which he proposed to lay before the house at the meeting of the parliament. The council were alarmed at this circumstance, and several lords were deputed to dissuade the admiral from pursuing a scheme which might involve the government in distress, and ultimately terminate in his own destruction. But he continued firm to his purpose, till the council threatened to deprive him of all his posts, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the statute which made it death for any person to disturb the established government. These menaces awakened his attention: he saw the consequences that might result from his disobeying the council, and therefore thought proper to abandon his enterprize.

The reputation of the Protector was so greatly enhanced by the late victory over the Scots, that he now obtained a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench, on the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges which had usually been possessed by any princes of the blood, or uncles of the kings of England. These honours were invidious to the old nobility, and created the duke many powerful enemies. But if the protector discovered his vanity and weakness in assuming so much state and grandeur, he merited the highest applause on account of the laws enacted thro' his influence in this session of parliament: for by these the rigour of former statutes was greatly mitigated, and some steps taken for securing the liberties of the people. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treason beyond the limits assigned it by the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, together with all laws enacted during the late reign, for extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against the Lollards or heretics, and the bloody statute of the Six Articles. Thus were some of the most severe laws ever enacted in England totally abrogated, and the people began to flatter themselves with the hopes of enjoying some share of religious and civil liberty.

Several laws were enacted, which greatly contributed to promote the Reformation. But the most remarkable bill passed by parliament was, that which gave the revenues of chantries and colleges to the crown. The preamble to this statute premises, that these funds should be employed to good and godly uses, in erecting grammar schools, in further augmenting the revenues of the universities, and in making better provision for the poor and needy. But the rapacious courtiers had already, in their imaginations, devoured the prey; and it was not long before it was flung out among them. Crammer, and several other prelates, were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the appropriation of tithes, and other methods of alienation, were already too much reduced. The primate, therefore, strenuously opposed the bill, and was joined by the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Winchester, and Chichester: but notwithstanding this opposition, it was passed into a law. By this act no fewer than

two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chauntries, colleges, and other religious foundations, fell to the crown.

A. D. 1548. In the beginning of this year the council made several alterations in the ceremonies of the church. Orders were issued that candles should not be carried about on Candlemas-day, nor almes on Ash-Wednesday, nor palms on Palm-Sunday: that no images should be suffered to remain in the churches, and that the people should be at liberty to practise or lay aside auricular confession.

These alterations were strongly opposed by several of the catholic party. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was at the head of this opposition, and defended his opinions with great boldness before the council. He laid down his reasons on which his opposition was founded with all the force of eloquence, and concluded his speech in the following manner: "For my part, my sole concern is to manage the third and last act of my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit off the stage. Provided this point is secured, I am not solicitous about the rest. I am already, by nature, condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this sentence, nor so much as procure me a reprieve. To speak my mind freely, and to act as my conscience directs me, are two branches of liberty I can never part with. Sincerity in speech and integrity in action are entertaining qualities; they will stick by a man when every thing else takes its leave, and I must not resign them upon any consideration. The best of it is, I do not throw them away myself, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my preferments." This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was committed to the Tower; an act of severity which intimidated the Popish party; and no farther opposition was made to the ordinances.

The Scots not having sent commissioners to the conference appointed to be held at Berwick for a peace, the war was now renewed with that kingdom. Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury was sent into Scotland to command the English forces, in the character of lieutenant-general. In the mean time the lord Grey of Wilton took and fortified Haddington, which made him master of the most fruitful part of Scotland, and from whence he made excursions to the very gates of Edinburgh.

The Scots were in no condition to oppose the English till the month of June when they received succours from France. The troops sent by that monarch landed at Leith, and consisted of 6000 men, under the command of Delfe. This revived the courage of the Scots, and they immediately resolved on undertaking the siege of Haddington. But they were very unfit for this undertaking: even with the assistance of the French, they despaired of taking the place by assault, and depended entirely for success on the hopes of starving the garrison. They, however, repulsed several sallies made by the besieged, and obliged them to keep close within their fortifications.

During the siege of Haddington, the Scotch parliament were deliberating on the most proper method of preventing their young queen from falling into the hands of the English, as her marriage with Edward must be productive of an union between the two kingdoms. The earl of Huntley, who at first was disposed to favour the proposal of Somerset, but had changed his opinion by the late violent measures pursued by the English said pleasantly, "That he was not averse to the match, but that he disliked the manner in which the princess was courted." Several weighty reasons were, however, urged, both for and against the marriage; but at last it was determined to send their young queen to France, and, what was understood to

be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. She was accordingly embarked on board the French galleys, and after a tempestuous passage, arrived safely at Brest; from whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after betrothed to the dauphin.

The Scots, who were still continuing the siege of Haddington, had the good fortune to surprise and cut off a party sent to its relief, under the command of Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer. But on the approach of the earl of Shrewsbury, at the head of 20,000 men, they raised the siege, and retired with great precipitation. Shrewsbury, however, made no attempt to distress the enemy; he contented himself with reinforcing the garrison, and leaving a large supply of provisions and ammunition in the place; soon after which he returned to England.

While the war was thus carrying on in Scotland, the Protector was indefatigable in completing the Reformation. The public offices of the church were reviewed, a new catechism was published by Cranmer, and a new liturgy received by the convocation, though not without a long and strenuous debate. The parliament met on the twenty-fourth of November, and confirmed all the orders of council issued for the reformation of religion. Priests were permitted to marry, though the preamble to the act passed for that purpose expressly declared, that it were better for the priests and ministers of the church to live chaste, and without marriage; and it were much to be wished they would of themselves abstain. The new liturgy, drawn up by a select committee of bishops and divines, was confirmed, and ordered to be used in all churches in the kingdom. This liturgy was nearly the same with that at present used in the Church of England.

The attention of the Protector, however, was now diverted from promoting the progress of the Reformation. His brother had renewed his former practices, and carried them to a much greater length. The queen-dowager, his wife, had some time since died in child-bed; and he flattered himself with the hopes of espousing the princess Elizabeth, who was then in her sixteenth year, and seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man possessed of every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from the succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain, it was concluded, that he proposed to elude his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. He endeavoured to seduce the young king, and the courtiers into his interest; he inveighed openly against his brother's administration; and drew to him a great number of partizans from all classes of the people.

A. D. 1549. When the Protector had received intimation of his brother's proceedings, he attempted to bring him back to his duty and allegiance by every method; but his attempts were in vain; he rejected every offer, and let his brother at defiance. Seymour therefore laid the whole affair before the council, the consequence of which a charge, consisting of three articles, was drawn up against him, and he committed prisoner to the Tower.

A few days after his commitment commissioners were sent to interrogate him, but he refused answering to a single question: he desired that his trial should proceed in the legal method; that the witnesses might be confronted with him, and that the best of his accusation should be laid before him. These demands however reasonable in themselves, would the laws had long since yielded to force, and it was in vain to expect that the method of proceeding should now be altered. A bill of attainder was passed against him, and passed without any material delay.

Engraved for
Rafick's History of
England.



THE TANNER, sitting beneath the
shade of a fig-tree, representing
REGAL AUTHORITY.

in the House of Lords. The Commons were more scrupulous: some of the members were averse to the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder passed in the absence of the accused; and required that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. This opposition alarmed the ministry. A message was sent from the king, requiring them to proceed; and offering, that the same narratives which had satisfied the lords should be laid before them. This concession produced the desired effect; the bill passed in a very full house: near four hundred voted for it, and not above nine or ten against it. The royal assent was soon after given to the bill, and the admiral was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 20th of March. His behaviour on the scaffold was very undaunted; and he persisted, with his last breath, in declaring, that he had never committed, or intended to commit, any act of treason against the government.

The death of the admiral was followed by an almost universal commotion throughout the kingdom. During the last session of parliament an act had passed the House of Lords, for giving licence to every person to inclose his own grounds, but had been thrown out by the Commons. Irritated at this opposition, the nobility determined to carry the project into execution, notwithstanding their bill had proved abortive in parliament. This occasioned an universal discontent among the lower class of people, who were persuaded that a scheme was now formed for reducing them to an absolute state of slavery. Extreme indigence, to which they had been reduced by various causes, contributed to spread the flame of civil commotion into divers parts of the kingdom. The suppression of the abbies and monasteries, tho' doubtless of the utmost advantage to the nation in general, tended greatly to promote the oppression of the poor and indigent. It not only deprived the idle of a resource, but the peasant and the farmer lost a sure market for the fruits of their labour. Besides, the nobility, who were now become the owners of the church-lands, not only raised the rents of the farms, but also distressed the tenants by every method that avarice could invent. The woollen manufacture was carried to a great height in the Netherlands; and the large quantity of bullion imported from America, enabled the grandees of Spain to purchase the finest pieces of their cloth at very high prices. Hence the English wool found a sure and advantageous market among the Flemings. The natural consequence of this was, that the nobility turned their farms into pasture lands, and agriculture, which required the labour, and therefore afforded subsistence, to the husbandmen, was neglected. Hence the tenants and labourers were considered as a burden; and a multitude of people were reduced to beggary. The poorer classes of men could neither maintain their cattle nor themselves. What contributed still farther to oppress them, was the adulteration of the coin, begun in the reign of Henry VIII. and continued by Somerset to meet the necessities of the state. In consequence of this impolitic measure, the good coin was either hoarded up or exported; base metal only circulated, and the poor became unable to provide bread for their families. An alarming stagnation of commerce took place and the loudest complaints resounded from every part of England.

The Protector, dreading the consequences of this universal discontent, exerted himself to quiet the minds of the people. He published a pardon, even before the insurgents had committed overt acts of rebellion, and appointed commissioners to enquire into and redress their grievances. In consequence of this, several of the inclosures were thrown down, and the people were calmed against the Protector, while

the people received very little mitigation of their sufferings. The evil was of too complicated a nature to be easily redressed. The inhabitants of almost every county of England gave indications of their being ready to take up arms, and procure by open violence the necessities of life, which they could not obtain by their labour.

Insurrections were now raised in almost every county in the kingdom; but those which threatened the most fatal consequences were in the counties of Devon and Norfolk. In the former the disturbances were raised by a priest of Stamford-Courtney, who had the address to give them a religious turn, which fed the flame of discontent. The artful change of the subject, from temporal to religious objects, increased the number of the insurgents, and many of the gentry, particularly Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, joined the populace. They were soon formed into a kind of regular army, amounting to near 10,000 men. Lord Russell, who commanded a small body of forces in Devonshire, being unable to meet the rebels in the field, had recourse to negotiation. But they insisted on the most extravagant articles, declaring that they would never lay down their arms till they were granted. They demanded, that all the general councils and antient canons of the church should be observed: that the law of the six articles should be executed: that the mass should be said in Latin, and the priest alone receive the eucharist: that the host should be elevated and worshipped, and that those who refused to perform that adoration should suffer as heretics: that the sacrament should be only administered to the people at Easter, in one kind: that baptism should be administered at all times, and at any seasons: that holy bread, holy water, and palms, should again be used, and all the images restored, together with all the antient ceremonies: that the new liturgy should be laid aside, and both the old offices and the processions, be restored: that all preachers before their sermons, and priests in their celebrating mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory: and that the people should be forbid to read the bible.

When lord Russell informed the regency of these demands, they received them with that contempt they deserved; and as soon as the rebels found they were rejected, they determined to have recourse to arms, in order to force a compliance from the government. Accordingly, they marched directly to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, and other implements of the antient superstition; together with the host, placed on a canopy. The siege of the city was formed on the second of July; but as the rebels were wholly destitute of cannon, they were repulsed in every attempt to take the place by storm. The citizens were, however, soon reduced to extremity: but they held out till they were relieved. The lord Grey having joined the lord Russell with a considerable body of forces, they advanced against the rebels, who were totally routed. Many of the insurgents were executed by martial law. Arundel, and the other leaders were sent to London, where they suffered for their crimes. The priest of Stamford-Courtney was hanged on the top of a tower adjoining to his own house, dressed in the popish robes of his order, and a chaplet of beads suspended at his girdle.

The insurrection in Norfolk, instead of decreasing, as might have been supposed from the defeat of the western insurgents, became still more violent. The rebels were headed by one Ket, a Tanner, who exercised his authority with the utmost intolerance and outrage. They were exceeding numerous, and maintained so full daily that their number amounted to at least 10,000. Intoxicated with power, Ket made

the most exorbitant pretensions. He demanded that the gentry should be suppressed; that new counsellors should be placed about the king; and that the antient rights of religion should be re-established. These demands being rejected, the insurgents marched to Norwich, and took post at Moushold-hill, which commands the city, where they erected a castle, and fortifications, some remains of which are still extant. Their leader, Ket, affecting great austerity and regularity of conduct, held a court of judicature under a great oak (called, on this occasion, the Tree of Reformation) on the top of the hill, forcing the neighbouring gentry to obey his lawless ordinances, and committing a thousand enormities under pretence of redressing the grievances of the people.

The protector first endeavoured to heal these disorders by lenient methods; but the rebels having refused, with the most provoking insolence, a pardon which was offered them, it was determined to reduce them by force. The marquis of Northampton was accordingly sent against them, with about a thousand English infantry, and a body of Italian horse. But that nobleman advancing to Norwich, contrary to his orders, his forces were routed with the loss of about an hundred men killed and forty taken prisoners, among the former of whom was John lord Sheffield. This defeat alarmed the government, and the king proposed to send Somerset at the head of a powerful army, in order to crush the rebels before they increased to a more formidable number. The protector, however, who affected popularity, chose not to appear in person against the rebels; but dispatched the earl of Warwick, at the head of six thousand men levied for carrying on the war against Scotland. Warwick marched with the utmost expedition, and came up with the insurgents at Duffingale. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the rebels were totally defeated, and above two thousand of them slain on the spot. Ket was hanged on the walls of Norwich-castle, his brother on the top of Wymondham steeple, and nine of his principal followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation.

The defeat of the Norfolk rebels intimidated those of Yorkshire, where a considerable party were already in arms. The success of Ket had animated them to pursue the same measures for obtaining redress of their grievances. They assembled at Semor in the North Riding, and committed several outrages; but the victorious Warwick, after suppressing the Norfolk rebellion, marched against and quickly defeated them. Two of their principal ring-leaders being taken were hanged at York; and as a general pardon was offered to the rest, they laid down their arms, and quietly dispersed.

Notwithstanding these rebellions were thus happily suppressed yet they proved of great prejudice to the king's affairs, not only in Scotland but on the continent. The forces destined for Scotland were detained in England; and M. de Thermes landing there with fresh succours from France, gave great assistance to the Scots. He took the castle of Boughtry, and put the whole garrison to the sword. Haddington, however, held out against all his efforts, and it was determined to reduce the place by famine. But this was not easily effected, supplies were continually thrown into the place during the summer, so that all his efforts proved abortive. At last winter effected what his whole power could not perform. The inclemency of the weather was an obstacle not to be surmounted by the English. The earl of Rutland, warden of the East Marches, received orders to dismantle the place. He accordingly marched thither at the head of a strong body of forces, demolished the fortifications and brought off the garrison.

These were far from being the worst incon-

veniences that arose in consequence of the late disturbances at home. The French monarch, encouraged by the intestine troubles of England, made an effort to execute his favourite scheme of recovering Boulogne. The English court had for some time been apprehensive that he had formed that design, and sent over secretary Paget to the court of Charles V. in order to conclude an alliance with that powerful monarch. But Charles having formed a design of extending his dominions by acting the part of a champion for the catholic religion, listened not to the advances made by the English for entering into a strict confederacy. In the mean time Henry II. entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of a numerous army, took several castles, equipped a powerful fleet, and attempted a descent on the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; but a squadron of the English ships being immediately fitted out, fell upon the enemy, and drove them from the islands with the loss of above a thousand men.

Somerset, finding himself disappointed in his wish for alliance with the emperor, was desirous of concluding a peace with France and Scotland; especially as he was in no condition to support the necessary expences, and had experienced the difficulties and dangers that attended ministers in demanding and raising new subsidies: at the same time, he was anxious for completing the great work of the reformation so successfully begun. He therefore determined to sacrifice Boulogne, in order to gain the friendship and assistance of Henry. But when he proposed the restitution of that place in the council, he met with the strongest opposition from his enemies; who knowing he was in no condition to carry on the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose every measure that had any tendency to procure a pacification, and to embrace the first opportunity that offered for depriving him of his dignity.

Somerset was particularly exposed to danger from the great authority he enjoyed above the rest of the nobility. The haughtiness of his carriage, his ambition, the contempt he expressed for all those who refused to be directed by his sentiments, joined to the consideration of his limited and inferior capacity, irritated daily the discontented nobles. Warwick, the most powerful, and therefore the most dangerous of his enemies, formed a very strong party against him. He had provoked the nobility and gentry by the preference he had shewn the people with regard to enclosures, and the commotions that followed: they ever dreaded a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had created a court of requests in his own house for the poor of the people, and readily embraced every measure calculated to promote their interest and fidelity.

But though Somerset counted the affection of the people, his power was not considerable: the party, which still formed a principal part of his moderate commonalty, were his inveterate enemies, and readily embraced every opportunity to conduct his conduct. All his actions were misrepresented; he was reproached with the execution of his own mother; a crime so unnatural in the eyes of mankind in general, that he was represented as a monster rather than an human being. Add to this the great use he made of his wealth in erecting that magnificent palace in the Strand, called from him Somerset's house. The parish church of St. Mary, and three hundred houses were pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for this structure. Nor was he contented with that piece of sacrilege; he made an attempt to demolish St. Margaret's Westminster, in order to employ stones to the same purpose; but the parliament role upon the workmen, drove them from the work, and threatened to put them to death if they dared

second attempt. But Somerset was not intimidated at this repulse. He seized a chapel, together with a cloister and charnel-house belonging to it in St. Paul's church-yard, and also the church of St. John of Jerusalem; and with these materials his palace was raised.*

The enemies of Somerset now thought they had sufficient accusations to form articles of impeachment against him. Accordingly, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counsellors, met, on Sunday the 6th of October, at Ely-house, where the earl of Warwick resided; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, sent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; and after arraigning the protector's conduct, and charging him with the most enormous crimes, commanded them to obey no orders but such as were issued by themselves. The next day the lord-chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief-justice Montague, joined the male-content counsellors, and every thing seemed to threaten a final period to the distinguished authority of the protector.

Intimidated at these appearances, the protector removed the king from Hampton-court to Windsores; and arming his friends and servants, seemed determined to defend himself against his enemies. But finding that Cranmer and Paget were the only persons of rank that adhered to him, that he was abandoned by his partisans, and that the people did not seem to interest themselves in his favour, he lost all hopes of success, and offered to submit to the decisions of the council, provided they would promise to treat him with candour. This, indeed, was agreed to; but he was nevertheless, sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and adherents; among whom was Cecil, afterwards so famous in the reign of queen Elizabeth. On the fourteenth of October, he was brought before the council, and articles of accusation exhibited against him, of which the following were the chief: That he had not observed the conditions on which he had been made protector: that he had dealt with ambassadors, without notifying it to the council, and had, by his own authority, disposed of governments and bishoprics: that he had held a court of requests in his own house: that he had debased the coin: that he had issued proclamations in the matter of enclosures, contrary to the opinion of the council: that he had not taken care to suppress rebellious insurrections; but had, on the contrary, supported and encouraged them: that he had occasioned the loss of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furnish them with provisions and ammunition: that he had endeavoured to instil into the king a bad opinion of his counsellors, by persuading them intended to destroy him: that he had caused the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors; and that he had maliciously not only put the king in a bad opinion of the council, but had carried him so suddenly to Windsor,

but had also been the means of throwing him into a most violent disease, to the great danger of his life.

As the duke had not been apprized of the nature of the articles intended to be exhibited against him, he was not prepared to give his answer, and was therefore remanded back to the Tower. The marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Southampton, the lords St. John, Russell, and Wentworth, were appointed governors of the king's person, and the principal administration of the government entrusted with the earl of Warwick, but without any title that might give him the least authority over the other counsellors. A revocation of the protector's power was also published under the great seal.

But all the arts of Warwick could not persuade the well-meaning part of the council to believe the duke guilty of any thing intentionally bad, either against the king or the constitution of his country: they indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed interest of England, to continue longer at the head of affairs; and therefore willingly engaged in measures for removing him from the seat of power, as well as for excluding him from ever regaining it for the future.

The fall of the duke of Somerset gave fresh spirits to the Roman Catholic party, who ascribed all the late innovations to his councils. They flattered themselves that Warwick, who was always considered as a friend to the Romish religion, would restore the ancient faith and mode of worship; but they soon found themselves mistaken. Warwick always made religion subservient to his interest; and knowing that the king had imbibed a strong attachment to the Protestant doctrines, he was resolved not to oppose his inclinations, nor forfeit his own power by pursuing any violent measures. He accordingly declared his intention to promote the Reformation; and so strongly opposed the measures of Southampton, who was considered as the head of the Catholics, that he retired from court in disgust, and soon after died of vexation. Several other changes were also made in the council; but they all tended to convince the Romanists, that they had nothing to expect from their having been instrumental in the fall of the duke of Somerset. The earl of Warwick was made lord-high-admiral of England; the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltshire, and made treasurer, in the room of the duke of Somerset; Wootton was made secretary of state, in the room of Smith; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth was made master of the king's household.

The disgraced Somerset was now prevailed upon to confess, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of the charge exhibited against him; a submission that made him contemptible in the eyes of the nation. The parliament deprived him of all his offices, and condemned him in a large fine. But Warwick thinking he had now sufficiently humbled the haughty Somerset, and that his abject behaviour had

* Somerset's death this palace fell to the crown; and that Denmark, queen to king James I. kept her court, during that reign, it was called Denmark-house; but it never recovered the name of the founder. It was afterwards the residence of queen Catharine, dowager of Charles II. and, after her death, it was settled upon the present queen for life.

The palace consisted of several courts, and had a garden behind it on the bank of the Thames. The front next the river was adorned with columns and other decorations, and in the middle of this quadrangle was a piazza, before the entrance a guard room; beyond which were other courts that opened towards the garden. The back front next the

Thames was added to it by king Charles II. and was a magnificent structure of free stone, with a noble piazza built by Inigo Jones. In this new building were the royal apartments, which commanded a beautiful prospect of the river, and the adjacent country. The garden was ornamented with statues, shady walks, and a bowling green; but as none of the royal family had resided there after queen Catharine, dowager of Charles II. several of the officers belonging to the crown were permitted to lodge in it, and a great part of it was for some time used as barracks for soldiers.

This palace has been lately taken down, and on its site are now erecting several elegant buildings, the principal of which are intended as public offices for the use of government.

had effectually destroyed the small remains of his authority, re-admitted him into the council.

A. D. 1550. Notwithstanding Warwick and his party had made such grievous complaints against the late protector, with regard to his conduct in foreign affairs, they soon found themselves involved in the same difficulties. The wars with France and Scotland, which could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer, appeared dangerous to a divided and discontented nation; especially as there was now no object worth contending for. Ambassadors were therefore dispatched to the French court; but Henry absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predecessors had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of pensions, declaring that he would never consent to be a tributary prince to any power. He, however, offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne, and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed upon, one half to be paid immediately, and the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was also included in the treaty; the English, stipulating to restore Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Eymouth and Roxburgh.

Though great rejoicings were made, by order of government, on account of this peace, yet it was far from being agreeable to the nation. The restitution of Boulogne, which had been considered as so great a crime even to have proposed it, in the duke of Somerset, opened the eyes of the people: they were now convinced, that the ambition of the courtiers, not any regard for the glory of the king and the welfare of the nation, had raised the storm that had swept Somerset from the seat of power. The murmurs became general, and soon reached the ears of the aspiring Warwick, who, to divert the public attention, and prevent their resentment from proving fatal to the administration, undertook the popular office of enquiring into certain misdemeanors of those who had been intrusted with the management of the public money, some of whom were severely punished. He also thought it necessary to make all the friends and well-wishers of the duke of Somerset easy, rather than to provoke them: the lord Russell was made earl of Bedford; Cecil had a promise of being made secretary of state; and as a mark of sincere reconciliation to Somerset, the lord Lisle (Warwick's son) was contracted to a daughter of the duke's; and several of that nobleman's friends who had been imprisoned on his account were discharged upon their own recognizances.

A. D. 1551. Warwick, who had already declared his design of completing the reformation, now began to carry his promise into execution. Several bishops, though they had extended their complaisance very far with regard to the measures of the court, were still friends to the tenets of the Roman church, and it was now determined to seize their revenues. The prosecution was begun with the famous Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, in several instances, had rendered himself obnoxious to the administration. He was required to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and confess the justness of his confinement; to own that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the common prayer-book was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete sovereign in his minority; that the statute of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline. The bishop said he was ready to subscribe to all these articles except the first. He

maintained, that his conduct had always been defensive; and declared he would never acknowledge himself guilty of faults he had not committed. But the council, who never intended to accept of any acknowledgment, multiplied the articles in proportion to his submission. At last, the prelate, from a dread of totally dishonouring his former conduct by mean compliances, determined to act with vigour. He refused to subscribe any articles they might present to him; and was therefore deposed from his see by a commission appointed for that purpose. He was likewise committed close prisoner; his books and papers were taken from him; he was denied all company; nor was he permitted either to send or receive any letters or messages. Several other bishops, much less suspected and obnoxious than Gardiner, were also deprived of their sees; particularly the bishops of Chichester, Worcester and Exeter; and those of Landaff, Salisbury and Coventry, were obliged to sacrifice the greater part of their revenues to the rapacity of the courtiers.

Nor were these plunderers of the church contented with the revenues of the priesthood; they extended their rapacity to objects of much smaller importance. The council issued an order for purging the libraries of all superstitious books, and all that were plated with gold and silver were condemned for their ornaments. If they were books of literature, they were destroyed, as useless; if of mathematics, geometry, or astronomy, they were supposed to be infected with magic. The libraries of Oxford suffered the utmost outrage; nor had the university power to oppose these barbarous violences; they even feared that their revenues would attract the rapacity of the earl of Warwick.

The princess Mary herself was exposed to the utmost danger: she was required to change her religion, or at least to read St. Augustine and the ancient fathers, who would convince her of the errors of popery. But Mary was insensible to all these remonstrances. She was, however, alarmed for her own safety, and formed a plan for making her escape to the court of Charles V. but her design was discovered, and prevented. The emperor, however, made strong representations in her behalf; he even threatened to commence hostilities, if liberty of conscience was refused her. His remonstrances had the desired effect: it was not thought advisable to plunge the nation into a war on so slight an occasion. Edward, who had imbibed the utmost detestation of the idolatrous worship of the catholics, lamented with tears the obstinacy of his sister, and his own misfortune in being obliged to tolerate her errors.

In the mean time the ambition of Warwick arrived at the most exorbitant height. Not contented with the emoluments he had already acquired, he extended his pretensions much farther, and he devoted over to his interest a very formidable party. They were determined to facilitate all his ambitious projects. The late earl of Northumberland had no issue, and his brother Sir Thomas Percy had been attainted on account of the late rebellion in Yorkshire; the title became vacant, and the estate was vested in the crown. This was a prize to be neglected by the ambitious Warwick. He procured from the king a grant of those possessions, and was dignified with the title of earl of Northumberland. His friend Pauline was created marquess of Winchester, Sir William Cecil was created earl of Pembroke; and William Cecil was created secretary of state. By Warwick's this to the projects for the advancement of his family. It appears that he had some reason to think that the reign of the king would be but of short duration.

But still Northumberland was far from being satisfied: he considered all increase of titles or possessions, either to himself or his adherents, only as steps to farther acquisitions; and perceiving the duke of Somerset (though deprived of his dignity) still preserved a considerable degree of popularity, he determined to ruin a man, whom he considered as the chief obstacle to his ambitious projects. He began his infamous design by alienating the affections of the young king from his uncle, whom he represented as a very dangerous subject: he spread a report, that Somerset had caused himself to be proclaimed king in several counties, and that he was preparing an armed force to make himself master of his majesty's person. At the same time he continually offered him fresh insults, in order to provoke him to commit imprudent actions; and had gained over many of the friends and servants of that unfortunate nobleman to his interest. Thus provoked, the unguarded Somerset let fall some menacing expressions against Northumberland, and his treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passionate word that dropped from him; they even revealed the schemes which they themselves suggested. The king was informed of these pretended discoveries, and by too readily believing the slanderous tales, he abandoned his uncle, and consented to his being put under arrest.

Accordingly, on the 17th of October, at night, the duke of Somerset, the lord Gray, David and John Symour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were all apprehended at the same time, and committed to prison. The next day the duchess of Somerset, with her two favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Patridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Bamber, and others, were taken into custody. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had acted as a spy upon the duke's actions, charged him with having formed a design to excite a rebellion in the north; to attack the life-guards on a muster-day; to take possession of the Tower; and to raise an insurrection in London. But the only accusation that seemed to have some truth for its foundation was, that he had formed a design to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, at an entertainment that was to be made for them at Lord Paget's. Crane and his wife corroborated Palmer's evidence with regard to the last scheme; and Hammond confessed that the duke had armed men to murder him one night in his house at Greenwich.

On the 1st of December the duke was brought to trial at Westminster-hall, the marquis of Winchester presiding as high steward on the occasion. He denied the charge, and demanded to be confronted by the accusers, but this request, however equitable, was refused, and the court proceeded to the trial. The depositions of the witnesses, as given before the council, were delivered in to the jury, but they neither produced in court, nor confronted by the duke. The duke's defence, however, was so satisfactory with regard to the treasonable part of the charge, that the peers gave a verdict in his favour; they found him guilty of the other part of the charge pursuant to a statute passed in the reign of Henry VII. declaring it felony for any person to form a design of killing a privy counsellor; in consequence of which he received sentence of death.

A. D. 1552. From the time this unfortunate nobleman received his woeful sentence, his behaviour was resigned, and unaltered; and he chiefly employed himself in reading and composing exercises of devotion. He made a decent application to the king in favour of his wife and family, and on the second of January he was carried to the scaffold

on Tower-hill, where he was to suffer. He was attended on this melancholy occasion by Dr. Cox; and after performing some devotions, he addressed himself in a speech to the people, in which he declared his innocence with regard to the king, and his fidelity to his country: he submitted to his sentence, because awarded by the law: he professed his zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and a sincere satisfaction in what he had done to promote it. He expressed the highest regard for the person of the king; he exhorted the people to pay both him and the council the most implicit obedience: declared he died in peace with all mankind; asked pardon of all whom he had offended; and requested the prayers of all present. On finishing his speech, he adjusted himself with the utmost calmness on the block, where he received the blow which put a period to his existence.

When the fatal stroke was given, a dreadful groan universally issued from the spectators, many of whom rushed in and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they preserved as a precious relic: and several of them, when Northumberland, some time after, met a similar fate, upbraided him with his cruelty, and displayed before his eyes these symbols of his crime.

Thus fell the great duke of Somerset, an eminent instance how incapable the best intentions, not tempered with caution and good sense, are to ward off the blows which destructive ambition aims at virtuous greatness. He was an honest, but not amiable man; he had courage, but not resolution: honour, but not spirit. In power he was too over-bearing; out of power always repining, though retirement would have been his post of honour, as well as his only source of happiness. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life. Fortune had made him too great and too little for a conspicuous station. His abilities could not secure the honours which his virtue deserved, while his virtue could not conquer the disgraces his spirit was forced to suffer. He lived the darling of a people who could not assist him in his distresses; he fell a victim to a faction whom he had despised in his greatness. But with all his faults and failings, religion has since seen few friends so sincere, and England fewer patriots so honest as the duke of Somerset.

Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old foldier, and Sir Miles Patridge were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded, as the duke's confederates, but strenuously denied, in their last moments, the crime for which they suffered. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Somerset, was deprived of his office, and condemned to pay a fine of six thousand pounds; and lord Rich, lord high chancellor, was also deprived of the seals, for having sent a letter to Somerset, informing him of the designs of the council.

The day after the execution of Somerset, the king convoked a parliament, in which several bills were passed both of a civil and religious nature; but the most remarkable was one relative to the crime of treason; to which the Commons annexed a clause of infinitely more consequence than the bill itself. It was declared, "That none should be attainted of treason on this act, unless two witnesses should come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except such as should make a voluntary confession, and that none should be questioned for any thing said or written against the king or government, but within three months after it was done." This equitable and constitutional clause was strongly opposed by all Northumberland's faction, as it totally condemned their late proceedings in the case of the unfortunate duke of Somerset; but notwithstanding all their arts, it passed both houses, and has ever since remained

remained one of the chief bulwarks of English liberty.

The ambitious Northumberland had for some time formed a design of ruining Tonsil bishop of Durham, and appropriating to himself the ample revenues of that see. Accordingly, during this session, a bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords against that prelate, (on pretence of his having concealed a conspiracy against the king) where it passed with two dissenting voices, Cranmer and lord Stourton. But when the bill was sent down to the Commons, they insisted that witnesses should be examined, in order to prove the charge against him; that the bishop should be confronted with his accusers, and be permitted to speak in his own defence. These equitable demands were refused, and the Commons nobly exerted the power with which they were entrusted, by throwing out the bill. This opposition of the Commons so enraged Northumberland, that he immediately dissolved the parliament, and summoned another to meet in the beginning of the ensuing year.

In the mean time he continued to wreak his vengeance on the adherents of the late duke of Somerset. He commenced a rigorous inquisition about the lands formerly appertaining to the chauntries, which had been given away during the administration of that nobleman; and some of the new proprietors were condemned in heavy fines, while others appeased him with large sums of money.

A. D. 1553. Northumberland exerted himself with so much industry and success, and employed so many corrupt and unjustifiable methods in the election of members, that when the new parliament met, he found the Commons totally obsequious to his will; and that there was no likelihood of any opposition being made to whatever measures he should adopt.

Tonsil had, during the recess of parliament, been deposed by lay commissioners, and the sentence was now confirmed by that assembly, who divided the see of Durham into two bishoprics; but the dignity of earl Palatine was vested in the king, who gave it to Northumberland. Having thus accomplished his designs with this tool of a parliament, during the session of a month, Northumberland caused it to be prorogued, and applied himself to other measures for the gratification of his towering ambition.

During the spring of the preceding year, Edward had been seized with the measles, and afterwards with the small-pox, but passed through both without any dangerous symptoms, and his health had some time been fully re-established, when he was seized with a cough, which brought on a consumption. It was, however, hoped, that his youth, the approach of spring, and the medicines administered by his physicians, would, by degrees, get the better of his disorder; but it proved of too malignant a nature for the power of medicine to eradicate.

The duke now thought it necessary to set about the design he had formed of placing his own family on the throne of England. He therefore suffered no one to approach the royal person except those who were strongly attached to his interest. At the same time he affected the most anxious concern for the young monarch's health and recovery; and, by these hypocritical expressions of duty, soon gained the full place in the affections and confidence of his sovereign.

Having thus far succeeded, Northumberland's next step was, to prevail upon the king to alter the succession. Edward, who was sincerely attached to the Protestant religion, had often expressed his dread of the fatal consequences that would inevitably attend professors if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should ever ascend the throne. Northumberland improved these melancholy reflections, and artfully insinuated, that the only method of averting those dreadful misfortunes from the professors of the new religion consisted in changing the succession. He added, that the king possessed the same power with his father, and might therefore transfer the crown from the princess Mary to the lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and grand-daughter to Mary queen of France, sister to Henry VIII*. He observed, at the same time, that the princess Elizabeth must inevitably share the fate of her sister: because the only pretence they could use against Mary was her illegitimacy, which equally affected Elizabeth's marriages both of Catharine and Anne having been declared unlawful by the parliament.

Edward, whose prevailing passion was the interest of the reformed religion, listened with great attention to this expedient. He knew the lady Jane to be a person equally distinguished for the accomplishment of her mind and person; strongly attached to the reformed religion, a friend to virtue, and a lover of her country. He therefore acquiesced with the proposal, and promised to leave the crown to a accomplished princess.

Northumberland, in order effectually to accomplish his design, now persuaded the duke of Suffolk to give his daughter the lady Jane Gray in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guildford Dudley. Suffolk readily agreed to the offered alliance; and the nuptials were accordingly solemnized. This long effected, Northumberland determined to strengthen his interest by other marriages, and accordingly brought about a match between the lady Catharine Gray (second daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and the lord Herbert, eldest son to the earl of Pembroke) and bestowed his only daughter Catharine upon lord Hastings, eldest son to the earl of Huntingdon.

The only matter that now remained was, to settle the execution of the change which Edward had determined to make in the succession. Accordingly on the 11th of June, Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, attorney and solicitor general, attended the council, in obedience to a summons they had received for that purpose, when Edward read them the minutes of an intended deed for alteration of succession, with orders to draw them up in the form of a patent. They at first refused compliance with the king's orders; but being wrought on by threats and promises of the powerful duke, they at length obeyed; the patent was drawn up, and signed by all the judges, except Sir James Baker, who, though a sincere friend to the reformation, ultimately refused to put his name to the instrument.

The king's health now visibly declined every day, and all hopes of his recovery vanished. He had not scrupled, for some time, to impute the disorder to the practices of Northumberland, and the discontent which now happened tended to confirm that opinion. His physicians were all discharging their

* It is here necessary to observe, that on the death of the late duke of Suffolk, which happened in 1551, the title became extinct in the family of Brandon. And the duke of Northumberland (at that time earl of Warwick) having formed a design upon the crown in favour of his own family, caused Henry Gray, marquis of Dorset (who had married Frances Brandon, one of the

daughters of the deceased duke) to be created duke of Suffolk. His scheme was, to effect a match between one of his daughters (the eldest daughter of the said Henry Gray by Frances Brandon) in the order of succession, held the next place in the order of the late king, whom he meant to exclude from the throne of England.



order of council procured by Northumberland, and the king committed to the care of an ignorant old woman, who engaged, by the help of her nostrums, to restore him, in a short time, to his former health and vigour. But experience soon exposed the falsehood of her pretensions; for after using her medicines only a few days, all the alarming symptoms increased to the most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse became feeble, his legs swelled, and his colour changed livid: indications that shewed too plainly he could not be long an inhabitant of this world. But his pious disposition, and his benevolent turn of mind, never left him. He prayed, with his latest breath, for the peace and happiness of England; and expired at Greenwich on the 6th of July, in the Sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

This young prince possessed all the qualities, both natural and acquired, that could attract the admiration of the world, or recommend him to the affection of his subjects. His person was elegant, his disposition affable and humane, and his mind cultivated by extensive learning. Though only sixteen years of age, he is said to have been versed in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages, together with the sciences of logic, music and natural philosophy. Notwithstanding these amiable accomplishments, a youth of his tender years can hardly be said to have had any public character, as every part of his political conduct was influenced by those who happened to be at the head of the council, both of whom were directed, not to the service of their country, but their families.

Had his life been protracted, his regal conduct would, in all probability, have redounded to his own glory, and the happiness of his subjects: with justice,

therefore, might they lament, that so fair a sun should set before it reached its meridian glory.

Edward, a short time before his death, founded and instituted Christ's Hospital for the maintenance and education of a certain number of orphan children descended from freemen of the city of London; which is a standing memento of his benevolence, as well as an establishment of infinite benefit to society. He also gave the old palace of Bridewell to the city for the lodging of poor way-faring people, the correction of vagabonds and disorderly persons, and for finding them work.

The remains of Edward were deposited in the chapel of St. Peter's church, Westminster, near the body of Henry VII. his grand-father, with great funeral pomp, and the unfeigned lamentations of an affectionate people.

The only remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign were the following:

In his fourth year the horse-guards were first appointed to attend the kings of England.

In the same year the river Thames ebbed and flowed three times in the space of nine hours, occasioned by a violent easterly wind repelling the ebb before it could perform its natural course.

In his fifth year the sweating sickness visited England for the last time; and carried off a great number of the inhabitants. It raged with particular violence in London, where several of the nobility fell victims to its fury; among whom was Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk. He was succeeded in the title by his brother, who died four days after with the same disease, by which means the family of Brandon became extinct.

S E C T I O N IV.

M A R Y.

THOUGH the title of this princess to the crown of England was indisputable, after the death of her brother, yet her accession was greatly interrupted by the distinguished machinations of the duke of Northumberland. Though he knew the people considered her a legal successor to Edward, yet he was determined to persevere in the plan he had so long pursued, and, if possible, to place the lady Jane on the throne of England.

Conscious, however, that his past actions had made him odious in the eyes of the people, and that he had no right to expect a powerful opposition, he determined to proceed with the utmost caution. He concealed the king's death for some days; and prevailed upon the council to request the attendance of the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, under pretence of the recovery of health of their brother, who desired the presence of their counsel, and the consolation of their company.

Mary, who was at this time in the north of England, readily obeyed the summons, and was actually as far as Hamdon in Hertfordshire before she perceived the snare that was laid for her destruction. She received a letter from the earl of Arundel, acquainting her of the death of the king, of the settlement of the crown upon lady Jane, and of the desire of Northumberland to seize her person. She was convinced of the necessity of providing for her safety, and therefore precipitately retired to

Framlingham in Suffolk, from whence she wrote circular letters to the council and nobility, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her queen of England.

The duke of Northumberland, finding it in vain to dissimulate any longer, now threw off the mask, and resolved to act in a more open manner. He engaged the council to depute him and the earl of Suffolk to go to Ston house, where the lady Jane then resided, to inform her that she had been appointed by the deceased king to succeed him in the throne.

Jane, who was nearly of the same age with Edward, had received her education with him; and could personally merit have entitled her to the crown, she had enjoyed it without opposition. She was a lady of the most amiable person, the most engaging disposition, and the most accomplished parts. The study of the learned languages was at once her employment and her delight; and she preferred the lessons of Plato to to the amusements of the court. She had hitherto been acquainted with the secret disposition of Edward in her favour; but never imagined she was destined to the throne.

Struck with surprise and consternation at the message brought by Northumberland and Suffolk, Jane refused the offer; alledging the preferable right of the two princesses, and warning them of the fatal consequences that would, in all probability, attend so dangerous, and, in her opinion, so criminal

an enterprize; and earnestly entreated, that they would let her continue in the private station she had hitherto enjoyed.

At length, however, being overpowered by their arguments, and the strong solicitations of her husband, whom she tenderly loved, she yielded to their importunities; but with so much reluctance, that her consent was rather extorted than given. In consequence of this, she was immediately conducted to the Tower, where it was then customary for the new sovereigns to reside some days before the ceremony of their coronation.

The next day, being the 10th of July, lady Jane Gray was proclaimed queen of England, with the usual formalities, in the city of London; which being so contrary to the expectations of the people, who had not the least notion of this lady's immediate accession to the throne, they received the news with silent surprize, nor were any of those acclamations heard, which are usual on such occasions: and though orders were sent for her being proclaimed through the realm, they were not observed farther than ten miles from London. The discontent of the people (which arose from their hatred to the duke of Northumberland) was not a little increased by an ill-timed act of severity in the council, who ordered one Gilbert Pot, a vintner's servant, to be set on the pillory, with his ears cut off and nailed to it, on the very day the lady Jane was proclaimed, only for expressing himself in a slighting manner of the new queen.

In the mean time Mary exerted all her interest to oppose the designs of Northumberland. She was attended by great numbers of the neighbouring inhabitants; and, by positively promising to leave religion in the same state she found it (reserving nothing more than a liberty to profess her own) she fixed the people in her interest; and, though strongly attached to the Reformation, they promised to support her with their lives and fortunes. She was now joined by great numbers of the nobility and gentry, particularly John Bouchier, earl of Bath; Henry Radcliff, earl of Suffex; Sir Henry Bedingfield; Sir William Drury, and the lord Thomas Howard, son to the duke of Norfolk; all of whom repaired to her standard, with strong reinforcements. And Sir Edward Hallings, who had been ordered to levy troops for the service of lady Jane, deserted to her, at the head of 4000 men.

When Northumberland was informed of the great progress made by Mary to oppose him, he ordered the army now ready in London to march immediately towards Newmarket, under the command of the duke of Suffolk. But the counsellors persuaded him to head the army in person; observing, that his known valour, his superior military acquisitions, and the dread of his name (already terrible in Norfolk by his victory in the late reign) would strike the insurgents with fear. He accordingly took their advice, and joined the army, which consisted of 2000 horse and 6000 foot. He was attended by his son the earl of Huntingdon and the lord Gray of Wilton.

The friends of Mary, being informed that Northumberland was in full march against them, advised the princess to retire to the continent. This advice might, in all probability, have been followed, had the duke advanced with that expedition the cause he had undertaken demanded; but he marched in so slow and deliberate a manner, that Mary's friends had time to recover from their fears, and to join her standard with all their forces. When the duke reached Bury, he found that great numbers of his men had deserted; and he was obliged to wait for reinforcements from London, before he could advance against Mary's army, which now amounted to 10,000 men.

The council, instead of making levies for reinforcing the duke, left the Tower, (where they had been confined by that ambitious nobleman under pretence of attending on the person of lady Jane) and repaired to Baynard's Castle, a house belonging to the earl of Pembroke, whither they invited all the noblemen whom they conceived to be well affected to Mary. Accordingly, a considerable number attended; and the conference was opened by the earl of Arundel, who inveighed, in the strongest terms, against the cruelty and injustice of Northumberland, his insatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, the criminal design he had formed for altering the succession, and the wickedness in which he had involved the whole council; and concluded with moving, that they might return immediately to their duty and allegiance, which they owed their lawful sovereign, by proclaiming Mary queen; that being the only method they could take to recover their own honour, and preserve the tranquillity of the state.

This motion was immediately seconded by Pembroke, who, laying his hand upon his sword, said he was ready to fight any man who should presume to oppose so salutary a measure: but there was no occasion for employing force, the majority expressing their approbation of the proposal. They then sent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and informed them of the resolution that had been taken; with which these magistrates were so well pleased, that they immediately mounted their horses, and rode in a body to the Cross in Cheapside, where Mary was proclaimed queen of England by Sir Christopher Barker, principal king at arms, on the 19th of July; and the ceremony was performed on the same day at the other usual places in London and Westminster. Te Deum was sung in the cathedral of St. Pauls, and the event celebrated with great rejoicings by the populace. Even the duke of Suffolk himself, who commanded in the Tower, finding all resistance would be vain, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and declared for Mary. The lady Jane now threw off her royal robes, and again descended to a private station, which she would never have left, had not the ambition of her relations forced her to grasp at what belonged to another.

The first step taken by the council, after proclaiming lady Mary queen, was, to dispatch the earl of Arundel and lord Paget to Framlingham Castle, to give that princess an account of what had been transacted in her favour; and the next day they sent an order to the duke of Northumberland, commanding him to disband his forces, and behave as a dutiful subject. Before, however, he received these orders, he had dismissed the few soldiers which remained after an almost general desertion; he had endeavoured to gain the favour of Mary by an early submission, which he testified by proclaiming queen with all the external marks of joy and gratitude. But Mary was not to be deceived by the hypocritical behaviour of Northumberland; she knew him to be an inveterate enemy to her whole family, and his expressions of loyalty and zeal for her father were wholly extorted by fear. She therefore immediately sent the earl of Arundel to arrest that ambitious nobleman, his sons and accomplices. The duke of Northumberland lost at once both his hope and his courage. Arundel no sooner informed him of the purport of his visit, than he fell at his feet, in the most submissive manner, begged pardon for his past behaviour, so peculiar to a tyrant, and executed the contempt, rather than the punishment, which he had deserved. He told the duke the queen's orders were obeyed; and Northumberland, together with his sons, and his principal accomplices, were

London and committed to the Tower. The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guildford Dudley, were also taken into custody.

On the 30th of July, Mary, attended by vast numbers of people, and a long train of courtiers, set out from Framlingham for London, where she was met by the prince's Elizabeth, with a body of two thousand men. She had raised those forces as a defence for her own person during the troubles which seemed to threaten the kingdom with all the horrors of a civil war; but on being informed of her sister's success, she proceeded, at the head of her little army, to join her sister; and had the address to gain her confidence, by assuring her that those men were raised for her service.

As soon as Mary arrived in London she immediately proceeded to the Tower, where the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner there ever since the death of her father; Courtney, son to the marquis of Exeter, who without being charged with any crime, had been subject to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; the three prelates, Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic religion, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and pardon. She embraced them all in the most affectionate manner, saying to the constable of the Tower, "these are my prisoners;" and instantly ordered them to be set at liberty. The next day the prelates were restored to their sees; Courtney was created earl of Devonshire, and Gardiner made lord high chancellor of England.

Notwithstanding Mary had given the most solemn promises that she would preserve the religion established by Edward, yet, so bigotted was she to her own opinions, that she determined to make promises, clemency, justice, and even interest itself give way to her favourite project of restoring the religion of the church of Rome. And had it not been for the more prudent counsels of the emperor Charles V. and bishop Gardiner, she had sent directly for cardinal Pole, as he had to reconcile England to the Pope; but they disapproving so hazardous a step, she was prevailed upon to suspend her resolution for the present, and to content herself with publishing a liberty of conscience in affairs of religion.

Though this declaration was considered by the partisans of Mary as a distinguished instance of her generosity, it was considered in a very different light by the protestants; they were alarmed for their religion, and their fears were soon confirmed by the violence of the catholics, who made no scruple of speaking, in the most bitter terms, against the religion of the protestants. Bourne, one of the chaplains of bishop Bonner, in a sermon preached before the pope in the cathedral of St. Paul's, used the most indecent invectives against Edward's administration, particularly with regard to the reformation, and should have remembered, that the memory of Edward was still dear to the people who were alarmed at their religion, and it could not be supposed they would part with it easily. Accordingly a tumult was excited; some of the audience resented him in the harshest terms; others pelted him with stones; and one of them threw a dagger with such dexterity at the preacher, that it narrowly missed his face, and stuck fast in the wood of the pulpit behind him. At last the people grew so furious, that Bourne would probably have been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent protestant ministers, interposed, and conveyed him, by great violence, out of the church, to a neighbouring house.

to open those sluices of severity which soon deluged the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants.

On the 18th of August the duke of Northumberland was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, and arraigned for high treason. After the indictment was read, the duke desired permission to propose two questions to the peers who were appointed to decide his fate: first, whether any person could be guilty of treason for having obeyed orders given him by the council, under the great seal? Secondly, Whether those who were equally guilty with himself could sit as his judges? The high-steward answered, That the great seal of an usurper had no authority; and that those peers who had neither been impeached nor convicted, were innocent in the eye of the law, and therefore might be admitted on any jury. These answers, though far from being uncontroversial, sufficiently convinced the duke, that it would be absolutely useless to make any objections: he therefore pleaded guilty to the indictment. His example was followed by the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, who were tried at the same tribunal, and were all condemned to suffer as traitors. Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, who had been so instrumental in bringing the duke of Somerset to the block during the late reign, pleaded guilty, and received the same sentence.

From the disposition of the queen, and the present situation of affairs, Northumberland had little hopes of expecting any favour. He was, indeed, detested by all parties, and his fate was considered as a necessary act of justice. On the scaffold, he professed himself a member of the catholic religion; and lamented his having plundered the effects of the church, especially as it was not now in his power to make restitution. But whether these were his real sentiments, or whether he hoped by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family, cannot be known. However that be, the people who had sincerely lamented the duke of Somerset, beheld with joy the punishment of his oppressor. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, suffered with him. The rest were thought proper objects of the royal clemency, as they pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason. Suffolk himself was pardoned, and recovered his liberty; an indulgence which he owed, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. Sentence of death had been pronounced against the lady Jane, and her husband the lord Guildford Dudley, but no time was yet fixed for their execution.

The administration, who were formed of creatures merely at the will of the queen, now applied themselves to forward her favourite design, the re-establishment of the Popish religion in England. They began with silencing all preachers, under pretence of discouraging controversy, except such as should obtain a particular licence from Gardiner; and it was easily foreseen that none but Catholics would be favoured with such a privilege. Bradford, one of the two protestant ministers who had rescued Bourne in the late tumult at St. Paul's, was committed to prison, and his companion, Rogers, was confined to his own house. Judge Hales, who alone, of all his brethren, had refused to sign the instrument which transferred the crown to lady Jane Gray was sent to prison, where he was treated with such severity, that he fell into a frenzy, and put an end to his own life. Sir Edward Montague, who was also a Protestant, was deprived of his office, and fined a thousand pounds, for having assisted in drawing up the settlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane; and his post given to Sir Thomas Bromley, a bigotted papist, though he had been equally concerned in drawing up that deed, and

and also signed it without hesitation. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Ferrar, bishop of St David's, were imprisoned, for daring to preach without a licence from Gardiner. Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, was also confined to his own house, for the same crime. Peter Martyr, professor of divinity at Oxford, suffered so many indignities and insults from the enemies of the reformation that he was obliged to retire for protection to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, though that prelate was in no condition to protect himself, the court having already doomed him to destruction.

Bonner, the sworn enemy of Cranmer, not only attempted to ridicule him by indecent ribaldry, but to ruin his character, by propagating a report, that he had submitted to the queen, and offered publicly to recant his errors. The archbishop, in order to wipe off this calumny, drew up a confession of his faith, which he offered, with the queen's permission, to defend in public. A copy of this confession being shewn to the council, Cranmer was summoned to appear before them, when he acknowledged himself the author, and was, for that day, dismissed. Some of the council advised the queen to treat him with lenity, as it was owing to him she was chiefly indebted for that indulgence she enjoyed during the reign of her father. But the ungrateful queen declared, she remembered nothing of Cranmer, except his having pronounced her mother's divorce, and promoted the reformation. He was therefore summoned a second time before the council, who, on pretence of his having published several seditious libels, committed him prisoner to the Tower.

The imprisonment of the primate was followed by that of bishop Latimer. Nor was there hardly a bishop, or even a preacher who had signalized himself in establishing the tenets of the reformation, and did not either recant or fly beyond the seas, that escaped either deprivation or imprisonment. John a Lasco, a Prussian nobleman and minister of the German protestant church in Antwerp, with all the other reformed preachers, who were foreigners, were banished the kingdom. These were followed by a great number of English families, who had embraced the reformation. They foresaw that the destructive hand of bigotry would soon light the flames of persecution in their unhappy country, and were unwilling to behold the miseries of their fellow-subjects.

On the first day of October Mary was crowned with great pomp at Westminster. The ceremony was performed by the hands of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, assisted by Bonner, bishop of London, Tottill of Durham, and eight other prelates. On the same day was published what is usually called a general amnesty; from the benefit of which, however, all those who had been arrested before the last day of September, and many others, were nominally excluded.

As a parliament had been appointed to meet on the fifth of October, the ministry were very diligent in obtaining those members that might be most likely to answer their sinister purposes, and such scandalous methods were used on this occasion, that though the protestants in England were more numerous than the papists, the House of Commons was almost filled with the latter. In the upper House also the queen had a great majority; for even the principal part of those noblemen, who had rejected the papal authority in the late reign, now unanimously conformed to the doctrines of the court, from motives of interest or ambition. Mary was well informed of this, and therefore ordered mass to be performed in Latin, with all the ancient ceremonies, before both Houses of Parliament, on the first day of opening the session, though directly contrary to an act of parliament then

in being. Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Harley, bishop of Hereford, nobly supported the laws of their country: they refused to kneel, and which opposition they were immediately threatened and expelled the House.

This violation of the laws of Edward was followed by an act that abolished them: and thus, by bringing things back to the state in which they were left by Henry VIII. the mass was established, and Mary continued in possession of the title of supreme head of the church. Here it was thought she had stopped; but it soon appeared that this was only the first step towards establishing the Romish religion in England. The parliament, however, passed an act of a popular nature. They abolished every species of treason which was contained in the statutes of Edward III. and every species of felony which did not subsist before the first year of Henry VIII.

Thus far the parliament had acquiesced with the measures of the court; but they now thought proper to exert their authority in a matter which seemed of the utmost importance to the interest of the nation. The ambitious Charles V. having by his despotic and disregard to the principles of natural justice, occasioned a revolt in the empire, and been obliged to submit to articles of peace, which secured the independence of Germany, was very desirous of recovering his losses by acquiring the crown of England to his family. His son Philip was a widower; and the emperor immediately on the death of Edward sent over an agent to the queen, proposing a marriage between her and his son. Mary, who was very desirous of being united with a house from whence she derived her origin, and which might afford her assistance in the execution of her designs with regard to the Catholic religion, embraced the offer with great satisfaction. The negotiations were carried on with the utmost secrecy and success. But the Commons were not so easily informed of this intended marriage, than the court made it known to the whole nation. The parliament were greatly alarmed with the thoughts of an alliance which they considered as prejudicial to their country; they could not bear the thoughts of seeing a Spaniard on the throne of England, especially one who had already patronized the inquisition in his own dominions, and recorded his cruelty with the blood of the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, Naples, Sicily, and Milan. The Commons now shook off their submission to the court; and presented a remonstrance to the queen, in the strongest terms, against this dangerous and imprudent step. But Mary, who was naturally obstinate, persisted in her resolution, and to prevent any farther addresses of the like nature dissolved the parliament.

A. D. 1554. In the beginning of this year Charles sent over the count of Egmont, at the head of a splendid embassy, to adjust the marriage articles; and Gardiner was appointed to attend in behalf of the queen. The treaty was at length concluded, and, though it might give as little disgust as possible, the articles were drawn up not only favourable but advantageous to England. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be solely in the hands of the queen; that no laws should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, or privileges; that she should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled on her as a jointure; that the male issue of the marriage should inherit together with England both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, and his line be extinct, the queen which

whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, and all the other dominions of Philip.

No sooner were these articles published, than a general discontent prevailed throughout the nation. The people distrusted, with reason, the artful emperor, and still more his son, who was equally inclined to superstition and tyranny. The inquisition displayed itself in all its horrors; and the most specious advantages seemed only intended to veil the most hideous slavery.

The spirit of revolt appeared now to be universal; and some persons, more factious than the rest, believing it was easier to prevent, than to remedy evils, determined to take up arms, and vigorously oppose the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman (very considerable on account of his ample fortune, and still more so by the opinion the world entertained of his virtues and abilities) engaged to arm the inhabitants of Kent: Sir Peter Carew undertook to assemble and provide for the inhabitants of Devonshire; and these two persuaded the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of restoring the lady Jane to the throne, to attempt to raise the Midland counties.

Carew, prompted either by his impetuosity or apprehensions, rose in arms before the day appointed: but his troops were soon dispersed by the duke of Bedford, and he himself was forced to take refuge in France. Suffolk, informed of the fate of this confederate, and dreading an arrest, quitted the town, and attempted to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his interest chiefly lay; but he was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of 300 horse, that he was obliged to dismiss his followers, and being discovered in his retreat, was taken into custody and sent prisoner to London.

Wyatt's attempt was at first more successful, and seemed to threaten more fatal consequences. He summoned his friends to meet him in the field on the twenty fifth of January, and was immediately joined by Sir Henry Isley, Sir George Harper, Thomas Copepper, and many other gentlemen of distinction in Kent. Proper persons were immediately dispatched into different parts of the county, to raise the people, while he himself, with some of his principal followers, retired to Rochester, took possession of the bridge, and fortified the eastern part of the city, which he intended as a rendezvous for his army. At the same time he ordered a manifesto to be published at Maidstone, and other places, against the queen's marriage, and invited every well-wisher to his country to join him in his endeavours to defend England from the intolerant and tyrannical government of a haughty foreigner. The people were soon alarmed at their danger, and flocked to Wyatt's standard in considerable numbers.

Advice of this rebellion being brought to the queen and her council, they were thrown into the greatest consternation. They were incapable of making any vigorous efforts against the force of a discontented people. The inclemency of the season rendered it very difficult to raise a number of forces, and those that had been collected to escort Mary to the capital were disbanded. It was therefore determined to send an herald to Wyatt, with assurance of a pardon, but the herald not being suffered to deliver his message the duke of Norfolk was dispatched against the rebels, at the head of six hundred of his trained bands, and the queen's guards. The two parties soon met, but the very instant the duke's army began to play, the Londoners deserted and joined the insurgents. This treacherous action threw the duke into the utmost consternation. The ranks of his little army were thrown into confusion, and it was with great difficulty that he himself and Sir Henry

Jernegan, captain of the queen's guards, were saved by a precipitate flight. Thus the rebels, without striking a blow, became masters of the field, the duke's baggage, and eight pieces of brass cannon.

Wyat, animated by this success, led his army towards the capital, persuaded that the Londoners would open their gates, and declare in his favour. At Dartford he was met by lord Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, who promised him, in the queen's name, every reasonable satisfaction he should require. This concession raised the presumption of Wyatt; he now thought himself invincible, and had the insolence to demand possession of the Tower, and of the queen's person, with authority to change the council at his pleasure. Hastings could not bear to hear such shameful conditions with any great degree of patience; he defied Wyatt, and returned immediately with Cornwallis to court.

The consternation of the council was still farther increased by the demands of Wyatt. The queen repaired to Guildhall, acquainted the citizens with the insolent answer of the rebels, asserted that she had done nothing in the marriage treaty, without the advice of her council, and declared her resolution to throw herself upon the protection of the faithful city of London. Pleated with this condensation of their sovereign, the citizens resolved to oppose the rebels. They ordered the bridge to be strongly barricaded, and every precaution to be taken that had any tendency to render the efforts of the insurgents abortive, should they attempt to force a passage into the city.

Wyat, who was ignorant of these resolutions, advanced as far as Southwark, in order to cross over the bridge into the city; but finding it would be difficult, if not impossible, to force a passage, he determined to cross the Thames at Kingston; he therefore marched with all expedition to that town, but found on his arrival, that the bridge was so decayed as to be impassable. This obliged him to halt some time till the bridge was repaired. By these delays, the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost. He entered Westminster indeed without resistance; but no person of note joining him, his men became dispirited, and insensibly forsook their leader, who was at last taken prisoner near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley. The principal leaders were also taken, and the scene closed with the most bloody executions.

Above seventy persons suffered for this rebellion; and four hundred, falling on their knees, obtained pardon, and were dismissed. Wyatt was condemned and executed; and as it had been reported, that, on his examination, he had accused the princess Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as accomplices, he took occasion to declare, on the scaffold, before the whole people, that neither of them had the least concern in the rebellion.

Several attempts had been made to accuse the princess Elizabeth of some design against the peace of the government, and she was in the utmost danger of falling a sacrifice to the malevolence of her sister. Her being the daughter of Anne Boleyn, her attracting, by her superior qualities, the regard of the nation, and her engaging the affections of Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who was allied to the crown, and on whom the queen had matrimonial views, were crimes which the gloomy soul of Mary could never forgive. She was shut up in the Tower, and all access to her denied. But the declaration made by Wyatt rendered it impossible to prove any thing against her; and she made so good a defence before the council, that there was not a single pretence left for keeping her in confinement. She was therefore restored to her liberty, but on refusing an offer of marriage made her by the duke of Savoy, she was again committed

to custody, under a strong guard. at Woodstock. The earl of Devonshire experienced the same ungenerous treatment: he was equally innocent with the princess; and though nothing could be proved against him, yet he was committed prisoner to Fotheringay castle.

But this rebellion proved still more fatal to lady Jane Gray and her husband. The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and Mary, who was a stranger both to generosity and clemency, resolved to remove every person from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Lady Jane and her husband had languished in prison ever since the queen's accession, and it was now determined to finish the dismal tragedy. Accordingly Fakenham, abbot of Westminster, was sent to the Tower to announce the fatal message of death to these unhappy prisoners. Jane received the news with great composure: she had long expected it; and the innocence of her life, together with the misfortunes to which she had been exposed, rendered it no unwelcome news. During three days (which was the intervening space before that appointed for her execution) the Romish priests were continually disturbing her with religious controversies; but even in these melancholy circumstances lady Jane had presence of mind sufficient to baffle all their attempts: she defended the tenets of the Reformation with great learning and eloquence. She also wrote a letter, in the Greek language, to her sister Catharine, exhorting her to maintain, in every circumstance of life, a like steady perseverance. On the morning of her execution, her husband desired permission to see her, but she refused her consent: she feared the tenderness of a parting interview would overcome the fortitude of both, and render them incapable of finishing the period of life with that constancy which was necessary in their melancholy circumstances. "Our separation (said she) will only be for a moment; we shall soon rejoin each other in the regions above, where our affections will be for ever united, and where the storms of adversity, and even death itself, can never afflict us more."

It had been determined to execute the lady Jane and her husband on the same scaffold, erected on Tower-hill. But the council dreading the consequences that might arise from the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed the order, and gave direction that she should be executed within the verge of the Tower. She saw her husband led to execution, and having given him from the window, some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart, and found herself more confirmed by the reports she heard of the constancy with which he met the king of terrors, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She accordingly gave him her table book, in which she had just wrote three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body, one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul: that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth and innocence might plead her excuse; and that she trusted, God and posterity would shew her favour. On the scaffold she made a speech to the spectators, in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame entirely on herself, without uttering a single complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She said that her fault did not consist in

having laid her hand upon the crown, but in her not having rejected it with sufficient constancy: that she had erred less through ambition than thro' reverence to her parents, whom she had been taught to respect and obey: that she willingly suffered death as the only satisfaction she could make to the injured state; and that though her infringement of the laws had been constrained, she would show by her voluntary submission to their sentence, that she was desirous of atoning for that disobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that she had justly deserved this punishment for being made the instrument, though the unwilling instrument, of the ambition of others: and that the story of her life might at least be useful, by proving that innocence cannot excuse great defects, if they have any tendency to destroy the commonwealth. After uttering these words, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women; and with a steady serene countenance submitted herself to the hands of the executioner.

Thus fell, in the bloom of life, the lady Jane Gray, whose innocence merited a much better fate. She was only in the seventeenth year of her age; but her beauty, spirit, sense, and virtue, did honor to her country; and her happiness, had she been left to the indulgence of her own studious inclinations, would have been more to be envied than that of princes: but the fatal ambition of her family cropt the lovely flower before it was expanded to its full lustre.

The duke of Suffolk was soon after tried and executed. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was also impeached, but owed his deliverance to the amazing spirit and abilities he discovered on his trial. He challenged the court to bring proof of any one overt-act of the treason of which he was indicted; and no positive proof being produced, he was acquitted by his jury. But so great was the power of the judge, and so malignant the spirit of the ministry, that the jury, for daring to obey the dictates of their own consciences, were prosecuted, and severely fined.

The queen no sooner found herself delivered from the danger apprehended from Wyatt's conspiracy, than she, with redoubled vigor, resumed the design of totally destroying the Reformation in England. On the eighth of March Sir John Williams, by order of the council, received from the Tower the bishops Crammer, Ridley, and Latimer, and carried them down to Oxford, to dispute with the popish divines concerning the tenets of their religion. Though the reformed bishops evidently defeated their antagonists, and reduced them first to absurdities and then to scurrility; yet the party in power assumed the victory, and the three prelates were declared obstinate heretics. Crammer had before been convicted of treason, but he was pardoned for that crime, that he might suffer the more painful death of a heretic. Four bishops were deprived for marrying contrary to their vows when regular priests, and three others were deprived for pretended misdemeanors. This was effected by virtue of the queen's supremacy, which she thought she might lawfully use against heretics. Sixteen new bishops were created: the old worship was universally established, and the married clergy every where ejected, together with those who made any difficulty of embracing popery. These proceedings rendered the government universally odious; but this had no effect upon Gardiner, who was determined, if possible, to crush effectually the reformation in England. The lord Rich and Sir John Wentworth were ordered to proceed against some of the disaffected in Essex, particularly Colchester; and this commission produced many commitments and prosecutions. Thus every thing seemed to portend a total destruction of the reformation.

but it was impossible to prevent the lower class of people from exclaiming against the sanguinary proceedings of the government.

A parliament was now summoned to meet at Westminster; but Gardiner had taken care, previous to the election, by means of money procured from the emperor, to corrupt the members to a degree before unknown. This was done with a view to procure their assent to the Spanish alliance, and facilitate the intentions of the government with regard to the re-establishment of the Romish religion.

Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session with a speech, in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of choosing a husband for herself; observed the proper use she had made of that right, by preferring an old ally descended from the house of Burgundy, and remarked the failure of the posterity of Henry the eighth, of whom there now remained only the queen and the princess Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniencies that might arise from different pretenders to the throne, it was necessary to invest the queen, by a solemn act of the legislature, with a power of disposing of the crown, and appointing her successor.

But however willing the parliament might be to gratify the queen in all her reasonable desires, yet, when the liberty, the independence, and even the very being of the nation, were exposed to such imminent danger, they could not by any means be persuaded to comply. They were no strangers to the inveterate hatred the queen bore to the lady Elizabeth, nor to her strong attachment to the house of Austria. They remembered her bigotry and superstition, which prompted her to prefer the establishment of the Catholic religion to all considerations of justice and national interest. They observed that Gardiner, in his speech, had carefully avoided giving Elizabeth the title of the queen's sister, and thence inferred, that a design was formed of declaring her illegitimate. They apprehended that Mary, if invested with the power she demanded, would bequeath the crown to her husband, and, by that means, render England a province of the Spanish monarchy. They were therefore inclined to entertain these suspicions when they were informed that Philip's descent from the House of Lancaster had been carefully traced and explained, and that he was represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, sensible of their danger, resolved not to entrust the queen with the power she demanded. They saw the precipice, and were determined to keep at a secure distance from its brink. They could not refuse confirming the articles of the marriage, because they were extremely advantageous to England; but they absolutely refused to give to any such law as was recommended by the chancellor. They would not even declare it treason to attempt the death of the queen's husband while she was alive, and a bill being brought in for that purpose, it was rejected at its first reading. At the same time, in order to deprive Philip of all hopes of ever being able to exercise any authority in England, they enacted a law, by which it was declared, "That the queen, as their only queen, should solely, and exclusively, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms with all the pre-eminence, dignities, and honours thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner as her marriage as before, without any title or authority to the prince of Spain, either as received by courtesy of the realm, or by any other means whatever."

Notwithstanding the corrupt practices used by Gardiner, the spirit of the parliament was far from being confined to the queen's marriage; for they op-

posed the measures of the court in several other instances. Bills were brought in for suppressing the many erroneous opinions contained in books published by the reformers; for reviving the statute of the Six Articles; with those against the Lollards, and those against heresy and erroneous preaching; but they were thrown out by the Commons. The queen, therefore, finding the parliament would not pay an implicit obedience to her will, was so provoked, that she thought proper to dissolve it on the 5th of May; and writs were immediately issued for choosing another, to assemble on the 11th of November following.

The marriage articles between the queen and Philip having been confirmed by the parliament, the earl of Sussex was sent over, with a strong squadron, to bring the prince to England; and he arrived at Southampton on the 19th of July. On his first landing he drew his sword, and carried it for some time naked in his hand; and when the magistrates presented him with the keys of their town, he received them without speaking a single word. The queen met him at Winchester, where their nuptials were solemnized with great pomp and magnificence on the 24th of July; and on the 18th of August following they made their public entry into London.

Gardiner now employed himself with the greatest diligence in influencing the elections for members to serve in the ensuing parliament. No endeavours to obtain his ends were neglected: bribery, corruption, promises, and menaces, were used by him and his agents; by which means an assembly was formed, who were ready to signify their zeal for the Romish church, whenever the court thought it necessary to introduce any bill for that purpose. They met, according to appointment, on the 11th of November, when the king and queen rode together on horseback in their robes, to the house, two swords of state, and two caps of maintenance being borne before them.

The first act of this senate was to secure the admission of cardinal Pole, who had been invested with the dignity of legate; and in order to this, the act of attainder passed against him in the reign of Henry VIII. was annulled; and the queen, by her prerogative, dispensing with long established statutes, he was empowered to act in his office of legation.

When the cardinal arrived in London, he exhorted the parliament to be reconciled to the holy see; upon which the two houses expressed their regret at being separated from the church, and their resolution to annihilate every thing that schism had attempted against it. They requested absolution in the most humble manner; which the cardinal readily granted, and, in the name of the sovereign pontiff, removed all censures. But the submission of the nobility, who were in possession of the church-lands, would never have been made, had not measures been prudently taken to assure them they should not be deprived of their estates. The parliament accordingly confirmed their possession; and they, in return, did not hesitate to come into all the measures of the court; they readily sacrificed their liberty, and the exercise of their reason, at the altar of superstitious bigotry; they shewed the utmost indifference with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow subjects, and renewed the old sanguinary laws against heretics which had been abolished in the reign of Edward VI. and once more lighted up the piles for consuming all who thought differently from the Roman church. Such, however, was then rooted aversion to Spain, that though the queen laboured with the utmost assiduity to procure her husband to be declared presumptive heir to the crown, and invested with the administration of public affairs, she failed in both attempts.

attempts: she could not even prevail upon the parliament to agree to his coronation, nor obtain from the Commons a subsidy for assisting the emperor in his war against France.

Philip was not formed to attract the affection of the English: his cold, reserved, imperious air, and the vexatious ceremony that, in a manner, cut off all access to his person, rendered him obnoxious to the people. This was so visible, that he began now to alter his conduct, and endeavoured to obtain the favour of the public by procuring the enlargement of several persons of distinction, who had been confined in consequence of the jealousy or resentment of the court; but nothing was more acceptable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the malice and cruelty of her sister, and obtaining for her the enjoyment of her liberty. He well knew, that if this princess fell a sacrifice to the malevolent disposition of the queen, Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and wife to the dauphin of France, was the next in the order of succession, and, consequently, that England would be annexed to that crown. To prevent an incident of such importance to his own tranquillity, Philip affected a generosity little consistent with his real character.

A. D. 1555. The attention of the ministry was now chiefly engaged in consulting the methods proper to be pursued for re-establishing the antient religion. Cardinal Pole, and bishop Gardiner, were the two churchmen most in favour; and between these a very important question was frequently debated before the queen and council, namely, Whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be executed in their full extent and rigour, or should only be employed to prevent the reformers from making any farther innovations. Pole, who was sincerely attached to the Catholic faith, and virtuous from principle, was for moderation and indulgence. Gardiner, on the contrary, who was a zealot from interest, and indifferent from principle, was for violence and punishment. The bigotted queen paid the greatest attention to the arguments of Gardiner; but willing at the same time to shew regard to the counsels of Pole, she ordered him to take upon himself the reformation of the clergy, and charged Gardiner with the work of extirpating the Protestant religion.

It was now determined to execute the laws against heresy in their full force; and England was soon filled with those scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the Romish religion the object of general detestation. We could wish, indeed, for the honour of humanity, that the mantle of oblivion could be drawn over these detestable actions; but the pen of history must not dissemble the excesses and dreadful consequences of bigotted zeal. The horrid scenes, which must be displayed furnish an important, though melancholy lesson to mankind.

The two first victims of religious fury were Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's: both eminent for their learning, their piety, and their virtue. But Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character; vainly imagining, that terror would force them to submission; and that their example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally influence the multitude. Rogers had preserved the life of Bonner, the popish preacher at St. Paul's, at the hazard of his own, and therefore deserved some favour at the hands of Gardiner, who was no stranger to that circumstance: but no regard was shewn to this eminent preacher; the dictates of justice and humanity had lost their force. Rogers was even denied the favour of seeing his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved. But this denial could not shake his constancy: the ties of nature gave way to the influence of religion, and he went

with cheerfulness to the stake, and perished in the flames with unshaken constancy.

Hooper behaved with all the fortitude of a primitive martyr, and shewed a noble contempt for all the insults he received. He was tried with Rogers in London, but sent down to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance, which was contrived to strike a greater terror into his flock, was a source of satisfaction to Hooper, who sincerely rejoiced in having an opportunity of giving testimony, by his death, to the doctrine he had formerly inculcated from the pulpit. When he was fastened to the stake, a stool was placed before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, and which it was still in his power to merit by his recantation. But life, on such conditions, was despised: he ordered it to be removed, and cheerfully prepared himself to suffer the sentence pronounced against him by his enemies. His death was attended with every circumstance that could heighten its severity. The wind, which was very strong, blew the flames of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not easily take fire; all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were affected; one arm dropped off, while he continued to bear his breast with the other. He was heard to pray, and exhort the people to adhere to their religion until his tongue, swollen with the violence of the agony, stopped his speech. He was full three quarters of an hour in torture, but bore the whole with a constancy that was truly astonishing.

About the same time, Mr. Laurence Saunders, minister of Allhallows, Bread-street; and Mr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, were delivered over to the secular arm, and sealed the truth of the doctrines they had taught with their blood. Saunders suffered at Coventry, and was allowed with the offer of a pardon; but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, crying out, "Hail thee, O cross of Jesus Christ, O life eternal!" Taylor was executed among his antient friends and parishioners: and repeated, in the midst of the flames, a psalm in English; on which one of the guards struck him on the mouth and bid him pray in Latin. Another, still more violent, struck him on the head with his halbert, and the blow put a period to his life.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burnt about the same time at Caermarthen. He appealed to Cardinal Pole, but his appeal was disregarded, and he received the crown of martyrdom.

So many inhuman executions, merely for difference of opinion, inflamed the nation, and Gardiner began to entertain disagreeable apprehensions for himself. He therefore refused to act any longer, and devoted his odious commission on Bonner, bishop of Ely, to a man of the most profligate and abandoned manners, and, at the same time, of so savage and cruel disposition, that he seemed to delight in the tortures of those unfortunate persons whom his iniquitous orders committed to the flames.

It would be useless, as well as shocking to the reader, to particularize the various executions that took place at the instigation of the finished monster. His savage barbarity on the one hand, and his perfect constancy on the other, are familiar traits. A few instances more will therefore be abundantly sufficient.

In the beginning of October Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, bishop of Worcester, had been a long time confined with an illness. They were both tried for heresy at Oxford, and condemned to the flames. They suffered together on the north side of the city of Oxford, opposite to a college, on the 16th of the same month. They behaved with a constancy and resolution worthy of what we read of the primitive martyrs.

Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland. He was first educated at Newcastle, from whence he was sent to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, of which he became master. King Henry VIII. made him first his chaplain, and afterwards promoted him to the see of Rocheller, from whence king Edward VI. translated him to London. He was one of the most able champions of the reformation; pious, learned, solid in judgment, constant, admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies; which were sufficient reasons for the popish counsellors to put him to death. The night immediately before his execution, he visited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see her; and the good woman melting into tears, he gave to her with an assurance which banished her fears, and convinced her that so much firmness on such a holy occasion could only be the gift from heaven inspiring and animating him against his approaching agony. He was so little shocked with the horrors before him, that he not only gave a serious sermon to the furious bigot that preached at his execution, but calmly proposed to answer execrable parts of his sermon, which was not permitted, lest reverence and reason should bias his hearers and give too much in his favour; and he left the world with an act of justice, for he sent a petition to the queen, praying that either the tenants of the bishopric of London might be continued in their leases, or that their fines might be restored out of his goods, seized when he was imprisoned. But he paid dearly for his courage. The faggots were ordered to be piled in such a manner as to torment him as much as possible; and he was rather roasted than burned, for his legs were almost consumed before the fire was permitted to reach his body.

Bishop Latimer was born at Thurstaston, in Leicestershire, and brought up also at Cambridge. Henry VIII. promoted him to the see of Worcester, which he resigned because he would not subscribe to what were called King Henry's Six bloody Articles. He was remarkable for his simplicity, freedom and plainness, with which he arraigned great sinners, and without the ornament of human eloquence, came straight to their hearts, and made them humble, before he exalted. One of his converts, a notable robber, who had been persuaded by him to attend his execution, and comforted him in the place; where, desiring to accompany to the gallows a man in so good a cause, he propounded with zealous zeal, in the midst of reigning popery, that these two bishops and martyrs should light up a candle in England, as, by God's grace, should never be extinguished. Latimer's age, upwards of eighty, made him soon yield up his soul in the flames, without undergoing much pain; and he died with the character of having preserved the purity and integrity of the first ages, in the corruptions of the last.

The passion for martyrdom, infused by these examples, communicated itself to the young as well as the old, and even to women, several of whom suffered in different parts of the kingdom with the most heroic constancy. These unhappy people, though destined to torture shocking to humanity, were nevertheless convicted of having inculcated false doctrines, and established religions; they were taken up by the soldiers, and condemned on refusing to renounce their faith. Hence they excited the concern of their own party, and a general hatred against the government. Philip perceived the whole, and endeavoured to throw the odium of these persecutions on the English bishops. He ordered his ambassador to disclaim these sanguinary measures from the pulpit. The ecclesiastical obeyed,

and, in a sermon preached before their majesties, he exclaimed against all religious persecution, and accused the bishops of all the barbarities that had been inflicted on the Protestants.

Alarmed at this charge, Bonner himself refused to be any longer concerned in such sanguinary proceedings, unless others were involved in the same odious business. In consequence of this, the fires of persecution ceased for a time; till repeated orders were sent to Bonner, by the queen and her consort, enjoining him to prosecute his duty. Thus animated, the brutal press resumed the persecution with the most unremitting diligence, and great numbers of people were inhumanly dragged to the stake.

England was now reduced to a more deplorable situation than ever Spain itself, where the inquisition is established with all its horrors. Commissioners were appointed to take an account of all heresies; to punish all neglect of the Catholic worship in churches and chapels; and to proceed against the clergy who did not preach the doctrine of the eucharist; to punish every person who did not hear mass, who did not assist at the service of the church, who did not receive the eucharist, or use the holy water. The justices of the peace were ordered to appoint spies over the conduct of the people; to summon the accused, without discovering the accuser, and to put to the torture such obstinate persons who would not confess. Nor did the tyranny of the court terminate here; a proclamation was issued, commanding all who were possessed of heretical books to burn them without reading or shewing them to others; and declaring that all who refused to pay an implicit obedience to these orders should be deemed rebels, and executed immediately by martial law.

But notwithstanding these persecutions, the protestants still supported their tenets with the most distinguished resolution, and the doctrines of the reformation increased surprisingly. The iron rod of tyranny was displayed in vain; every martyrdom was equivalent to a thousand sermons against popery; and the ashes of the sufferer, like seed disseminated in a fertile soil, produced an hundred fold. The protestants were far more numerous at the close, than in the beginning of this bloody reign, though it is computed, that in the space of three years, no less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons were burnt for heresy, among whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women and four children.

The measure of iniquity in this bloody reign was now filled up by the execution of that good but unfortunate prelate archbishop Cranmer. He had long been confined in prison at Oxford; and it was now determined to punish him as an heretic. He was accordingly tried before Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, who had been commissioned to that office by the pope. Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, who attended as commissioners from the queen, accused him of having been twice married; of keeping a wife secretly in the reign of Henry VIII. and openly in the reign of his successor; of publishing books against, and forsaking the doctrine of the Roman church; and of denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. He owned the facts, and they cited him to appear before the pope in eight days, though they knew it was impossible, as he was then their prisoner. He was, however, on not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Threlky, bishop of Ely, were sent down to Oxford to degrade him. The former performed his office with his usual intolerance, using the most bitter raileries and invectives against the prisoner during the ceremony, while Threlky melted into tears. Bonner put on him pontifical robes,

robes made of canvas, that he might appear the more ridiculous; after which he stripped him of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the bull and ceremonies of degradation sent from Rome. During this mortifying ceremony the primate's behaviour was uniform and becoming his unfortunate circumstances. He said he was not sorry to be thus cut off with all his pageantry from his relation to the see of Rome; but thought it great injustice to be condemned for not going to that capital, when they kept him close confined in prison. At the same time he denied the pope's authority over him, and appealed from his sentence to a free general council.

Notwithstanding the queen, from her consummate bigotry, was satisfied in her own mind, that Cranmer would perish eternally, yet she was desirous of augmenting the weight of his misfortunes by ruining his honour and consigning his name over to infamy. Persons were accordingly employed to attack him, not by reason and argument, against which they knew he was too well prepared, but by the most artful flattery, insinuation and address. They displayed before him, in the fairest point of light, the dignities and honours to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation: they flattered him with long enjoying those powerful friends whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him during the course of his prosperity; and the great advantages that might yet result to society by his labours. These insinuations shook the firmness of the primate, who, influenced by that love of life so deeply engraven in the human heart, and terrified at the prospect of those dreadful tortures he was condemned to suffer, permitted, in an unguarded hour, the feelings of nature to overpower his resolution; he agreed to sign a paper, acknowledging the doctrines of the papal supremacy, and the real presence of Christ in the sacrament.

The queen, whose perfidy was only exceeded by her cruelty, resolved that this recantation should not save his life. She sent order that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the whole congregation, and that after he had so done, he should be immediately led to the place of execution.

Mary's distinguished malevolence, however, was for once disappointed. Cranmer had now resumed his proper dignity; he had sincerely repented of his weakness and apostacy, and determined, instead of the declaration they expected, to speak the real sentiments of his heart without disguise. Accordingly, when he was brought to the church, he began his address to the audience with observing, that he was fully acquainted with the obedience he owed to his sovereign, and the laws of his country; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their command, and to bear, without resistance, whatever punishment they might inflict upon him; that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to maintain the truth on all occasions, and not to abandon, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had imparted to mankind; that there was one error in his life, which, above all others, filled him with the most unfeigned sorrow and repentance, the insincere declaration of faith to which he had unhappily been induced to agree, and which nothing but the fear of death could have extorted from him; that he cheerfully embraced the present opportunity of atoning for his crime, by a sincere and open recantation, and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine which he verily believed to be revealed from heaven; and that as his hand had erred in betraying his heart, it should still be punished, and by a severe, but just sentence, still expiate the guilt of that crime which it had been the instrument of committing.

Cranmer's enemies were so exasperated at this declaration, that they immediately dragged him from the church, and conducted him to the stake amidst shouts and insults of the catholics. But Cranmer bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with surprising courage: he first, with his right hand, and without discovering the least weakness, or even of feeling, held it in the flames till it dropt off. His mind seemed to be wholly occupied with reflecting on his former fault, and he was heard to exclaim several times, "This unworthy hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he resumed a wonderful composure and serenity of countenance: and when the fire surrounded him, he seemed to be entirely insensible of all his sufferings, and by the force of hope and Christian fortitude, to have raised himself above all bodily sensations, and to triumph over the fury of the flames.

Cranmer was a man of the most amiable character, equally distinguished by his piety and learning, and possessed of candour, sincerity, benevolence, and indeed of almost every virtue that could render the object of public esteem and veneration. His death was lamented by the ingenious of all parties; and he is considered as the hero of the Protestant faith. Cardinal Pole succeeded him in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and sincerely disapproved of the violent measures of the court, but was without power to oppose its sanguinary proceedings.

When we consider the gloomy and melancholy disposition of Mary, together with her unpopularity to her own opinion, it is not at all surprising that she should be guilty of these distinguished cruelties, but it is astonishing that, considering the state of the kingdom at this period, when the number of protestants greatly exceeded that of the catholics, there was suffered to survive one moment the commission of such horrid barbarities. It was not, however, long before she felt the effect of the public hatred: the ministry became extremely unpopular; and everything bore the marks of disgust and aversion. Her ill temper was also increased by a very dangerous circumstance. She had flattered herself with an extraordinary pregnancy, and when she found her condition the fell into a profound melancholy.

Philip, disgusted with a wife who was extremely jealous, without being in any respect a mother, and preparing for returning to the court of Spain, received an invitation from the emperor to visit him. He declared his intentions of resigning to him the government of the Netherlands. He therefore took this opportunity of returning to Flanders, and met his father at Brussels. Here the emperor, previous to the celebration of his sovereignty, which took place on the 23d of October, instructed his son in the art of governing, and recommended to him the following maxims: "Do not think himself rich, when his subjects are poor; do not think himself wise, when his subjects are ignorant; do not think himself powerful, when his subjects are weak; do not think himself loved, when his subjects are hated; do not think himself safe, when his subjects are in danger; do not think himself happy, when his subjects are in sorrow; do not think himself great, when his subjects are in poverty; do not think himself strong, when his subjects are in weakness; do not think himself long-lived, when his subjects are in shortness of life; do not think himself rich, when his subjects are poor; do not think himself wise, when his subjects are ignorant; do not think himself powerful, when his subjects are weak; do not think himself loved, when his subjects are hated; do not think himself safe, when his subjects are in danger; do not think himself happy, when his subjects are in sorrow; do not think himself great, when his subjects are in poverty; do not think himself strong, when his subjects are in weakness; do not think himself long-lived, when his subjects are in shortness of life." Had Charles followed these maxims, Germany and the Netherlands had not been a huge waste of blood, Europe been filled with widows and orphans, and the cool reflections of age had now directed him to the conquest of his former punishment, and found that the vain scheme of extending his power had now been the source of endless evils.

disappointment, had kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care.

The parliament met on the 21st of October, when visible discontent appeared among the members from the late proceedings against the protestants, that it was with the greatest difficulty the queen could obtain a very moderate supply. This sudden change in the temper of the House of Commons was, perhaps, with justice, attributed to the death of Gardiner, who paid the debt of nature on the 12th of November. By the loss of this prelate the queen was deprived of her ablest counsellor, and the only person in the ministry who had any great authority in the parliament. He was a man of a selfish character; a profound dissembler, and of a proud, vindictive and cruel disposition. He understood the canon and civil law as well as most of his time; he wrote Latin with ease and purity, and few of his contemporaries excelled him in the knowledge of the Greek language. He is said to have felt some remorse in his last moments for the cruel persecutions he had carried on against the protestants, and to have exclaimed, "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter."—He was buried in the cathedral at Winchester, where his monument and effigy are still to be seen.

A. D. 1556. Mary was so exasperated at the refusal of the parliament to grant her the necessary supplies, that she had recourse to every method in her power to extort money from her people. She issued a loan of 60,000*l.* on a certain number of people whom she was assured would not refuse to assist her; but that sum being insufficient to answer the end proposed, she exacted a general loan of 100*l.* a piece on all persons possessed of 20*l.* a year: she also levied 60,000 marks from seven thousand yeomen, who had not contributed to former loans; and exacted 60,000*l.* from the cloth-merchants of London trading to Antwerp, which they refused, having advanced her large sums already. But Mary was determined not to be disappointed, and having received advice that they had shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp, she seized both ship and cargo, and imposed upon them a new subsidy of twenty shillings for every piece of cloth, by an arbitrary stretch of the prerogative; nor could they procure this imposition abolished, till they had agreed to advance 20,000*l.* and to engage to pay 20,000*l.* more in a second time.

These violent and oppressive measures were pursued at a time when England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and when Mary herself had no other occupation than to satisfy the exorbitant desires of a husband, who was equally regardless of her good and her generosity, and attended to nothing but his own amusement.

Henry VIII. after having relinquished the love of his dominions into the hands of his son, devoted his life, in the tranquillity of retirement, to the study of divinity, which he had so ardently pursued in vain in the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He accordingly embarked on board a vessel immediately to Spain, and took his journey in July, a monastery in Estremadura, which was situated in a happy climate, and amidst the beauties of nature, he had chosen that for the place to be intended to end his days in solitude and contemplation. He was soon convinced that the debt he had received had been paid to his fortune, and he retired into his person; but he pursued his design of a voluntary resolution, and shut himself up in his cell, thus secluded from the world, he continued his studies, and was engaged in the religious controversy which agitated Europe in his reign.

and in imitating the works of celebrated mechanics. Among the rest the construction of clocks and watches engaged his attention, and never being able to make two go in a perfect equality of time, he concluded from thence that it was impossible for men to agree exactly in the articles of faith; and that it was unjust to punish them for their opinions. This conclusion proved, at least, that he had changed his own. Notwithstanding the ingratitude of his son Philip, who no sooner succeeded than he neglected him, he endeavoured to make him master of the empire, with all the other vast estates of the family. But Ferdinand the brother of Charles, who had been elected king of the Romans, would not come into his views; and the house of Austria was divided into two branches. Paul IV. refused to crown Ferdinand, alledging, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in case of a resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and consequently it belonged to the pope alone to appoint a successor.

The pope was a sworn enemy to the house of Austria, and accordingly engaged Henry II. of France to break the truce with Spain. Philip was not fond of war; his object was to govern by political resources, and flattered himself by that means alone to rise superior to all his enemies, and extend, at once, his authority and dominions. But being obliged to take up arms, he endeavoured to engage the English in his cause against France. Had the decision depended entirely upon the queen, he would have found no difficulty in his application: she was incapable of refusing the demands of a husband she so tenderly loved; but she had little influence in the council, and still less among the people: her government was hardly able to support itself in the midst of a profound peace.

A. D. 1557. On the 20th of March Philip arrived in England, and during his stay continued at Greenwich, where his queen had some time resided in order to avoid herself of those melancholy reflections which had been occasioned by his absence. Soon after Philip's arrival the nation was alarmed with accounts that a rebellion was broke out in the northern parts of the kingdom. Thomas Stafford, a lineal descendant from the late duke of Buckingham, and consequently possessed of a distant claim upon the crown, had for some time taken refuge in France, where he had been joined by several other disaffected persons, and, unhappily for themselves, mistaking the discontents of the people for an indication of their readiness to take up arms against the government, they attempted to execute an insurrection. About the latter end of April they landed in Scotland, marched directly to Scarborough, and seized the castle. Stafford now assumed the title of Protector of the kingdom, and published a manifesto, pretending that the queen had forfeited her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into England. But he soon found the people, however oppressed with regard to religion, were too cautious to join his standard. The earl of Westmoreland marched against him, defeated his little army, and took him prisoner. Persuaded that this attempt to disturb the internal peace of the kingdom was owing to the instigations of the French king, a resolution was taken in the council to declare war against that monarch, which was accordingly performed, with great solemnity, about the middle of June.

Philip, having procured from the English a body of 8000*l.* immediately passed over to the Lower Countries, where his general, the duke of Savoy, strengthened with the junction of another body of British troops, entered St. Quintin in Picardy. As the place was but poorly fortified, and defended only by a weak garrison, he hoped in a few days to com-

pel it to surrender: but the governor, admiral Coligny, thinking it his duty to save so important a fortress, threw himself into the town, with a few battalions of French and Scots, and by his exhortations and example, encouraged the soldiers to make a vigorous defence. In the mean time he sent an express to his uncle, the constable Montmorency, then at the head of the French army, requesting a reinforcement. That general accordingly advanced towards St. Quintin, at the head of his whole army, in order to facilitate the attempt of throwing a body of forces into the town; but the duke of Savoy being informed of the constable's design, fell upon the reinforcement with such irresistible fury, that not more than five hundred men entered the place. Animated by this success, he attacked the constable, routed his whole army, and took him prisoner. Two thousand five hundred of the enemy fell on the field of battle.

The duke of Savoy, in order to improve the advantage he had thus gained over the enemy, dispatched the duke of Bedford, and the count of Egmont, at the head of 4000 men, to make an inroad into France. They obeyed their instructions, and ravaged the country to the distance of two and twenty miles, without meeting with the least resistance. The inhabitants of Paris were so terrified, that they began to fortify their city with the utmost expedition; and had the duke of Savoy marched directly to the capital, he had, in all probability, made himself master of the place: but he continued the siege of St. Quintin, which, by the bravery of the admiral, held out seventeen days, when it was taken by storm, and that gallant officer, with his brother, and all who had survived of the garrison, were made prisoners.

In the mean time, the French, having recovered from their fears, made the necessary preparations for rendering abortive any farther attempts of the enemy. They had even formed a design of reducing Calais, as appeared by some obscure hints found among the papers of the French admiral, taken prisoner at St. Quintin. Philip failed not to inform Mary of the discovery, and offered to supply her with troops to defend the place; but the English council, considering this as a stratagem of Philip to get possession of Calais, declined the offer.

However right the English might be in their suspicions of Philip, they soon found the information he had given them relative to the designs of the French, was not without foundation; for the duke of Guise, who had lately been created lieutenant general of France, not content with fortifying the frontiers of the kingdom, resolved, though in the depth of winter, to attempt the reduction of Calais, an enterprize which France, during her greatest success, had always considered as impracticable.

The place was commanded by the lord Wentworth, a brave and experienced officer, whose garrison consisted only of 500 soldiers, and about 200 townsmen. It was surrounded by morasses on the land side, and could only be approached by a dyke, at the head of which was a bridge, defended by a fort called Newnham, about a quarter of a mile from the town. Near this fort was another, called St. Agatha; and the entrance of the harbour was defended by a castle, termed the Ryfbank. Such was the situation of Calais, when Guise, to the astonishment of all Europe, invested it on the first of January, 1558.

At the same time, a fleet of French ships, was sent into the channel under pretence of cruising on the trading vessels of the English, but in reality, to assist the land forces in their attempt upon a place deemed impregnable. The first operation of the French was against Fort Agatha, which the English, after a gallant defence,

were forced to abandon. The garrison, however, threw themselves into Fort Newnham, which was immediately invested by the enemy. At the same time, the French ships cannonaded the Ryfbank, and both forts soon became untenable. Wentworth saw the necessity of abandoning these castles, as the greater part of his garrison was employed in defending them: he therefore gave orders for their capitulating with the enemy, and joining him in Calais, which, without their assistance, he was in no condition to defend. The garrison of Newnham followed his instructions, and were permitted to retire into the town; but those in the Ryfbank were not so fortunate; the French admiral refused to sign any capitulation; and the garrison were soon after obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

All the avenues to the place being now secured, the duke of Guise, with prodigious labour, formed a road, constructed of pitched hurdles, through the morasses, by the help of which a large detachment of his army lodged themselves behind some heights near the walls of the town. Here they erected a battery of fifteen pieces of large cannon against the castle, in which a practicable breach was soon made. D'Andelot, brother to admiral Coligny, was now ordered to draw the water out of the ditch, and successfully executed the task in one night. The next day the duke ordered a general assault, which was made with such fury, that the breach was carried by storm, and the French effected a lodgment in the castle. During the ensuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to recover that post; but having lost two hundred men, and the French pouring such numbers into the castle, he thought any farther defence would be madness, and accordingly capitulated on the following conditions: That he himself should remain a prisoner of war, with fifty of the chief officers of his garrison; that the rest should be at liberty to retire, either to England or Flanders; and that the place, with all its provisions, ammunition, cannon, and riches, should be immediately delivered up to the French. This capitulation was signed on the seventeenth of January. Calais and Guineas were taken by the twenty second; and the duke of Guise reduced, in less than thirty days, and even in the depth of winter, what had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months. And thus all the English possessions on the continent were totally lost.

The news of this important conquest threw the nation into a ferment: they murmured against the queen and her council for having entered into frivolous pretences, engaged the kingdom, and by which one of the most important possessions of the crown was irretrievably lost.

Mary was so sensibly affected with the loss of Calais, that she abandoned herself to grief; and accordingly declared to those about her, "That her mind was approaching, and that she should never recover the effects of this misfortune." She however appeared before the parliament in order to obtain supplies, and effected, though not without opposition, the Commons, who seemed determined to resist against the abuse of prerogative. They also passed an act for confirming all alienations of crown lands that the queen had made or might should make during the space of seven years to come.

Although the English had refused the offer of Philip with regard to throwing a strong party into Calais, yet he made a proposal for assisting to the utmost of his power in recovering the important forticks, before the season would permit the French to repair the works which were now in a bad condition. But this offer was also refused, and no military expedition attempted till the spring, when a fleet of English ships, considerably advanced, when a fleet of French ships



and forty sail of ships was fitted out, for revenging the insult upon the enemy. This fleet being reinforced with thirty Flemish ships, having on board a body of six thousand land forces, were sent to alarm the coast of France. They accordingly landed near Brest; but so little care had been taken to conceal the design, that the French were prepared for their reception; and the English were obliged to retreat to their ships, without having effected any thing of consequence.

This disgrace, however, was soon after recovered by the activity of a small squadron, consisting only of ten ships. The marshal de Thermes, governor of Calais, invaded Flanders at the head of an army of fourteen thousand men. He crossed the Aa without opposition, and made himself master of Dunkirk and Berg St. Winloc. But being overtaken by the Spaniards under count Egmont, near Gravelines, a bloody contest ensued. While the two armies were closely engaged, and fortune seemed undetermined on which side to bestow the wreath of victory, the English men of war came into the harbour; and pointing their cannon against the flank of the French, made such a dreadful slaughter, that the whole army was thrown into confusion, and the Spaniards gained a complete victory. The marshal himself was taken prisoner, and about 5000 were left dead on the field of battle.

During these transactions the two armies of France and Spain approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy, and a decisive battle was every moment expected; when offers were made for a general peace, and the two armies retired into winter quarters, that the contending princes might have time sufficient to finish the treaty. Indeed the demands of Henry and Philip were so very opposite, that there were hardly any hopes of their coming to an agreement. The former demanded the restitution of Navarre to its proper owner: and the latter that of Calais and its territories to England. But, during these negotiations, news arrived of the death of queen Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, did not insist on the restitution of Calais, and a peace was soon after concluded between the two monarchs.

Mary's health had been long declining. She had for some time been afflicted with the dropy, the consequence of her false conception, and the improper regimen she had pursued. The malady was greatly increased by the anxiety of her mind, which was now increased by the most painful reflections. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the mortification of being without children; the fear of leaving her crown to a sister whom she detested; the approaching ruin that threatened the Catholic religion; the indifference of a husband, who was going to retire into Spain; all these disagreeable reflections

preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a slow fever, of which she died on the seventeenth of November, in the forty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

The progressive circumstances attending the reign of this princess renders it almost superfluous to add any thing relative to her character. Indeed, the barbarities committed in her time are beyond the pen of history to describe. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder, and the care of her people the exercise of her cruelty; while all her views for their happiness terminated in punishments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every band of society. She had not any thing engaging either in her person, her behaviour, or her address: her understanding was confined within very narrow limits; and her temper morose and gloomy; while obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

Cardinal Pole, who had long laboured under an intermitting fever, died about sixteen hours after the queen, so that the throne and the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury became vacant nearly at the same time; an event which the reformed considered as the happy omen of the speedy establishment of civil and religious liberty.

Mary's funeral was solemnized on the 14th of December, at Westminster, with a mass of Requiem in the usual form of the Romish church; and her body was interred in the chapel of Henry VII, her grandfather.

The most remarkable occurrences that happened during the short reign of this queen were as follow:

Her first year gave rise to the practice of starching linen, the art of which was brought into England by one Mrs. Dingen, a native of Flanders.

In her third year, alderman Draper of Cordwainers Ward, first instituted the office of Bellman, whose business was to go about the ward by night, and, ringing his bell at certain places, exhort the inhabitants, with an audible voice, to take care of their fires and lights, to help the poor and pray for the dead. This institution was soon after adopted in all the other wards of the city.

During this year a malignant fever raged with great violence in London: it carried off a considerable number of its inhabitants, among whom were seven aldermen.

In this queen's reign, needles were first made in Cheapside, London, by a negro from Spain; but he would not teach his art; and, dying soon after, it was lost till the succeeding reign, when Elias Crowle, a German, taught the English the art; which has since been brought to the greatest perfection.

SECTION V.

ELIZABETH II.

The Fifth and last Sovereign of the House of Tudor.

THE death of Mary revived the drooping spirits of the protestants. They now beheld the pleasing prospect that they should no longer be persecuted for their religion, and that their virtues would not expose them, for the future, to the rage of ignorance and bigotry.

As the parliament was at this time sitting, Heath, archbishop of York, notified the death of the queen to that assembly; when both houses unanimously declared Elizabeth the legal successor to the crown, and she was accordingly proclaimed on the same day at the usual places in London and Westminster.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when she received the news of her sister's death, a few days after which she proceeded to London amidst the universal acclamations of the people, who seemed to vie with each other in testifying their joy on the happy event of her accession to the throne of England.

The day after her arrival in London, she issued a proclamation, strictly enjoining all her subjects "to keep the peace, and forbear all attempts, upon any pretence whatever, to break or alter any order or usage at that time established." This prudent measure was taken to prevent those disorders which there was too much reason to apprehend would otherwise have resulted from the intemperate zeal of some of the reformed, who, following the precedent given them by the popish party in the late reign, might have proceeded in an illegal and riotous manner by destroying the superstitious objects of the catholics, and restoring the reformed method of worship without waiting for the royal authority.

Elizabeth was about twenty-five years of age when she passed as it were from a prison to a throne. The remembrance of her misfortunes added a lustre to her merit, and she was considered as the deliverer of the kingdom. Born with superior talents, she had acquired, by study, the great art of government, and had in herself all the resources of genius, authority and policy. Her compliances during the late reign had inspired the catholics with hopes, that she was not so great an enemy to their religion as to the cruel and bloody methods made use of to enforce it; while the protestants believed her to be a sincere friend to their more humane and enlightened doctrine. She knew the advantage of keeping both parties in suspense, and therefore formed her council of persons of both religions, though at the same time she was attentive to the choice of those who were most distinguished for their wisdom, reputation and experience.

Though Elizabeth had been so cruelly persecuted during the reign of her sister, yet she seemed, on her change of fortune, to forget all the injuries she had received from her enemies. She returned thanks to heaven for her deliverance as for a miracle; but she wished not to make her persecutors feel the rod of retaliation: her prudence and magnanimity buried all offences in oblivion. She received with affability those very persons who had acted with the greatest virulence against her; and even Sir Henry Bedingfield, (to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with uncommon severity) found her insensible to the desire of revenge. This noble instance of a superior understanding and beneficent disposition charmed her enemies; they were convinced that their religion would never be punished as a crime by a prince who cherished not the passion of revenge.

But though Elizabeth readily passed over all injuries offered to herself, she could not forgive those who had inflicted the most inhuman cruelties on her innocent people. When the bishops came in a body to pay her their obedience she expressed her sentiments of regard for them all, except Bonner, from whom she turned aside as from a man polluted with blood; an object that excited horror in every heart susceptible of the tender feelings of humanity.

As soon as the queen had, in some measure, settled the domestic tranquillity of the kingdom, she dispatched orders to her ambassadors at foreign courts, to notify her sister's death, and her own accession to the English crown. At the same time the lord Cobham was dispatched to Philip, who still continued in the Low Countries, in order to keep that monarch firm to the interests of England.

When Philip received advice of Elizabeth's acces-

sion to the English throne, he expressed great surprize; but being desirous of securing his interest in that kingdom, he ordered his minister to pay her his compliments on the occasion, and offer her proposals of marriage. He flattered himself with obtaining at last the government of that kingdom over which Mary, or rather the parliament, gave him no power. But the queen knew too well the aversion of the English to an alliance with Spain; and, at the same time, was too fond of her own independence, to accept his proposals. However, she thought it most prudent to treat the ambassador with particular respect, and to elude his offers, without appearing to reject them. She likewise took care that the court of France should be acquainted with Philip's offer, in order to induce Henry to conclude a speedy peace, and by that means prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of the Spanish monarch.

Notwithstanding Elizabeth was determined to restore the reformed religion in England, yet her ambassador at Rome received orders to notify to the pope her accession to the throne. Had the pontiff been the least desirous of supporting his own interest, and that of the holy see, he could not, on this critical occasion, have acted with too much prudence and moderation. But Paul IV. one of the most haughty and inflexible churchmen that ever filled the papal chair, instead of endeavouring to heal the breaches that had so long subsisted between the churches of Rome and England, behaved with all the insolence natural to his character. He declared, that the kingdom, being a fief of the holy see, it was an act of the highest presumption in Elizabeth to assume the title of queen without his concurrence; that her illegitimate birth excluded her from the right of succession; that he would annul the decree passed against the marriage of her father with Anne Boleyn; but that if she would solicit his favour, he would shew her all the indulgence she could expect from the head of the church. The queen being informed of this answer, said, that the pope, in order to gain too much, was willing to lose the whole. She accordingly recalled her ambassador, and applied herself seriously to restore a religion altogether unfavourable to the papacy. She, however, used not terrifying, but conciliating measures; nor did she withdraw her favours from a single individual of the catholic party.

The people, from the distinguished violence committed in the preceding reign, were sufficiently disposed to a change of religion; but the queen was fearful of their running into the opposite extreme, and severely retaliating on the catholics the injuries that had been inflicted on the protestants. In order, therefore, to render this change less dangerous and more durable, she imitated not the precipitate conduct of her sister; she took measures with caution, and insured her success by the rectitude of her views. She soon perceived that the protestant divines attacked, with all the virulence of religious zeal, the superstitious worship of the Roman church, and that the papists retorted upon them with equal acrimony. She therefore published a proclamation, forbidding all preaching, without a special licence, that the pulpits might not be filled with the combustibles of discord. At the same time, she introduced such a number of protestants into her council, as were sufficient to counterbalance the power of the papists, and that they exert themselves in favour of the ancient religion. She discharged from prison, or recalled from exile, those whose religion only had been their crime, and she ordered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Gospel, to be read in English. The elevation of the host was discontinued, and a greater zeal was expressed for the purification of the church of Rome.

The popish bishops were so alarmed at these measures, that (apprehending a total abolition of the papal power, together with the ceremonies of the church of Rome, would soon follow; or, perhaps fearful of offending the holy father, who had scrupled to acknowledge the queen's title, and absolutely denied her legitimacy) they resolved not to officiate at her coronation. The only person that dissented from this resolution was the bishop of Carlisle, who readily undertook to discharge the important office of crowning his sovereign.

A. D. 1559. The ceremony of the coronation being fixed for the 15th of January, her majesty, the preceding day, passed in grand procession from the Tower to Westminster, amidst the acclamations of a prodigious number of spectators. The queen's behaviour was remarkable; she returned their applauses with such a modest affability and winning behaviour as charmed the hearts of all beholders. But nothing displayed in a stronger light the religious sentiments of the citizens, or tended more to endear the new sovereign to the people, than her accepting of an English bible, richly gilt, which was let down, from a pageant in Cheapside, by a child representing Truth, who made the queen a speech on the occasion. Elizabeth received the book in both her hands; and having kissed it, held it up, and laid it on her bosom, promising to be diligent in reading it; and assuring the citizens, that she esteemed that gift more than all the costly presents they had made her. The next day she was crowned at Westminster with great solemnity; and the two following days were celebrated with jousts and tournaments.

The parliament met on the 25th of January, where both houses testified, in the most ample manner, their obedience and loyalty to the queen. After confirming her right to the crown, they acknowledged her supremacy, and gave her, under the title of head of the church, the tenths, first-fruits, and impropriations, which had been restored to the pope by queen Mary, together with all the ecclesiastical authority which her father and her brother had enjoyed, and also a power of adjusting that authority to such conditions, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, as she should think proper to nominate. Several penalties were levied on all those who refused to take the oath of supremacy. The statutes of Edward the VI. were confirmed; and the mass and liturgy of the church of Rome were abolished.

Nor did the parliament confine their attention solely to the affairs of religion. The commons, exclusive of tonnage and poundage, then considered as the property of the crown, voted new supplies to Elizabeth: they granted her a subsidy of ten shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight-pence in goods, together with two fifteenths.

Before the commons broke up, they voted an address to the queen, requesting her to fix her choice of a husband, which they supposed could not be disagreeable to a person of her age and beauty. This address, though couched in the most respectful terms, met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker, who presented it, that as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, she could not take offence at the address, or consider in any other light than as a fresh instance of their affection and regard for her; but that any farther application on this head would ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to hear as an independent prince. She farther said, that she always considered marriage as a burthen, and that while she was charged with the government of so great a kingdom, it seemed still more so; that the state was her husband, and the people of England her children; and that she did not think herself barren, nor her life unfruit-

ful, while her days were devoted to the care of such a family. She concluded with saying, that she desired no higher character, nor that a fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity, than to leave this inscription engraved on her tomb-stone, when she had paid the last debt of nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

The new liturgy was easily introduced into the churches; but all the bishops, except Landaffe, refused to take the oath of supremacy, and were deprived of their sees. The inferior clergy, however, were not in general so tenaciously addicted to the ancient tenets, as to forfeit their livings; a few only refused to take the oath required, and were deprived of their benefices. Bonner was committed to the Marshalsea, where he died in confinement. Dr. Parker was made archbishop of Canterbury, Jewel, bishop of Salisbury; Barlow, Scovell, and Coverdale, bishops under Edward, were restored to their sees, and the other vacant bishoprics were filled up with men of piety and learning.

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on at Chateau-Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain and England. The treaty was at last concluded, by which Calais was given up to Henry, who, on the other hand, engaged to restore it at the end of eight years, provided, during that time, Elizabeth did not break the peace either with France or Scotland. All men of penetration easily saw, that this stipulation was nothing more than a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen for making the sacrifice on account of the necessity of her affairs, and even extolled her prudence in submitting without farther struggle to that necessity. A peace with Scotland followed as a necessary consequence of that with France. The treaty was more honourable for the king of Spain. Henry II. restored all the places he had conquered, and gave Philip his daughter in marriage. It was also agreed that Philibert, duke of Savoy, should marry the French king's sister. The ceremonies were accordingly performed, when Henry II. was accidentally killed by a wound he received in his eye from the splinter of a lance, at a tournament held in honor of the nuptials.

His son and successor Francis II. who had married Mary, queen of Scots, was a prince void of genius and experience. He was nothing more than an instrument in the hands of the Guises, who hurried him into measures which tended to augment their ambition and vanity. By their persuasions he contested the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth, in order, at a proper opportunity, to dispute her right to the English crown. Mary took the arms and title of queen of England, and by her intimate alliance with the French nation, was considered as a formidable rival. Elizabeth saw her danger, and determined to exert all her prudence and courage to render the attempts of her enemies abortive.

The French influence was at this time so strong in the Scottish parliament, that an act passed for sending the crown of that kingdom over to France. This compliance threw the Scots into a flame; the duke of Castleherault, who was next heir to the crown, entered a solemn protest against it; and the earl of Arrian, his eldest son, loudly exclaimed against so absurd a proceeding.

In the mean time the friends of the reformation began to increase considerably, and the disturbances excited by religious disputes in Scotland now arose to the most enormous height. The protestants were headed by persons of the first distinction, particularly by the earl of Argyll, the lords Turner and Morton, and others of the nobility. These reform-

ers had sent an invitation to Knox, one of their countrymen, and a famous protestant teacher, inviting him to return from Geneva, where he then resided. Knox was one of the most extraordinary men of that age. He was born in Scotland, and had taken orders in the Romish church. His birth was mean, his education illiberal, his learning small, and his manners unpolished. But with all these disadvantages he rose above the titles bestowed by sovereigns; he became the companion of princes; and though his enthusiastic zeal carried him far beyond the bounds of decency, it was not in the power of courts to controul him. By residing long in England he had acquired the language in great perfection, and enlivened his writings with a peculiar vein of wit, always keen, and sometimes delicate. He was the first who had the art of teaching politics from the pulpit, and of erecting on the altar a battery against the crown. His ambition was too refined to be satisfied with what crowns could bestow: it could be satisfied only by the rank of a destroying angel, when it was in his power to have proved the better genius of his country. He raised, guided, and enjoyed the tempest, which reduced the Scottish churches to ruins, the independency of the state to a shadow, and the crown to beggary. He had no just notions of liberty, because he had none of order. In civil affairs he affected the spirit of a tribune, and in ecclesiastical, he exceeded even the insolence of a pope. He was a perfect master of impenetrable dissimulation; and by that deceitful acquisition, proved the most formidable enemy to the established government of his country.

Knox immediately obeyed the summons, and on his arrival in Scotland, the reformers entered into a bond of association, calling themselves, "The Congregation of the Lord," in contradistinction to the established church, which they denominated "The Congregation of Satan." The signing of this bond was followed by an open revolt from the clergy and the church of Rome. They committed ravages in various parts of the country, and the whole kingdom became one continued scene of disorder. The enthusiastic sermons preached by Knox kindled the flames of rebellion. The Romish priests were attacked, the images broken, the monasteries demolished, and every disorder was committed that could be expected from a multitude inflamed with religious madness.

The heads of these revoltors, however, soon perceived that it would be impossible to complete their project, of effectually extirpating the Romish religion, without the assistance of some foreign power. They were already distressed for want of money, and found, that the reformation of religion, however desired by the people, would not be sufficient to keep a numerous army together. The revoltors therefore, notwithstanding the inveterate hatred that subsisted between the two kingdoms, applied to Elizabeth for assistance. The court of France were at first pleased with these commotions, as they afforded a plausible pretence for sending forces into Scotland, who would be there in readiness to act against Elizabeth, and support Mary's claim to the English crown. But on receiving intelligence that the Scottish revoltors were negotiating with Elizabeth for assistance, they were greatly alarmed, and exerted all their influence to render the treaty abortive. They even offered to restore Calais, and all its dependences, if the queen would observe a strict neutrality. But Elizabeth was too prudent to be diverted from her purpose: she answered, that a small fishing town was of little consequence when compared to the security of her dominions. She dispatched Randolph into Scotland, to allure the revoltors of support, and to animate the

leaders of the congregation in their design of shaking off their subjection to Rome.

A. D. 1560. Accordingly, in the beginning of January a squadron of sixteen ships of war was fitted out under the command of vice-admiral Winter; and an army of 8000 men was ordered to rendezvous at Berwick, in order to act in concert with the fleet, and join the revoltors. The appearance of the English ships in the Forth gave new spirits to the leaders of the congregation; while the French forces, terrified at the loss of some of their ships, which Winter had destroyed in his passage up the river, retired to Leith, in order to wait the powerful reinforcement they expected from the continent. But the troubles which now broke out in France engaged the attention of the ministry, and all thoughts of invading England totally vanished.

On the 27th of February a treaty of mutual defence was signed at Berwick, between the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of England, (on the part of Elizabeth) and the leaders of the congregation; and the English received orders to join the Scottish revoltors. The combined army immediately began their march for Leith, which was immediately invested. The queen-regent retired to the castle of Edinburgh, where she soon after expired. She was a princess of great capacity, virtue, and moderation; and had the management of the affairs of Scotland been wholly intrusted to her, she would, probably, have accommodated all differences with the reformers, and preserved the nation from the miseries of a civil war.

The French, finding that all farther opposition would be in vain, desired to capitulate. The offer was accordingly accepted; and a treaty was signed at Edinburgh, whereby it was stipulated, That the French should evacuate Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ships furnished by Elizabeth; that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom; that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular should be granted Elizabeth; and that commissioners should meet to settle this point; or if they could not agree, the king of Spain should be arbiter between the two crowns. Besides these stipulations, which solely regarded England, some concessions were granted to the Scots, which the plenipotentiaries, in the name of the king and queen of France and Scotland, promised, in the treaty with Elizabeth, to observe; that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but natives should be put into any office in Scotland; that the states should name twenty-four persons, of whom the Queen and Scots should chuse seven, and the States five, for the whole administration of affairs should be committed to these twelve, during the queen's absence; and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without the content of the States.

A treaty, so glorious for Elizabeth, greatly increased her power, and extended her reputation. She became, from that moment, mistress of the hearts of the Scottish malecontents, and mistress of their hearts and fortunes. This union was still further cemented by the subsequent measures of the reformers. They assembled the parliament, without any authority or orders from Mary. As soon as the session opened, they presented a petition against the queen, in which they were represented as robbers, thieves, and traitors, that ought no longer to be tolerated. Thus the reformers adopted all the violent measures of their enemies. The parliament itself seemed to be actuated by the same spirit of rage and ambition. The mal was prohibited, under pain of death.

ification, banishment and death. The presbyterian worship, founded on the most rigid principles of Calvinism, was established; and the Roman clergy were stripped of their possessions, and banished from the kingdom.

The queen of France and Scotland, who governed her husband, and was herself governed by her uncles, the Guises, refused her consent to these measures, declared she would not ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and continued the war against Elizabeth. The reformers, however, gave themselves little concern about the refusal of their sovereign; they immediately put the statutes in execution; abolished the mass; sent their ministers; committed every where the most dreadful devastations upon the monasteries, and even the churches, which they considered as having been polluted with idolatry. The rapacity of the new preachers, could not be restrained; and fanaticism concurring with avarice, gave an incurable blow to the papal authority in Scotland.

A. D. 1561. While these things were transacting in Scotland, the fortune of Mary underwent a sudden change by the death of the king her husband, who was not yet eighteen years of age. Francis II. was succeeded by his brother Charles IX. who being only ten years old, Catherine de Medicis, his mother, was appointed regent during his minority. Mary, who had experienced nothing but mortifications from the hands of Catherine, found herself obliged to leave a country which she loved, and return to her unhappy kingdom, rent to pieces on account of religion. Accordingly she sent her ambassador to England, to demand from Elizabeth a safe conduct for herself and the ships that were to attend her. But that prince, who was highly exasperated at her refusing to sign the treaty of Edinburgh, answered, "that every part of her request should be readily granted, provided she previously ratified that convention." She added, "That she should have free liberty to pass through England, where she should be received with all the marks of affection she could expect from a sister." Mary could not retain her resentment at this refusal: she sent for Throgmorton, the English ambassador, and asked him, What offence she had committed, that Elizabeth should deny her so much a favour? "But," (added she) "I can, with your assistance, return into my own country without delay, as I came into France in spite of all the opposition of her brother Edward. I want not friends to leave me, but am willing to conduct me home, as they brought me hither, though I was desirous rather to try an experiment of her friendship than of the loyalty of any other person."

A safe conduct could not be hoped for from Elizabeth. Mary determined to run all hazards rather than to continue any longer at the French court. She accordingly repaired to Calais, attended by all her ladies, and several noblemen of the first rank in England, from whence she embarked for Scotland in the beginning of August. She seemed collected on her leaving France; she kept her post on the coast till darkness intercepted it from view. "Farewell France!" she cried, "farewell, beloved country! I shall never see thee more."

Elizabeth had fitted out a fleet of ships, in expectation of pursuing some pirates, but, from a view of intercepting the Queen of Scots on her passage. Mary, however, passed the day at sea, and reached her native kingdom in the middle of August, after an absence of nearly three years. She was received by her people with every mark of esteem, regard, and affection. Prompted, from the present appearances, to

flatter herself with the expectations of a long and happy reign.

Mary, at this time, had only reached the nineteenth year of her age; and, if the graces of youth, if the charms of beauty, if softness of soul if elegance of manners, if every amiable talent could have touched the hearts of a stubborn, unenlightened, and fanatical people, Mary would have soon become the idol of her subjects. Far from interfering in their religious sentiments, she reposed her whole confidence in the heads of the reformers, who were now the leaders of the people. But her being a papist was a sufficient provocation to the multitude. It was with the utmost difficulty she could obtain permission to celebrate mass in her own chapel. "One single mass (said the reforming ministers) is more dangerous to this kingdom than an hundred thousand armed men."

Knox, the enthusiastic and turbulent preacher, daily signified himself by fresh instances of zeal against the Catholics. He publicly called the queen Jezabel; and even went so far as to tell her to her face, in one of his sermons, That Samuel did not hesitate to hew Agag in pieces, in spite of king Saul; that Elias, in the presence of Ahab, neither spared the false prophets of Jezabel, nor the priests of Baal; that Phineas, though no magistrate, put the fornicators to death; and that others of course, though no magistrates, might legally punish those crimes which were condemned by the laws of God." All the endeavours of Mary to gain this impracticable preacher over to her interest were in vain: he rejected her offers with contempt, and continued to disseminate the seeds of revolt and rebellion. He was cited before the council, but refused to make any acknowledgment: he defended his principles without timidity, and was discharged without punishment.

Mary, finding herself surrounded with dangers from a bigotted people, determined, if possible, to maintain a good understanding with Elizabeth. In order to this, she dispatched Maitland, her secretary, to pay her respects to that prince, to signify her desire of cultivating a friendship and good correspondence with her, and requesting that she might be acknowledged her successor in the throne of England, in case she died without issue. It was hardly possible for Mary to have made a more unreasonable request, or to have urged it at a more improper juncture. Elizabeth was highly provoked, and told the Scottish ambassador, "That she was determined to live and die queen of England, and would therefore never have the mortification of seeing her subjects adore the rising sun; that to name a successor was to expose her own life to danger, to destroy the security of her government, to place a winding sheet before her, and to invite the king of terrors before his time." She added, "That she should leave it to others, after her death, to discuss the title of her successor; that she hoped the Queen of Scots claim would then be found preferable, and that she would do nothing to hurt her interest in that respect."

Though this imprudent step taken by Mary greatly contributed to increase the jealousy Elizabeth had long entertained against that prince, yet she thought proper to send Sir Peter Mennas with compliments to Mary on her safe return to her kingdom, and to insist on her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh: but Mary still eluded the demand, pretending that the affairs of Scotland were yet in too unsettled a condition for her to examine the articles of the treaty with that attention the importance of them required, as she imagined they might tend to deprive her of all hopes of succeeding to the crown of England. Elizabeth, to put the matter out of all dispute, offered to

explain the words of the treaty in such a manner as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession. But still difficulties occurred, and the treaty continued without being ratified.

Elizabeth's whole attention was now engaged in taking proper measures for the preservation and government of her kingdom. Her first business was to put the navy in a very respectable condition: she augmented the pay of her seamen; filled her magazines with arms; introduced the manufacture of gunpowder into England; ordered a great number of iron and brass pieces of ordnance to be cast; reinforced the garrison of Berwick; fortified the northern borders of her kingdom; introduced and encouraged improvements in agriculture, by permitting the exportation of corn; promoted the trade and navigation of England; regulated the national coin, which her predecessors had altered; and ordered her people to attend the exercise of arms at stated times.

The glory that attended Elizabeth's labours attracted the admiration of Europe; and she received the addresses of several princes, who were either in love with her person or her power. She amused their hopes, but always with a resolution to preserve her liberty. Self-love had, possibly, as much concern in this particular as the love of dominion. What is still more singular in her conduct, is, that though she determined never to have any heirs of her own body, she was not only averse to fix any successor to the crown, but also desirous to prevent, as far as lay in her power, any person who had the least pretension to the succession from ever having heirs. Catherine Gray, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, sister to lady Jane, and now the sole heiress of that house, was sent to the Tower, for marrying the earl of Hertford without her consent. The earl was soon after committed to the same prison, where they remained for the space of nine years, when Catherine dying, the queen was freed from all apprehensions, and the earl was again restored to his liberty.

Notwithstanding, however, Elizabeth was very severe with regard to those who had any pretensions to the throne. She was attentive to remove the oppressions of her subjects. She revoked all warrants granted to the purveyors for victualling the fleet, which were generally executed in a very vexatious manner, and issued orders, that the people should be paid in money for whatever provisions they furnished. She reformed the impositions of the exchequer; and took care that the pensions assigned to the popish clergy, on their resigning their livings, should be punctually paid. She also increased the salary of the judges, and allowed them a provision for their respective circuits. At the same time, she took care that her economy should go hand in hand with her liberality: she gave very little out of the royal demesnes, but on condition of its reverting, on default of male issue, to the crown.

A. D. 1562. The attention of Elizabeth and her council was now principally engaged by the civil commotions which had for some time raged with the greatest violence in France. After the death of Francis II. the French protestants, or Hugonots, whom that prince had persecuted with the utmost rigour, became a very formidable people, whether we consider their zeal for the reformation, their numbers, or the talents of their leaders. The prince of Conde, admiral Coligny, and his brother Andelot, were at the head of the Hugonots, and rendered their party respectable to the government. The Guises were then declared enemies, and armed against them the popish faction. Both parties assumed the mask of religion, and, under pretence of supporting the gospel of peace, carried on the most dreadful war against each other. Fourteen armies were

levied and put in motion in different parts of France: each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son; and even the women sacrificing at once their humanity and timidity to religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of ferocity and valour. Wherever the reformed, or Hugonots prevailed, the images were demolished, the altars pillaged, the churches ruined, and the monasteries destroyed. Where success attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, and obliged married persons to repeat the ceremony while plunder, desolation, and murder, attended equally the triumph of both parties.

Catherine of Medicis, the queen-regent, wishing to put an end to these civil discords, persuaded the catholics to compromise their differences with the chiefs of the Protestant party; and an edict, favourable to the reformers, was published, by which they were permitted to have places without the cities, and to perform divine service according to their religion. But this deceitful compliance served only to irritate these two irreconcilable parties. The duke of Guise, who was considered as the protector of the catholic religion, passing through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, fell upon a congregation of Hugonots, who, in consequence of the privilege granted them, were singing psalms in a barn. Above sixty of these poor defenceless people were killed, and the rest fled to the woods for shelter. The consequence of this inhuman action was a general insurrection of the protestants in almost every part of the kingdom, and the nation was divided between the duke of Guise and the prince of Conde. Catherine, fluctuating between both, attempted, but in vain, to mediate a peace between them. She was then at Paris with the young king her son, where finding herself deprived of all authority, she wrote to the prince of Conde to come to her deliverance. This letter augmented the flames of the civil war, which was carried on with the greatest inhumanity: every town was a fortified post; every street a field of battle. Anthony, king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, was obliged to serve in the army of the duke of Guise, and, with the queen mother, dragged to the siege of Rouen, where he was killed.

Philip, engaged by interest and inclination to support the catholic religion, formed a secret confederacy with the duke of Guise; and accordingly sent men to assist in suppressing the Hugonots. At this confederacy, the prince of Conde was so much offended, that he conceived it would be impossible to support against this combined party without assistance to Elizabeth for supplies both of men and money, in order to prevent the total ruin of the protestants in France. Accordingly Viduine of Cleves and Briguevant were dispatched to London to negotiate a treaty. Conde, who was possessed of the provinces of Normandy, offered to put his person and Grace into the hands of the English, on condition that Elizabeth should send three thousand men to garrison the place, together with three thousand troops to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and that the prince with an hundred thousand crowns should accept the offer, and three thousand men should be immediately sent under the command of the prince of Poitiers; but the fortifications of the place were so ruinous a condition, that the town was abandoned, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the prince of Poitiers was able to throw a small garrison into the city, having for some time been besieged by the catholics, who at last took it by storm, and sent the whole garrison to the sword. Soon after the duke of Warwick, eldest son to the duke of Norfolk, arrived at Havre, with another English

thousand English, and took upon himself the command of the place.

But these forces were not sufficient to stop the career of the catholics. And accordingly Elizabeth, who foresaw the consequence, had negotiated with the princes of Germany for a body of troops to assist the Hugonots. Dandelot, who conducted this negotiation, soon procured a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse: and the German princes were so sincere in their professions of religion, that they refused any pay for the forces, till there was a prospect of success. This reinforcement enabled the prince of Conde, who was now at Orleans, the seat of the Hugonot's power, to take the field, and oppose the progress of the enemy. He intended to march to Havre; but the catholic army, commanded by the duke of Guise and the constable Montmorency, followed the rear of the Hugonots, and forced them to a battle in the neighbourhood of Dreux. The contest was very obstinate on both sides; but at last the Hugonots thought proper to retire, though the loss was nearly equal on both sides. One particular, however, was very remarkable; the prince of Conde was taken prisoner by the catholics, and the constable Montmorency by the Hugonots. Coligni, who commanded under Conde, was not intimidated by this misfortune: he inspired his own unconquerable courage and constancy into every breast, kept forces together, and subdued some of the most considerable places in Normandy.

A. D. 1563. The assistance given by Elizabeth in favour of the Hugonots had greatly exhausted her treasury, and she found it necessary to summon a parliament. They accordingly met on the 11th of January, a few days before which the queen was seized with the small pox, and her life appeared in danger. The commons therefore presented an address to her majesty, requesting that she would either marry, or fix the succession in such a clear and explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities which it was natural to fear would result from the contests of several claims to the throne. But Elizabeth still found means to elude their application: she could not be prevailed upon to declare a successor. The parliament, however, made difficulty of granting the necessary supplies. They were very willing to support the noble designs of Elizabeth for the improvement of trade and manufactures, for the augmentation of her navy, for the suppression of vice, and for the more effectual restraining the progress of popery. They granted two subsidies and two subsidies. They also passed a bill enlarging the oath of supremacy, and those who refused to take it were to be deemed traitors.

During these transactions in England, the catholic army under the duke of Guise were carrying on the siege of Orleans with great vigour. A very considerable progress had been made in this undertaking, when the duke was assassinated by a young enthusiast, Poltrot de Mere. The duke, before he expired, expressed the deepest remorse for having made his country in the horrors of a civil war; and named the queen regent to conclude a peace as soon as possible with the Hugonots. His advice was followed, both parties were heartily tired of the contest, and soon agreed to articles of pacification. The treaty, under some restrictions, was again sent to the protestants, a general amnesty was granted. Conde was reinstated in his offices and honours, and money being advanced to pay the German troops, they were sent out of the country. Not the least regard was paid to Elizabeth's treaty, and a garrison of six thousand men supplied with provisions could not long resist the whole army of France. The earl of Warwick commanded the English garrison at Havre,

made a gallant defence, notwithstanding the many difficulties under which he laboured; but the plague breaking out among his troops, he was obliged to surrender the place. Nor did the misfortune terminate here; the garrison imported with them the pestilence, which afterwards raged with such violence in England, that above 20,000 persons died of it in London only.

Soon after Warwick's arrival in England a peace was concluded between England and France; Elizabeth received 200,000 crowns for the redemption of hostages, and the mutual pretensions of both parties still continued.

The queen being no longer engaged in foreign affairs, and a perfect tranquillity prevailing at home, she made a progress to the university of Cambridge, where she was received with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Every thing was conducted with a splendor that did honor to that celebrated seat of learning; and the queen declared her satisfaction in an elegant oration, in which she assured the university of her protection, and promised to exert her utmost endeavours for the promotion of knowledge, and the advancement of learning.

A. D. 1565. This year opened with a new scene of discontent and troubles between Elizabeth and Mary; as also between the latter and her subjects. Mary had for some time determined to marry, and the object she pitched on was lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox. This young nobleman was her cousin-german by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter to the earl of Angus by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had constantly resided, after being expelled his native country by the superior interest of the Hamiltons. Darnley was also, by his father, descended from the same family with Mary herself; and would, by marrying her, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and those who affected to deny her title, on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and to give it the preference. It was therefore considered as no inconsiderable advantage, that by espousing him, she could unite both their titles; and as he was an Englishman by birth, and could not, either by his power or alliances, give any cause or suspicion to Elizabeth, it was presumed that the proposal of this marriage could not be disagreeable to the queen of England. She, indeed, seemed to consent to this alliance; and even wrote to Mary, thanking her for her kind behaviour towards the earl of Lenox, whom that princess now treated with the most distinguished respect.

Darnley, having obtained the assent of Elizabeth, repaired to Scotland; and, by his presence, completed the conquest, which the fame of his accomplishments had already begun. He was in the flower of his age, and his appearance remarkably graceful. Mary, forgetting all her schemes of policy, listened only to the dictates of her growing passion. Elizabeth was no sooner informed that the queen of Scots was pleased with the figure and person of Darnley, and that the treaty was on the point of being concluded, than she exclaimed against the marriage, dispatched Throgmorton to Scotland, to dissuade Mary from espousing lord Darnley; ordered the earl of Lenox and his son to return immediately into England, under the severest pains and penalties the laws could inflict, and caused the countess of Lenox and her two sons, who were then in England, to be committed to the Tower.

Though Elizabeth's conduct was generally judicious, yet it was too often full of duplicity; but never did she behave with greater insincerity than in her

her transactions with the queen of Scotland. Though she now expressed so violent a resentment against the intended marriage of Mary with Darnley, she was not averse to it in her heart. She would rather, indeed, have wished that Mary had remained for ever in a single state; but as that could not be effected, she did not dislike a choice that effectually delivered her from the fear of a foreign alliance. She had, however, some strong reasons of a political nature for affecting displeasure on the present occasion; it furnished her with a plausible pretence for refusing to declare Mary her successor to the English crown, a point which she had always laboured to evade; and it gave her an opportunity of exciting a spirit of rebellion among the Scottish nobility and clergy.

As soon as Mary received advice of Elizabeth's opposition to her marriage, she justly observed to Throgmorton, that as the queen of England had already signified her desire of her marrying an English nobleman, to avoid the umbrage of her espousing a foreign prince, she had, in effect, followed her own advice; but in order to give Elizabeth time to examine the affair with more deliberation, she would defer her marriage for three months. But this concession not satisfying Elizabeth, the ceremony was performed at Edinburgh; and Mary was so pleased with her new consort, that she gave him the title of king, and added his name to her own in all public acts. But she soon perceived that his advantages of person served only to conceal a mind that was trifling, vain, ungrateful, too much occupied with self-love, too much swollen with silly pride, too much the slave of libertine folly, to be sincerely attached to the most amiable of women. Reasonably disgusted with this unworthy husband, she withdrew from him, by degrees, her confidence, and treated him with that contempt his ingratitude merited.

At this time there was in the court of Scotland one David Rezzio, a Piedmontese musician, who had raised himself to an honorable employment by his address rather than by his talents. Mary had appointed him her secretary for foreign affairs, loaded him with favours, and by reposing in him too much confidence, and giving him too much credit, empowered him to make a traffic of his patronage, and to exercise all the insolence of an upstart favourite. The king was persuaded that Rezzio was the principal cause of the queen's coolness. Jealousy ensued, and notwithstanding the disagreeable figure of the Piedmontese, he was thought to enjoy more of Mary's favour, than merely her confidence. The suspicion was ridiculous, but sufficient to make the most dreadful impressions on a heart already inflamed. The malecontents among the nobility added fuel to the flame of his jealousy; and persuaded him to expostulate with the queen on her too great intimacy with this Italian favourite. Secure in conscious innocence, the queen treated these insinuations with the contempt they merited, and in order to convince her unworthy consort that in exalting him she meant not to divest herself of any part of her authority, she ordered his name to be omitted on the coin, and to be placed after her own in all public acts, which before she had ordered to take the precedence.

A. D. 1566. Darnley, inflamed with rage, and incapable of curbing the violence of his passion, vowed the most severe revenge against Rezzio, and the dissatisfied nobility offered to assist him in his design, and to be themselves the executors of his vengeance. The ninth of March was the day fixed for this sanguinary purpose, and the necessary precautions were taken to prevent the design from being rendered abortive. Mary, who was then in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private with her natu-

ral sister, the countess of Argyle, and David Rezzio. The king entered the apartment by a private passage, and placed himself at the back of Mary's chair; the lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators rushed in after him. Terrified with this appearance, the queen demanded the reason for so sudden an intrusion. They told her, that not the least violence was intended against her person; they meant only to bring that villain (pointing to Rezzio) to the punishment he so justly deserved. Aware of his danger, Rezzio ran behind his mistress, and seizing her waist, called aloud to her for protection; while the interposed in his behalf with cries, menaces, and entreaties. But all her efforts were in vain, the impatient assassins rushed upon their prey; and by overturning the table, greatly increased the horror and confusion of this dreadful scene. Douglas seized Darnley's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rezzio, who screaming with fear and agony, was dragged into an anti-chamber, and his body pierced with no less than fifty-six wounds.

Mary's conduct on this occasion was directed by the most distinguished prudence. After paying a decent tribute of grief to the memory of the man she had honoured with her confidence, she dried up her tears, and employed her mind wholly on meditating a severe revenge; while the assassins, conscious of their own guilt, and dreading the resentment of the sovereign, detained her a prisoner in the palace, dismissing all who might have attempted her escape. In this alarming situation, she determined to pacify those noblemen who had opposed her government, in order to secure herself against the malice of the assassins, whom she now considered as her most moderate enemies. They readily accepted the offer, returned to court, and the assassins of Rezzio were obliged to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. Darnley declared himself innocent of the murder of Rezzio, and that he sincerely repented of having given countenance to the perpetrators of so heinous a crime.

Soon after this event Mary was delivered of a son, whose fortune it was to unite the crowns of England and Scotland. Sir James Melvill was sent to the court of Elizabeth to inform her of this happy event, and was received with great politeness by the queen. She thanked him for the dispatch he had made in bringing her such agreeable intelligence, and expressed the most cordial friendship for the Scottish queen. She soon after sent the earl of Bedford, George Carey, son to the lord Huntingdon, to assist at the baptism of the young prince.

The birth of a son contributed greatly to increase the zeal of Mary's partizans in England; and persons of all ranks began to be impatient for the accomplishment of the succession; but Elizabeth pressed on that subject, eluded the question, pretending she had some thoughts of marrying the archduke of Austria. Several of Mary's friends, however, advised Melvill to make the proper representations to the queen. He followed their instructions, but with the utmost circumspection in this delicate affair. By her majesty he was well assured that she had not layed declaring his mistress's presumption, and that the crown of England, merely to wait till the fatal issue of her body. And as that danger was fortunately removed, he hoped her majesty would no longer defer granting the desire of her subjects, who wished to see one point settled, and in which the title of his sovereign, who would never be placed on right in England, but by her assistance. The queen answered, that the birth of a prince was a strong inducement to her to use diligence in making a final disposition of the crown, that she was persuaded the right belonged to her.

sister of Scotland, in whose favour she heartily wished it might be decided;" but added, "that she should defer making any declaration till the young prince was baptized, when she would certainly satisfy the queen in that particular." Melvill considered this answer as a mere evasion, which was truly evinced by the future conduct of the queen.

About autumn Elizabeth made a progress to Oxford, where she displayed her great knowledge and love of literature. She addressed the university in an elegant Latin speech, in which she recommended the most assiduous attention to the instruction of youth committed to their care. And during her stay in that famous seat of the muses, she displayed such a lively concern for the prosperity of literature, and the welfare of the university, that the members were enraptured with her government, and ever after made her the sole arbiter of all their disputes.

A few days after the queen's return from Oxford, the parliament met at Westminster, and once more determined to address her, either to marry, or settle the succession. Accordingly Mr. Molynæus made a motion, that the affair of the subsidy, which had already been moved by secretary Cecil, might go hand in hand with that of the succession. The majority declared in support of the motion; but the members of the privy council, who knew how disagreeable the subject would be to Elizabeth, opposed it with all their influence. They informed the house that they had authority to assure them, that the queen would marry as soon as she could find a prince deserving her affection; that the appointing a successor would expose her person to the most imminent danger; and that she was therefore determined to delay the decision of that important subject to a more favourable opportunity. But these reasons not being satisfactory to the members, they resumed the subject with some warmth; several of them spoke with great freedom. Elizabeth was alarmed, and sent a message to Sir Francis Knolles, expressly commanding them to proceed no farther in that affair; but to rest satisfied with her promise to marry. Paul Wentworth, a member who nobly supported the cause of liberty, made a motion, and put the question, whether such prohibition was not an infringement on the liberties and privileges of that house? This brought on very warm debates; and Elizabeth repeated her commands, against their proceeding any farther in that matter. But this order, instead of silencing the members, increased their ardour; the whole house was in a flame, and such strong symptoms of disgust appeared, that the queen was obliged to retract her orders, and allow the house free liberty of debate. In consequence of this the speakers delivered their thoughts with more calmness and temper; and even voted the supply without any condition. As it appeared to have been given with a view of obliging her consent to fix the succession, the remembrance of it, declaring, that the money of her subjects might as well be in their own pockets as in the treasury. She was, however, far from being pleased with the spirited behaviour of the commons, and on the put an end to the session, she severely rebuked the members in her speech from the throne, and advised them never to put her patience to such a trial for the future.

Of these transactions in England, the Netherlands were agitated with those alarming convulsions, which at last gave liberty to a very considerable part of the country. Soon after Philip had quitted these shores, in order to reside in Spain, the discontent and tumult arrived at such a height, that it was impossible for him to continue long in their present situation. This universal dissatisfaction flowed from the same cause. The people were persuaded that the

king intended to abolish the small remains of their liberties and privileges, and to erect on their ruins the throne of despotic power. The establishment of bishoprics alarmed many of the principal families, as the jurisdiction and revenues of the abbies, in which they were nearly concerned, were greatly lessened. The inquisition, which was going to be established in these provinces, caused an universal alarm, that bloody tribunal being little less abhorred by the catholics than by the protestants themselves. The states had been prohibited from assembling; and a project was formed by the king for extirpating the reformed religion, which had now a multitude of professors. These measures, which were on the point of being established, set the provinces in a flame. They had, for several years, petitioned the governors to assemble the states, in order to avert the storm which threatened the destruction of their country. Their request was always rejected, and often with contumacious language. This strange behaviour railed the resentment of the people. The prince of Orange, with the counts of Egmont and Horne, withdrew from the council, and joined in a petition to the king. The cardinal de Glauville, who directed all the measures of the government, had rendered himself so odious, that the most violent attempts were to be feared, if he filled any longer the seat of power. Philip, whose pride would not suffer him to recall the cardinal, advised him to withdraw. The cardinal obeyed, and the nobles resumed their seats at the council-board. This point being obtained, they exerted themselves to prevent the establishment of the inquisition, which they considered as one of the greatest misfortunes that could attend any people. They formed associations; and the protestants celebrated divine service openly, notwithstanding all the threats of the government. From this moment Philip considered the people of the Low Countries as rebels, while they looked upon him as an unjust and arbitrary sovereign. Such was the beginning of the troubles in the Netherlands, and in which the English were afterwards very intimately engaged.

A. D. 1567. This year opened with the most alarming commotions in Scotland, occasioned by the earl of Bothwell, who had for some time been in great credit with Mary. He was always sincerely attached to her family and person, and had performed signal services to both. His courage and conduct as a soldier were unquestionable, and he bore an utter hatred to the English against whom he had been a great and successful commander on the borders where his own estate lay. He had been for some years banished through the influence of the earls of Arran and Murray, but had been recalled by Mary, and pardoned. His figure was manly, though now advancing to the decline of life: he was equally gallant in the court as in the field; and he possessed that openness of manners, which, with his experience in life, rendered him to both sexes an agreeable companion.

A man of such a character could not be well resisted by the gloomy reformers of Scotland; and this very circumstance, perhaps, served to rivet him in Mary's esteem. He had now acquired such an ascendancy over that princess, that all her measures were directed by his advice. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies and familiarities between them, and these reports gained more credit, as the hatred of Mary towards her husband seemed rather to increase than diminish. Even Darnley himself was reduced to such a state of desperation, that he had secretly provided a vessel, in order to pass over to the continent, while several of the nobility, perceiving there were no hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between them, proposed some expedients for obtaining a divorce, but so many difficulties arose, chiefly

with regard to the young prince's legitimacy, that it was laid aside. The king, convinced that it was in vain ever to hope to recover the favour he had lost, retired to Glasgow, where he was seized with an illness of a very extraordinary nature.

Mary's enemies, who took every opportunity of blackening her character, imputed her husband's disease to a dose of poison administered to him with her own hand. But whatever truth there might be in this report, Mary seemed greatly alarmed. She repaired to Glasgow, paid him a visit, and behaved with the utmost tenderness; forgetting, in the duty she owed him as a wife, the causes of resentment he had given her as his sovereign. This behaviour of the queen gave the greatest pleasure to all who wished she might retrieve her character, especially when it was known that she had brought the king with her to Edinburgh. The queen herself resided in the palace of Holyrood-house; but as the situation of that place was unhealthy, and the noise of a court not well adapted to persons in sickness, it was thought proper to fit up apartments for him in a house at some distance from the city, called the Kirk Field. Here the queen continued her visits, and behaved in the most endearing manner. She even lay several nights in a room below Darnley's chamber. But on the ninth of February, Mary told the king, that she intended to sleep that night in the palace, in order to be present at the marriage of one of her maids of honour. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city was alarmed with a violent noise; and every face wore the aspect of astonishment, when it was known that it was occasioned by the blowing up of the house where the king resided. Darnley's body was found at some distance, without any marks either of fire, contusion, or violence; but not the least doubt was made by any, that the king had been murdered; and Bothwell was generally considered as the author of that atrocious crime.

Mary seemed to be inconsolable on this occasion: she appeared to have devoted herself wholly to grief. The earl of Lenox loudly demanded justice on the murderers of his son; and accused Bothwell, and several others, as the persons who had committed the regicide. Placards, were secretly affixed on the walls in various parts of the city, accusing Bothwell as the principal author, and that Mary herself was privy to the bloody deed. Voices were also heard in the streets of Edinburgh during the stillness of the night, imputing to Mary and Bothwell the death of the late king. Whatever reasons there might be for delaying that the sanguinary act might be consigned to oblivion, the court was soon convinced, that it was absolutely necessary to make some enquiry; and that Bothwell and his associates, accused by the earl of Lenox, should undergo a legal trial: but, at the same time, care was taken that no evidences should appear against him. Fifteen days only were allowed the earl of Lenox for making good his charge against Bothwell, though he lived at a great distance from the court; and though he conjured the queen, for the sake of vindicating her own honour, to employ more leisure and deliberation in determining a question of such importance to the whole kingdom. Lenox finding all his attempts to put off the trial were in vain, sent one of his retinue to protest, in his name, against the acquittal of the criminal, finding it would be impossible, in so short a time, to collect the witnesses sufficient to prove the charge against so powerful a nobleman. No regard was, however, paid to this protest, and Bothwell, after a short trial, was honourably acquitted.

These proceedings were far from satisfying the people, and, instead of exculpating Bothwell, tended rather to prove his guilt. "Why (it was asked)

should a person, innocent of the crime he is accused of, endeavour to precipitate the trial? The witnesses themselves, if any are produced, will tend to clear his character; and every enquiry will withdraw part of the veil of calumny and detraction." The murder of the king was, however, only a prelude to the crimes of Bothwell. He forcibly carried off the queen, as she was going to see her son, and conveyed her to the castle of Dunbar, with an intent to marry her. It was generally suspected that the whole transaction was managed in concert with the queen; and some of the nobility, in order to discover the truth, sent her a private message, assuring her, that if she lay under any constraint, they would exert all their power for her relief. She answered, that she had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but had been treated with so much kindness since her arrival, that she willingly remained with Bothwell. The nobility were now sufficiently convinced that the matter had been previously planned between them, and gave themselves no farther concern about her captivity. A few days after, Bothwell received a pardon, not only for this violence, but for all other crimes he had ever committed.

Mary's thoughts were now engaged in effecting a marriage with Bothwell; but this seemed to be attended with an insuperable difficulty. That nobleman had been married, about six months before, to a lady of great merit and noble family; and it was necessary to set this marriage aside. Villany is always fertile in expedients. The cause was pleaded with success in two spiritual courts, the catholic and the protestant. The first decided in his favour from reasons of consanguinity, alledged by Bothwell; the latter from reasons of adultery, alledged by his wife. Craig, the minister of Edinburgh, received orders to publish the bans of the queen's marriage, which he nobly refused. He even exhorted all those who had access to her person, to give her their advice against so scandalous an alliance. But all his endeavours were in vain, the queen persisted in her intention to marry Bothwell, and the ceremony was performed by the bishop of Orkney. Very few lords attended notwithstanding many of them had signed a petition for her marrying Bothwell; and even the French ambassador, though a dependant on the Duke of Guise, could not be prevailed upon to condescend to the marriage by his presence.

This event disgraced Mary in the eyes of all her subjects: her subjects beheld her with horror. Suspicious she lay under with regard to her being a complice in the death of the king, they were determined to have him acquitted, a marriage so contrary to decency, negotiated by means so odious, and considerations seemed to confirm, that Mary's slave of her passion for Bothwell, was the patent of his crime.

Bothwell's iniquity was augmented by his conduct. He treated the queen herself with the most insolent tyranny; and endeavoured to make himself master of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of lord Fife, lately created earl of Moray, but he nobly refused to part with his charge. This attempt alarmed the whole nation, and the nobility, by whom Bothwell was hated, bearing intolerance, met at Stirling, and took an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the murderers of the late king to condign punishment. They soon collected a considerable number of men, and marched, with the utmost diligence, to surprize the queen and Bothwell in Holyrood-house. Their attempt had certainly been successful, had not one of their number informed the queen of their

their design. She slighted not the notice she had received, but made her escape, with Bothwell, to the castle of Brothwick, which the associated lords resolved immediately to besiege. Bothwell fled to the Marches at the appearance of the enemy; and the queen escaped, in man's cloaths, to the castle of Dunbar, which was capable of holding out till her friends could come to her assistance. Had Mary continued in Dunbar, the army of the associated lords must have been dispersed for want of pay; but being joined by a considerable number of troops, she imprudently took the field against her rebellious subjects, and marched to Preston, where she was joined by Bothwell. She soon perceived that his presence was of no advantage to her cause; for on meeting the forces of the enemy at Carberry Hill, they refused to fight in defence of a man who was universally considered as the murderer of the late king. Mary was now obliged to have recourse to negotiation, and Bothwell, perceiving that the authority of the queen was no longer able to protect him, made his escape to Dunbar, and thence passed over into Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died in the most abject distress.

Mary, minding all hopes of resistance were vanished, took the fatal resolution of submitting to her enemies, and was conducted to Edinburgh amidst the insults of the populace. A banner was carried before her, on which was painted the murder of her husband, and her son in tears, imploring the vengeance of heaven. She was not permitted to continue long at Edinburgh: the conspirators sent her, under a strong guard, to the castle of Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray. This castle was situated on a small island in the middle of a lake, and accessible only by a boat. The captive queen was treated with the utmost cruelty, without a single friend to comfort her in this scene of distress.

The sufferings of the unhappy princess affected Elizabeth, and she resolved to employ all her authority to alleviate her misfortunes, and reduce her rebellious subjects to reason. She dispatched Throgmorton to Scotland, with orders to enquire into the situation of Mary, and to promise her all the assistance in her power. At the same time, he was also sent to demand of the conspirators the liberation of their sovereign, and, in case of refusal, threaten them with the resentment of his mistress.

The associated lords, who were determined to see Mary, refused the English ambassador access to her person; and obliged the unfortunate queen to sign a declaration, whereby she resigned the crown to her son, who was proclaimed in Edinburgh on the 1st of June of James VI. and crowned at Stirling on the 1st of July. They also forced her to sign a declaration, by which the earl of Murray, her natural brother, and one of the principal promoters of the reformation in Scotland, was appointed to govern the minority of the young king.

One of these instruments, however, was omitted to procure Mary her liberty. The conspirators feared the consequence of the return of the queen to the people at the sight of majesty in distress.

Murray, therefore, summoned a parliament, and, after voting the queen an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to perpetual imprisonment, ratified the instruments she had signed, acknowledged her son for their king, and elected a regent. But though no difficulties occurred in the parliament, many of the nobility were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the conspirators. The earl of Bothwell had tended greatly to alienate the feelings of the virtuous part of the nation, the friends of Mary were commiserated, and a powerful

party was formed for supporting the cause of distressed majesty.

A. D. 1568. The endeavours of Mary's partisans would, in all probability, have been rendered abortive, had it not been for George Douglas, (brother to the lord of Lochleven) who was so affected at the melancholy situation of Mary, and so captivated with her charms, that he determined, if possible, to effect her escape. He found means to steal the keys of the castle from his brother's chamber, and, while the family were engaged in their devotions, opened the gates, conveyed her into a small boat, and rowed her ashore. The news of her escape was soon known to her friends, who conveyed her to Hamilton, where she was joined by a great number of the nobility. A bond of association was immediately signed for her defence, and Mary, in a few days, found herself at the head of a very considerable army.

In consequence of this she dispatched Bethune, a person of abilities, and one that had been very instrumental in her release, with a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the happy change in her circumstances, and requesting a body of troops to assist her in reducing her rebel subjects. Mary intended to retire to the strong castle of Dumbarton, in order to wait the arrival of the succours expected from England. She also took some steps towards opening a negotiation with Murray. But the regent refused to listen to any terms of accommodation that tended to divest him of the power he had acquired by usurpation; and both parties prepared to decide the contest by the sword. The regent could collect no more than four thousand men; but notwithstanding the inferior number of his army, he took the field against his sovereign. The two armies met on the thirteenth of May, at Langside, near Glasgow; and a battle was fought in which Mary's forces were totally defeated. The unhappy princess fled with great precipitation, attended by a few friends, to the borders of England. A consultation was now held with regard to the measures she ought to pursue as they would, in all probability, determine her future happiness or misery. It was hoped, that the late interposition of Elizabeth in favour of the Scottish queen, would induce her to assist her effectually in her distress; and it was therefore determined to pass over into England. Accordingly the queen, attended by a small retinue of seventeen persons, landed at Workington in Cumberland, and was conducted with great pomp to the castle of Carlisle, where she was received by the governor of that fortress with the most distinguished respect.

No sooner was Mary landed in England, than she dispatched a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the unfortunate issue of the battle of Langside, and beseeching that assistance she had promised her against her rebellious subjects. Elizabeth received the letter with astonishment, and had she been left to follow the dictates of her own mind at that instant she would certainly have complied with the request of the Scottish queen; but she was cautioned against the danger of suffering the failing of humanity to prevail over the dictates of prudence. She, however, dispatched lord Scroop, warden of the Marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice chamberlain, to pay her compliments to Mary, and to take care that she was treated with all the respect due to her high rank and dignity.

In the meantime a privy council being assembled, great debates ensued on the manner of proceeding with regard to the Scottish princess. To detain her in England might, it was thought, be attended with many disagreeable circumstances, and to lead her to France with still more. Humanity would not permit her

her being delivered into the hands of her rebellious subjects. At last it was agreed by the majority, that she should be detained a prisoner, till she had made satisfaction for having assumed the title and arms of England, and proved her innocence with regard to the murder of her husband.

Mary had certainly entered England without leave from Elizabeth, or procuring any safe conduct; and from this circumstance, it was determined by the council, that she was actually a prisoner of war. It cannot be denied, that a sovereign has power to seize a foreign prince, who enters his dominions without a safe conduct; but there are cases wherein that right deviates into justice. In this instance, the circumstances were remarkably favourable. Mary had been forced out of her dominions by her rebellious subjects, and obliged to take refuge in the first place that offered. She had no time for choice; she must either submit to those who fought her life, or take shelter in the country of a friend and ally. She had also received assurances of assistance from Elizabeth; so that if the detaining her a prisoner was not contrary to the law of nations, it was at least repugnant to the dictates of humanity.

Elizabeth's mind was so agitated that she knew not in what manner to proceed: political prudence, and her natural generosity contended with each other. The former at last prevailed; she followed the advice of her council, and informed the queen of Scots, that notwithstanding her friendship for her, she could not, with any degree of decency, either see or support her, till she should be cleared of the crimes of which she was accused. Mary answered, that she would willingly justify herself before a princess whom she considered as a sister. But Elizabeth reflected that should she sit in person as a judge, and pronounce any sentence, it would produce many difficulties: the royal dignity would be wounded when majesty itself submitted to punishment. She therefore declined the office, but offered to send two noblemen, as her commissioners, to hear the mutual charges between her and her subjects. Mary accepted the offer, and Elizabeth wrote immediately to Murray, charging him in a very peremptory manner, to desist from any further hostilities against the friends of the queen of Scots, and to appear in person to vindicate his conduct with regard to his sovereign, before the commissioners, who were appointed to sit at York for that purpose.

Murray was equally surprized and offended at this peremptory message; but having always been an abject slave to the English, and his domestic enemies being now both numerous and powerful, he determined to obey the commands of Elizabeth, as the only person from whom he could hope for assistance. This resolution was, however, strongly opposed in the council, by the most judicious of his party. They represented that it would cast an indelible stain on himself and his country should he accuse his lawful and native sovereign before a foreign court of judicature; before persons who were professed enemies to the Scottish nation. But their arguments were urged in vain. Murray was not to be diverted from his purpose; he passed into England, attended by the earl of Morton, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Lindley, and the abbot of Dunfermling.

At first Mary's cause appeared triumphant. Murray flattered himself that if her honour was not impeached, she might be prevailed upon to accept of reasonable terms of accommodation; whereas if he accused her of being an accomplice in the murder of Darnley, and she should afterwards re-ascend the throne, inevitable death must be the consequence. This accusation being omitted, the answers of the queen to the arguments of her adversaries were ex-

tremely plausible: "How could she suspect, said her advocate, that Bothwell was the murderer of her husband, after he had been legally tried and acquitted and after the nobility themselves had solicited her to marry him? If he was guilty, she desired he might be punished; she appealed to the laws of her country and they found him innocent. As to her resignation of the crown, it was evidently an act of constraint and consequently null and void. By what right, or on what pretence, could the Scots revolt from their allegiance, throw their queen into prison, give her battle, and place her successor on the throne. These are confessedly acts of rebellion, and punished as such in every well-governed state."

The force of these arguments was clearly discerned by Murray, who was now convinced, that he must either give up the contest, or accuse his sovereign as the murderer of her husband. He chose the latter and being assured that if Mary's crime was proved in a satisfactory manner, Elizabeth would immediately declare against her, and give him every restoration and protection he could desire, he produced proofs in support of the most horrid accusations. These were love-letters written by Mary to Bothwell, and a promise of marriage signed by the hand of that infamous seducer. From these papers it was sufficiently evident, that all the crimes committed by Bothwell, the murder of the king, and forcibly carrying off the queen, had been concerted with her majesty.

Mary's commissioners were astonished when they perceived that Murray had produced testimonies which could not be answered, unless they could prove the papers were forged. They therefore changed their system; they desired that Elizabeth would bestow an accommodation; and on being informed that the accusations exhibited against Mary must first be obviated, they broke off the conferences. Her friends of Mary have laboured to prove that the famous letters were forged, and many volumes have been written with that intention. The subject is however, too dilute, nor indeed is it necessary to discuss the arguments that have been offered, either in support of the authenticity of these letters, or to it suffice to say, that from a candid examination of the circumstances advanced to prove them forged, they appear weak and inconclusive.

Elizabeth used her utmost endeavours to prevail on Mary to continue the conferences, but without effect. That princess remained inflexible, and even accused Murray and other commissioners of being the murderers of her husband; but produced none against them. Elizabeth offered to bury what was past in oblivion and negotiate a reconciliation with her subjects, provided she would renounce the throne, and suffer the direction of affairs to be in the hands of Murray during the minority of the young prince. But Mary rejected the proposal with disdain. "My last words," answered she, "shall be the words of the queen of Scotland."

While Murray was absent, the Hamiltons and earl of Huntley, who were still in arms, retained possession of Glasgow, with a body of five hundred men, intending to march forward, and meet the regent in his return from England. Murray, on being informed of this, had recourse to another expedient. He sent Sir Robert Melvill to Mary with proposals for a cessation of hostilities between the two parties in Scotland. She answered that her repugnance to a marriage should give way to the public good, and that she should be ready to receive any proposals that might be recommended by her parliament, and to conclude peace with the rebels; but at the same time she would give no definitive answer till she should see liberty, and restored to the throne of her father.

She, however, agreed to send orders to the lords of her party to suspend hostilities against Murray till further orders. This was the sole point the regent had in view; he took advantage of the queen's order, and returned to Scotland in safety.

A. D. 1569. Mary now pressed Elizabeth either to enable her to regain possession of her kingdom, or to suffer her to retire into France and seek other resources. Elizabeth was exasperated to the highest degree by some letters which Mary had wrote to her friends in Scotland, which, being intercepted were put into her hands. She therefore evaded complying with Mary's requests, and that unfortunate princess, whose wit and insinuating graces might have created her interest in too many hearts, was removed, on the 18th of January, to Tutbury castle, in Staffordshire, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury.

The duke of Norfolk, however, still pursued his design of marrying Mary. He was greatly beloved by the people, and the first nobleman in England in point of birth and fortune. He was passionately fond of the Scottish queen, but, fearful of concluding a treaty of that importance without the consent of his sovereign, he consulted the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Suffex, Pembroke, and Southampton, who all agreed in advising him to proceed. The principal nobility and gentry engaged to support him; and the lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Langmorton joined his interest with great cordiality. It was now agreed to open the affair to the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite. He approved the design, and wrote to Mary, recommending the duke of Norfolk for a husband, and stipulating the following articles for the advantage of both kingdoms: "That Mary should attempt nothing in consequence of her pretensions to the English crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or her posterity; that she should confirm the present established religion in Scotland, and grant a free pardon to such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her." Mary readily gave her consent to these proposals, which seemed to open a path to liberty, and the recovery of the crown of her ancestors.

Geoffrey secretary of state to Elizabeth, having got intelligence of the intended marriage, communicated it to his mistress, who one day told Norfolk to take care on what pillow he laid his head. She afterwards told the duke, upbraided him sharply for pretending to engage in a treaty without her knowledge, and commanded him upon his allegiance, to proceed no farther. The duke promised to obey her commands; but retired from court without taking leave, and repaired to his seat in Norfolk. He was so dearly beloved in that country, that he could easily command a considerable army in his defence; but his loyalty would not permit him to take up arms against his sovereign. He set out on his return to court, but was arrested at St. Albans and sent to the Tower. All who had been privy to the design were also taken into custody; but as they unanimously declared, that the marriage had been proposed by Murray, and that it was never intended to be concluded without Elizabeth's consent, they were at liberty.

The people had been universally alarmed at the proposal of so many of the nobility, and several public assemblies were held in the north, where Mary was the idol of the people. Lord Suffex, president of York, was not ignorant of these meetings, of the inclination of the northern inhabitants, sent for the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who thought proper to pay no regard to the summons; but being alarmed of their dangerous views to arms without waiting for a supply of men

and money, which they had been promised by the duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands. The insurgents proceeded immediately to Durham, tore the bible and common prayer book in the public market-place, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and caused mass to be openly celebrated in an assembly of above six thousand persons. The rebel army now became very numerous, and a party of 500 horse were detached to release the queen of Scotland from her confinement in Tutbury castle; but that princess having been removed to Coventry before their arrival, the expedition miscarried. The insurgents soon after made themselves masters of Bernard-castle, and Hartpook, the latter of which they strongly fortified.

While part of their forces, amounting to about 15,000 foot and 2,000 horse, were employed in these operations, the rest, formed into small detachments, over-ran all Yorkshire; the royal army, commanded by the earl of Suffex, being too weak to prevent their ravages. But the chiefs of the rebels finding it impossible to furnish money sufficient to pay their troops, the army dispersed. Northumberland fled into Scotland, where he was seized by the regent, and committed to the castle of Lochleven. But the earl of Westmoreland was more fortunate; he found means to pass over into Flanders, where he lived on a small pension settled on him by the Spanish monarch.

A. D. 1570. This year was opened by a circumstance that greatly facilitated the already disturbances that subsisted between the English and Scots. The earl of Murray, regent of that kingdom, was assassinated on the 23d of January by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, who gave no other reason for his conduct than obtaining revenge for a private injury he had received from the earl.

From this remarkable event Scotland was again thrown into its former anarchy. No sooner was the death of the regent known, than a considerable body of Scots entered England, and committed ravages which equalled in cruelty those of the most barbarous times. This expedition seems to have been undertaken merely to provoke the English to revenge these affronts on all the Scots in general; and by that means to revive the ancient enmity between the two people, and unite all the inhabitants of Scotland against their southern neighbours. But they were mistaken in their politics; Elizabeth was too cautious to be deceived by so ill-concerted a scheme: she declared, that she did not think the party that supported the government concerned in the late unprecedented insult upon her subjects, nor inclined to think the whole nation criminal. She even offered her assistance to restore the government to its former vigour, and to redress the disorders that had been committed by Mary's friends. She added, that should her friendly offers be rejected, she was sufficiently prepared to do herself justice, and take a severe revenge on those who had wantonly, and without the least provocation, insulted her crown and dignity.

This declaration, which was delivered by Randolph, the English ambassador, to an assembly of the states, disconcerted all the measures of Mary's friends: they were not prepared with an answer, and obtained a farther time for that purpose. During this interval, both parties exerted all their abilities to gain the ascendant. Elizabeth collected an army to give weight to her counsels; and her ambassador artfully cherished the divisions in Scotland, while he seemed to be labouring to promote an union between the two parties. Mary's friends had recourse to the most provoking sarcasms upon Elizabeth and her council, in order to urge them to a general rupture. At the same time, they expected considerable assistance from

France and Spain, to enable them to oppose, with more probability of success, the attempts of the party supported by the English.

The earl of Suffex, who commanded Elizabeth's army, received orders to march into Scotland, in order to revenge the injuries suffered by the English, and to influence the election of a regent. But before he arrived in that kingdom, he was recalled by an agreement with the queen of Scots, who stipulated, that no foreign troops should be introduced into Scotland; and that the English rebels, who had taken refuge in that kingdom, should be delivered up by her partizans. The earl of Lenox was soon after chosen regent in an assembly of the states, and Randolph received orders to maintain a correspondence with him.

Elizabeth, notwithstanding these instances of partiality to Mary's enemies, still continued her ambiguous conduct, and maintained the appearance of friendship with that unfortunate princess. At the request of the bishop of Ross, Mary's ambassador, joined with the pressing instances of some foreign powers, Elizabeth procured a suspension of arms between the Scottish factions; and by that means checked the progress of the regent's party, when they were on the point of gaining very considerable advantages over their opponents. By this variable conduct, Elizabeth artfully fed the flames of civil discord in Scotland, and rendered the whole country a scene of horror and desolation.

A. D. 1571. The attention of the English was now engaged by the affairs on the continent, where the most dreadful ravages were committed, and whole cities laid waste by religious wars. The prince of Conde was slain at the battle of Jarnac: and his son, with the young prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. placed at the head of the Hugonots. The admiral Coligni, always unfortunate, but always formidable in his misfortunes, constantly supported the protestant party against the royal forces, headed by the ambitious Henry de Guise. Elizabeth saw the necessity of supporting the Hugonots, whose interests were connected with her own, notwithstanding her hatred of all rebellion, and every species of opposition to the will of the sovereign. Soon after, the whole army of the insurgents was defeated at Moncontour, in Poitou, and the admiral himself dangerously wounded. The loss of this battle seemed to have put a final period to the attempts of the Hugonots; and the court of France, persuaded that the force of the rebels was totally annihilated, neglected to make any farther preparations against an enemy whom they thought could never be more dangerous. But they were mistaken. Coligni appeared in another quarter of the kingdom, at the head of so powerful an army, that even the capital itself was in danger. It was now thought proper to have recourse to negotiation; and a treaty was soon concluded, in which liberty of conscience, and a pardon for their revolt, were once more granted them.

The low countries felt much more severely than France the dreadful effects of superstitious tyranny. Philip was determined to rule those commercial provinces with a despotic power, and employed a man well qualified to execute his tyrannical design. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, was the man selected by Philip for this purpose. He had been educated in a camp; and having obtained a consummate knowledge of the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all governments the severe discipline of an army. This general, about three years since, had conducted into the Low Countries, from Italy, a powerful body of veteran Spanish forces. The Flemings, who were no strangers to his ferocious character, and the inveterate hatred he entertained against them, were struck with consternation. Nor

were they terrified in vain. The military execution of that unfeeling nobleman are shocking to humanity and will hand down his name with infamy to the latest posterity. All the privileges of that people were abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the counts of Egmont and Home notwithstanding all their merits and past services, were brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all rank were thrown into prison, and thence delivered over to the hand of the executioner. He met with no resistance; the people submitted to his power; but this was not sufficient to satisfy his slavish purposes, he proceeded in his career of cruelty; and nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture and death.

Driven to despair, great numbers of the Fleming took refuge in England, where they were protected by Elizabeth, and where they established their manufactures, for which they had been long famous. It was impossible for the violent government of Alva to be of any long continuance, without exciting some dreadful commotion. Elizabeth declared, she could not behold the destruction of a whole people without affording them assistance. She accordingly seized a large sum of money which some Genoese merchants were sending to Alva, for the payment of his forces. This reduced him to have recourse to the most oppressive measures, which still farther animated the Flemings against the Spanish government.

Alva, exasperated at the proceedings of Elizabeth, determined if possible, to raise disturbances in England. He accordingly opened a secret correspondence with Mary, queen of Scots, by means of one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had resided many years in London, and managed all the intrigues between the catholics and the court of Rome. It was agreed that a powerful army of Spanish troops should be landed in England, and at the same time an insurrection should be excited in the heart of the kingdom. But Alva was persuaded that the attempt would not possibly succeed unless some English nobleman of authority could be found to head the insurgents and inspire them with courage; and no person appeared so proper for this purpose as the duke of Norfolk. Mary, who was now sufficiently convinced of Elizabeth's duplicity, and despaired of ever recovering her crown or even her liberty, by pacific means, readily embraced the offer: while Norfolk, anxious to recover the favour of Elizabeth, agreed to all the promise he had made of breaking off all correspondence with Mary. He engaged in this conspiracy; the promise of marriage was given between them; but he still flattered himself that there was nothing criminal in his actions, and that it was, that of obtaining the queen's consent to the captive princess. In consequence of this consent, three letters were written in his name. Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain, but Norfolk declined being desirous of delivering Mary from confinement, refused to sign them. He could only refer to the Spanish ambassador, to vouch for their authenticity. The scheme was embraced with ardour by Alva and the pope, and every thing began to wear a very promising aspect.

These proceedings could not long remain secret, in to prying a court as that of Elizabeth. It was indeed, beyond the reach of the queen's spies, but one Baley, a servant to the queen, whom Rodolphi had dispatched with letters to the bishop of Ross, the duke of Norfolk, and Lord Lumley, was seized at Dover in 1571, on his landing, and the letter sent to lord

vernor of the cinque ports; who being a friend to the duke of Norfolk, suffered the bishop of Ross to change the letters for others of less importance. Walsingham, Elizabeth's minister at Paris, had obtained some intelligence of this affair, and was perpetually alarming his mistress with accounts of plots forming against her by Mary's party. The letters delivered by lord Cobham contained no traces of any secret designs against the government, and suspicions were entertained by the ministry, that these were other letters which had not reached their hands. Baley was therefore sent for to the council, and soon brought to confess all he had learned from Rodolphi, and that the original packet he had brought over was in the possession of the bishop of Ross.

That prelate suspecting his public character would not protect him, and fearful of the consequence, had secreted the most material of his papers; and on the 13th of May, after undergoing a strict examination before a committee of the council, he was delivered into the custody of the bishop of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerard, and one Rolston were committed to the Tower on suspicion.

Hitherto nothing had appeared that could greatly affect the duke of Norfolk; but a subsequent transaction completed his ruin. Mary was very desirous of sending a sum of money to lord Herries, and her partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to convey it to Bannister, a servant of his in the north, who was to find some expedient to have it delivered to lord Herries. The person who was entrusted to convey the money to Bannister not being in the secret, and judging from the weight and size of the box that it was full of gold, carried it, together with a letter he was charged with to Bannister, to Cecil, now lord Burleigh. As soon as this discovery was made, Bannister and Hickford, the duke's secretary, were apprehended and brought before the council. On being threatened with the torture, they immediately confessed the whole, and as Hickford, (though ordered to burn all Mary's letters) had concealed them under the mats of the duke's chamber, the ministry became possessed of sufficient evidence against his master.

Ignorant of the discoveries made by Hickford, the duke, when cited before the council, denied every article of the charge brought against him, and though wanted to merit the mercy of his sovereign by a full confession, he persevered in his first declaration. He was therefore sent to the Tower, and after being convicted of high treason, finished his life upon the scaffold. He died with great calmness and constancy, and was sincerely regretted by the people, by whom he was greatly beloved. He had acquired their affections by his beneficence, generosity, and affability. His ancestors had long been considered as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined with alliances of blood, had procured him the friendship of the most considerable men of that party; but he had been educated among the reformers, was devoted to their principles, and maintained that decorum and regularity of life by which the protestants were at that time distinguished; he fully enjoyed the real felicity of being popular among the most opposite factions. The height of his popularity was the cause of his misfortunes, and the fatal attempts from which his virtue and piety would naturally have for ever kept him at a distance.

During these transactions the kingdom of Scotland was in a perfect state of anarchy. Kirkcaldy of Rodilay, who commanded in the castle of Edinburgh, declared for Mary, the lord of her party, encouraged by her countenance, made themselves masters of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war,

against the regent, who was obliged to retire to Stirling. The insurgents followed, and made themselves masters of his person; but perceiving his friends at the head of a considerable body of troops, were advancing, they immediately put him to death. The earl of Mar was chosen regent in his room; but that nobleman found it impossible to govern so divided a country. At last the two courts of France and England ordered their ministers to negotiate a cessation of arms, which they accordingly effected. But this tranquillity was of no long duration; Mar soon after died of grief for the distracted state of his country, and the earl of Morton was elected to the regency. Morton had always been directed in his measures by Elizabeth, and it was now determined to support effectually the party at the head of which he was placed. Sir Henry Killigrew was accordingly sent ambassador into Scotland, where he found the partizans of Mary so discouraged by the discovery of Norfolk's conspiracy, that they were glad to submit to the royal authority, and accept an indemnity for all past offences.

A. D. 1572. We must now direct our attention to the affairs on the continent, where, through the power of excessive bigotry, the kingdom of France became the theatre of cruelty hardly to be equalled in the most barbarous ages. The deceitful peace granted to the Hugonots was pregnant with horrors that shock humanity. Charles, the more effectually to lull the protestants into a fatal security, offered his sister in marriage to the prince of Navarre, and great preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials with uncommon splendor. Deceived by these perfidious arts, the leaders of the Hugonots flocked to Paris to be spectators of a ceremony which they imagined would for ever put a period to the civil wars that had so long wasted their country. The queen of Navarre died suddenly soon after her arrival, not without the most violent suspicion of poison; and Coligni, the high-admiral of France, was dangerously wounded by a base assassin as he was returning to his lodgings. Charles, however, by redoubling his dissimulation, was still able to retain the Hugonots in their fatal security. He visited the admiral, expressed the greatest concern for his misfortune, and promised to take the severest vengeance on the assassin, and all his abettors. The eve of St. Bartholomew was appointed for putting in execution this horrid scheme. The duke of Guise, who was at the head of this infernal enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards, to arm the citizens privately, and when the alarm was given, to place lights in their windows, break into the houses of the Hugonots, and put them all to the sword without distinction. About midnight, when the whole city was wrapt in darkness, and the unsuspecting victims folded in the arms of sleep, the fatal alarm was given, and the catholics began the horrid butchery. The hatred they had long bore to the protestants Steeleed their breasts against the feelings of humanity, and all conditions, ages, and sexes, implicated of any propensity to that religion, were involved in an undistinguished ruin. The streets of Paris flowed with blood, and the catholics, after all their destined victims were destroyed, exerted on their bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. They seemed to regret that the work of death was over. Above five hundred gentlemen of rank and fortune perished in this massacre; and near ten thousand of inferior condition. Among the former were admiral Coligni, his son in law Leight, Soluze, Rochefort, Pardillon, Piles, and Lavardin, all persons distinguished by their births and talents, and whose only crime was their religion.

Not was this inhuman execution sufficient to satisfy the brutality of the French ministry. Orders were

immediately dispatched to all the provinces for continuing the sanguinary sacrifice. The people emulated the fury of the capital, and the protestants in Meaux, Orleans, Trope, Bourges, Angers, Thoulouse, Rouen, Lyons, and other cities, were butchered in the same inhuman manner. Even the young king of Navarre, and his cousin the prince of Conde, had been devoted to destruction by the duke of Guise; but Charles, hoping that these young princes might be easily converted to the catholic faith, determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety by an apparent change of their religion.

When Charles came seriously to reflect on his barbarous conduct, and the inhuman massacre that had taken place in consequence thereof, he seemed shocked with the thought, and endeavoured to conceal from the eyes of the world his barbarous perfidy. He pretended that a conspiracy of the Hugonots against his person was suddenly discovered, and that the severity they suffered flowed entirely from necessity. He wished to bury in oblivion a transaction that is shocking at once to religion and humanity. Fencelon, the French ambassador at London, abhorred the treachery, and did not hesitate to express his grief. He blushed, he said, to bear the name of a Frenchman. Being, however, ordered to justify the court of France, he demanded an audience of Elizabeth. He repaired to court, which seemed plunged in the abyss of sorrow. An awful silence reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment. The nobility, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each side, and allowed him to pass without interruption. Sorrow and indignation were painted in every countenance, and declared, in the strongest language, the sentiments of the English nation. The queen heard his apology with great coolness, and calmly answered, that supposing there had been a conspiracy formed by the protestants, it was not necessary to have recourse to such cruel methods; that the same force that had murdered so many defenceless men, might easily have secured their persons; and that by proceeding in a legal manner, distinctions might have been made between the guilty and the innocent; that Coligni, in particular, who was dangerously wounded, could not have fled from the justice of his prince; that cruel assassins were not the proper executors of justice; the sword should not be put into the hands of a ferocious multitude. She added, the future conduct of the king would more fully display his real intentions; and that, in the mean time, she should proceed no farther than to lament the rigour with which he had treated his subjects. Elizabeth well knew the power of the Guises, and their attachment to the queen of Scotland. She was therefore unwilling to break with a court that was capable of giving her so much uneasiness.

Notwithstanding, however, Elizabeth so cautiously avoided coming to extremities with Charles, whose union with the courts of Spain and Rome for the extermination of the protestants, gave her so much anxiety, she afforded protection to all the unhappy fugitives, who, on receiving intelligence of the massacre of their brethren, fled into England; and when the French ambassador made a proposal from his master, to have them delivered up as rebellious fugitives, she plainly told him, that humanity would not suffer her to refuse an asylum to so many wretches, who were driven by the barbarity of their enemies to seek refuge in a foreign country.

Neither did she neglect to take the necessary measures for her own defence. She prepared for that attack which seemed inevitable from the combined power and violence of the catholics. She fortified Portsmouth; augmented her fleet; exercised her militia; cultivated popularity with her subjects; discharged the sums she had borrowed; and paid the

debts which her father and brother had contracted. By these prudent measures she gained the love and esteem of her people, who were willing to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The nobility and gentry offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot, and four thousand horse, transport them into France, and maintain them six months at their own expence, in order to assist the Hugonots to retaliate on their perfidious enemies the miseries they had suffered.

The same principles which engaged Elizabeth to assist the Hugonots in France, pleaded strongly in favour of the distressed protestants in the Low-Countries; but the great power of Philip rendered her more cautious in her proceedings. That monarch sent an ambassador to London, with remonstrances against the conduct of Elizabeth. He complained that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas, and robbed his master's subjects, were protected in England, contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two courts. Unwilling to engage in an open rupture with Spain, Elizabeth published a proclamation, commanding all the Flemings, suspected of rebellion, to depart the kingdom. But this was far from answering the views of the Spaniards. Driven to despair, these wretched exiles undertook the most dangerous expedients. William Vandermarck, a person of distinction in the Netherlands, having collected a considerable number of his countrymen, left England in the beginning of April, and made himself master of the Brill and Flushing. This success raised the spirits of the Flemings; they flocked to his standard, and before the end of the year he was joined by the greater part of the provinces of Holland and Zealand.

D. A. 1573. The dreadful massacre of the Hugonots in France was so far from extirpating those persecuted people, that they now became more powerful and violent than ever. The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, both retracted the abjuration that fear had extorted from them. Under their chiefs the Hugonots were in a condition of revenging the blood of their brethren; and every thing again relapsed into confusion. The catholics had, at the same time, closely besieged Rochelle, the last city of protestants in France. The Hugonots made the most desperate resistance; and the duke of Anjou (brother to the French king) who commanded the catholic army, lost twenty-four thousand men, without making any considerable progress in the siege. As you now perceived he had undertaken a task he was unable to perform, and sincerely wished that the incident might happen to preserve his health. His desires were fulfilled. Advice arrived of the elected king of Poland; and he immediately concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of Rochelle.

A. D. 1574. Charles, exasperated at the marriage of his brother, called aloud for new exertions against the protestants; but before he could carry them into execution, he paid the debt of nature on the 23rd of May, in the 25th year of his age, after having rendered his name odious to all the world, and left an eternal stain of infamy upon his country. He died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother the duke of Anjou, who had lately been elected king of Poland.

Elizabeth was now greatly alarmed at the disturbances in Ireland, which raged with less violence than those on the continent, and from the cause, namely, the enmity of the Roman Catholics to the Protestants. The earl of Essex, an active and nobleman, offered a proposal to the queen, by sending an end to the troubles in that island. Elizabeth accepted the offer; and it was agreed, that she should transport to Ireland 200 horse, and maintain them there at his own expence.

these forces should act against the rebels for two years, the queen furnishing the same number during that period; and that the earl should receive the commission of captain-general for seven years. In consideration of this service, the queen agreed to invest him with half the lordships of Clandeboy, Ferney, and other lands of a great extent, which he agreed to people with as many soldiers as the queen should think proper to maintain on the other half of these lordships. The expence of maintaining the fortifications was to be equally divided between the queen and the earl. Essex was so fond of this command, which placed him on the footing of a prince, that he borrowed ten thousand pounds of Elizabeth, upon a mortgage of his lands in Essex; and landed in Ireland about the latter end of August, accompanied by the lords Dacres and Rich, three sons of the lord Norris, and many other gentlemen of distinction, who served under him as volunteers. He met with almost every difficulty that could be expected from an attempt of this kind. The lord deputy Fitz-Williams, thinking the command of Essex an encroachment on his own authority, secretly favoured the rebels, and greatly increased the obstacles that naturally opposed the execution of this design. The earl soon perceived that the reduction of the rebels, while clandestinely aided by the English, was a task beyond his power. He, however, exerted all his abilities, but in vain: he was obliged to return to England, after having spent the greater part of his fortune.

A. D. 1575. The war with the Hugonots in France was carried on with no less alacrity by Henry IV. than it had been by his brother Charles; but so formidable were those people now grown, and so strong was their opposition, that Henry found himself obliged to grant them a truce for six months, under the mediation of Elizabeth. This was the fifth pacification made with the Hugonots; but the terms were so disgraceful to the crown of France, that the duke of Guise made no scruple to condemn openly the measures and maxims of his sovereign. That old and daring leader embraced this opportunity of forming his party into a regular and consistent body, and laid the foundation of that famous league, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Hugonots. Henry saw the consequence, and laboured assiduously to adopt a new plan, by acting as arbitrator between the two parties, and by balancing their power, to reduce both to a dependence upon himself. But all his attempts were rendered abortive. France was reduced to so wretched a condition by the former severities of her princes, that toleration could be no longer practised; and an out for liberty of conscience, which would, probably, have satisfied the protestants, inflamed the Catholics, and threatened the kingdom with anarchy.

A. D. 1576. William of Nassau, prince of Orange, exerted his utmost endeavours in supporting the confederacy of Holland and Zealand against the attempts of Lewis Zuniga, who, on the death of the duke of Alva, succeeded to the government of the Netherlands. But the prince of Orange finding it would be impossible to continue the opposition much longer, without some foreign assistance, he sent a declaration to Elizabeth, imploring her protection; and obliging to acknowledge her for their sovereign if she would engage in their defence. The queen rejected the sovereignty which she could not support without carrying on the most dangerous wars; but promised to use all her influence in negotiations with Philip in her favour. An ambassador was accordingly dispatched to the court of Spain; but Philip found it impossible to evade a categorical answer, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever. An accident delivered the Hollanders, when they

were driven to the very brink of destruction. Zuniga died suddenly; and the Spanish troops, discontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, broke out into the most dreadful mutiny. They sacked and plundered the cities of Antwerp and Maelricht, and massacred seventeen thousand persons of all ages and sexes; nor was there any possibility of preventing their dreadful outrages. They menaced all the cities of the Low Countries with the same fate. Alarmed at the destruction which awaited them, all the provinces, that of Luxembourg excepted, engaged in an association for their mutual defence; and dispatched a deputation to the prince of Orange, imploring his protection, and requesting that he would put himself at their head. Conferences were immediately opened at Ghent; and an union was formed between the provinces, called the Pacification of Ghent. By this treaty, which was signed on the eighth of November, the contracting parties declared, that they had entered into this union for the defence of the laws and liberties of their country, against the encroachments, oppressions and cruelties long exercised on them by the Spaniards. At the same time, they declared, that, notwithstanding this treaty, they were still willing to acknowledge the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern them according to the antient laws. This union being formed, the fortresses which had been raised to keep the Netherlands in subjection were every where demolished; and the nobility and clergy soon after assembled at Brussels, and took a solemn oath to observe inviolably the articles of the association. Philip was now reduced to the mortifying alternative of governing according to the laws established by his predecessors, or content himself with the bare title of sovereign, while the regal authority was exercised by others.

The troubles of Ireland still continuing, the earl of Essex was sent back to that kingdom, with the title of earl marshal, in the room of Sir Nicholas Bagnal. But he soon perceived that, notwithstanding his new dignity, he was little more than a private officer. He, however, exerted all his abilities to reduce that turbulent people to order, but without effect; and he died a few months after his arrival, not without suspicion of being poisoned by some of the creatures of the earl of Leicester, who was his declared enemy. What tended to give weight to this conjecture was, the impudent behaviour of Leicester himself, who, immediately after the death of Essex, divorced his own wife, and married the widow of that nobleman.

A. D. 1577. This year was opened with the ambitious projects of Don John of Austria, who had been made governor of the Netherlands. He was naturally of an aspiring genius, and had rendered himself particularly famous for a glorious victory obtained over the Turks at Lepanto. Encouraged by the success that had hitherto attended him, he now projected a scheme for rendering himself one of the most powerful princes in Europe. After reducing the revolted provinces of the Netherlands to obedience, he proposed, by the assistance of the pope and the king of Spain, to land a powerful army in England, to deale the queen of Scots, and carry into execution the bull fulminated at Rome, for de-throning Elizabeth.

The prince of Orange, being informed of Don John's design with regard to the Scottish princes, immediately imparted the secret to Elizabeth, who, fearing the consequences of his ambition, no longer scrupled to assist the oppressed confederates, whose liberties seemed now to be materially connected with her own safety.

The measures pursued by Don John contributed daily to enlarge the breach already made between him

him and the states; and Don John, not thinking himself safe in Brussels, seized the castle of Namur. This violent proceeding convinced the states that they had nothing to expect from their new governor, and prepared to defend their liberties, which it was sufficiently evident Don John intended to wrest from them. They accordingly dispatched the marquis of Hautree, and Adolphus Meetkirck, to Elizabeth, to vindicate their proceedings, and solicit a loan of an hundred thousand pounds for eight months. Elizabeth very readily granted their request, but insisted that certain towns of the Netherlands should be bound for the payment. At the same time, she entered into a treaty with them, whereby it was stipulated, That the queen should furnish them with five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, to be paid by the Flemings, but commanded by an English general; that this commander should have a seat in the council of the states; that nothing should be determined concerning war or peace, without previously imparting it either to the queen or to him; that they should enter into no league without her consent; that if any difference happened among themselves, it should be submitted to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretence whatever, should attempt hostilities against her, they should send to her assistance an army equal to that she had employed in their service.

As Elizabeth was unwilling to declare openly against Spain, she sent an ambassador to that court, where he presented a memorial on the twentieth of December, importing, that the queen by no means intended to break the antient alliance concluded with the house of Burgundy; that with this view she had refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had advised the prince of Orange to return to his allegiance, and even threatened him with her displeasure in case of refusal. She added, that she would still continue in the same friendly intentions, and exert all her interest to compromise the present differences, provided Don John, whom she could not but regard as her mortal enemy, was recalled, some other prince, more popular, substituted in his place, the Spanish forces withdrawn, and the Flemings restored to their antient liberties. If these conditions were accepted, the queen promised, if the Flemings still continued obstinate, to join her arms to those of the king of Spain, and force them to a compliance. Philip, who was far from being pleased with the interpolation of the queen, gave an evasive answer, but still continued to furnish Don John with troops and money.

A. D. 1578. The great assistance given by Philip to Don John so animated that enterprising and ambitious governor, that instead of listening to any lenient proposition, he was determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. He was joined by the prince of Parma one of the best soldiers of that or any other age, and received prodigious supplies of men and money both from Italy and Spain. But notwithstanding his power daily increased, the prince of Orange found means to prevail on the cities of Amsterdam, Haarlem and Utrecht to declare in his favour.

Alarmed at this acquisition, the court of Spain offered to recall Don John, and to substitute in his room either the prince of Parma, the archduke Ferdinand, or even the archduke Matthias, provided the states would return to their duty. The offer was refused, and the operations of war were continued with the utmost fury. Don John knew that the army of the states lay in a strong camp at Rimenant, and that they expected a strong reinforcement of French troops, under the command of the duke of Anjou, and that prince Cassimir was advancing to

join them, with a German army in the pay of the states. He therefore proposed, in a council of war, to attack the enemy before they were joined by the reinforcements. This motion was strongly opposed by the prince of Parma; but his reasons were not thought sufficient, and it was resolved to attack the confederate army. The battle was fought with amazing perseverance, and the English and Scotch auxiliaries distinguished themselves in a very particular manner: they opposed the whole Spanish force, and had it not been for the amazing genius of the prince of Parma, the army of Don John must have been totally routed.

The Spanish monarch was now convinced that he had every thing to fear from the power of Elizabeth. He saw that the invasion of England, projected by Don John, was at a great distance; and therefore entered into a fresh negotiation with the pope, bringing troubles against Elizabeth in Ireland. One Steukley, a native of England, whom the pope had created marquis of Leinster, was engaged to command the expedition, and also to attempt to destroy the navy of England. As Philip was desirous of concealing his being concerned in this attempt, it was agreed that it should be made in the name of a holiness; and that his natural son, James Boncompagni, should be declared king of Ireland. Steukley, on his arrival in the Tagus, was prevailed upon to accompany Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, in making a descent in Africa against the Moors. It put a final period to the expedition. Steukley and his whole detachment were cut to pieces, and Don Sebastian himself fell by the swords of the infidels. A few of the Spanish and Italian troops, who pursued their course when Steukley entered the Tagus, landed in Ireland, and animated the Irish, who were then zealous catholics, though a barbarous people, to continue in rebellion to the English. But no enterprise had no success: the foreign troops were cut in pieces, and about 2500 of the Irish were put to death by order of government.

A. D. 1579. We must now turn our attention to the affairs of Scotland. That kingdom, hitherto been retained in strict alliance with England, by the influence of Morton the regent. But as a people regardless of laws, and agitated by sect controversies, it could not be expected that the authority of a regent could be long supported. Factions were formed among the nobility, who were disgusted with Morton's avarice; while the whole narrow revenues were still farther imbricated in the discontented party, and encouraged the faction. Alarmed at his dangerous situation, and pressed with the increasing weight of government, the regent dropped some peevish expressions, and a desire of being relieved from the care of conducting the administration. This concession, which he pretended, was readily seized by the opposition, and he was dismissed from the regency. Morton, who flattered himself that a general pardon would now pass, would render abominable the signs of his enemies, resigned his authority into the hands of the young king, who was then only twelve years of age. James determined to hold a council of government, and conduct, in his own person, the administration of the affairs of the kingdom. The regent seemed at last determined never to engage in the busy scenes of active life: he was contented with domestic affairs that tranquillity which was not to be found in the hurry of a court, and amidst the contentions of turbulent parties. But either he would not suffer him to continue in the business of government, or he did not find in retirement the tranquillity he expected. For he remained again, and acquired the ascendancy in the council, and

before all the affairs of the administration, but without resuming the title of regent. The opposite party saw their danger, and flew to arms, under pretence of rescuing their prince from captivity. Both parties endeavoured to gain the protection of Elizabeth; but that of Morton prevailed, and he was suffered to continue at the head of administration.

The party formed against Morton were supported by the duke of Guise, who sent over the count d'Aubigny, a descendant of the house of Lenox, and cousin-german to the young king's father, to detach that prince from the English interest. D'Aubigny was possessed of all the talents necessary for executing the projected design. He had been educated in France, was possessed of an insinuating address, and of a pleasing disposition. Guise was not mistaken. D'Aubigny soon gained the affections of the young monarch: and joining his interests with James Stuart, of the house of Ochiltree, a young man of great parts, but of the most profligate manners, who was already in great favour with the king, he instilled into the tender mind of James principles of politics and government very different from those in which he had been educated. He painted, in such glaring colours, the great injustice of deposing his mother, and detaining her a prisoner in England, that James was greatly affected at her sufferings, and wished either to resign the administration into her hands, or associate her with him in the government.

Elizabeth, alarmed at the great progress daily made by this party in Scotland, dispatched Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling, where James then resided, to warn the king of the danger that would inevitably ensue, if he continued to listen to the false suggestions of d'Aubigny, now created earl of Lenox. The young prince, desirous of preventing Elizabeth from assisting the party of Morton, sent excuses to the court of London; but Lenox, perceiving that the English prince's was determined to ruin him, resolved, if possible, to overturn the Scottish government, as the only expedient that remained to support his interest. Morton was considered as the head of the opposite party, and his ruin was therefore necessary. He was accordingly arrested at the council board, carried to prison, accused of being an accomplice in the late king's murder, and condemned to suffer execution. He confessed upon his trial that he was not ignorant of Bothwell's design, but denied his having given his consent to that atrocious act. He added, that he should have revealed it either to Mary, or Mary had not the danger to which he must have been exposed, deterred him from pursuing his duty. Henry, possessing neither resolution nor courage, and Mary appearing to him to be an accomplice in the crime. Great interest was made in behalf of Morton. The queen dispatched Sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, and that ambassador, by his influence in favour of the late regent, had even engaged the earls of Argyle, Montrose, Glencairn, and Glencairn, to enter into a confederacy, protecting even by force of arms, the life of the prisoner. At the same time, an English army was sent to the frontiers of Scotland, to give effect to the instructions of the ambassador. The king, however, the danger of delaying the execution, and Morton finished his life upon the scaffold. He died with the same constancy and courage that always displayed in every action of his life, and his probity and virtue been equal to his courage might have been considered as one of the most illustrious of his age.

In the beginning of this year, Sir Francis Drake, the first English circumnavigator, returned from his voyage round the world. This intrepid and valiant officer of Devonshire, and intro-

duced at court by the vice-chamberlain Hatton, on his proposing to pass into the South Seas through the Straights of Magellan, a voyage till that time unattempted by the English. Drake's fleet consisted only of the five following vessels, namely, the Pelican, of an hundred tons, commanded by himself; the Elizabeth of eighty tons, under captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty-tons, commanded by captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of thirty tons, under captain John Cheller; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain Thomas Moon. On board this small squadron were embarked one hundred and sixty-four men, and the gallant admiral sailed on a voyage, which, with such small forces, would, even in our times, be considered as a very rash undertaking. He soon found that his vessels were too small for the tempestuous seas near the Straights of Magellan, and entered the Pacific ocean with only his own ship. During his cruises in the South Sea, he took a prodigious booty from the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in that distant part of the world. He sacked and plundered the town of Arica, and in one ship took four hundred pounds weight of Peruvian gold. Hardly any opposition was made by the Spaniards; Drake easily loaded the Pelican with gold, silver and precious stones. But he soon after learned that the vice-roy of Peru had fitted two large ships, and sent them to cruise near the Straights of Magellan, in order to intercept him in his return. A new passage was therefore to be attempted, as he was in no condition to fight the two Spanish ships fitted out to intercept him. He first endeavoured to find a passage by the north of California; but failing in that enterprize, he sailed for the East Indies, and returned safely by the Cape of Good Hope.

The return of Drake animated the English, who were now desirous of sharing in the riches of South America; and his name became celebrated on account of his bold and fortunate attempt. It was, however, apprehended that this attack upon the Spanish territories in South America, would occasion an open war with Spain, an event which it was thought should, if possible, be avoided at this juncture. It was therefore moved in the council, that the queen should disown the enterprize, punish Drake, and restore the treasure. But Elizabeth rejected the proposal; she loved valour, and determined to protect that intrepid seaman, against all the machinations of his enemies. She accepted a banquet from him on board the ship which had performed so memorable a voyage, and conferred on the commander the honour of knighthood. The Spanish ambassador did not fail to make complaints against what he called the piracies of Drake. But he was told by Elizabeth, that no treaty with his catholic majesty excluded her subjects from trading in the South Seas; that she could not consider all South America as the property of the king of Spain, as he held it by no better title than a donation from the bishop of Rome, who having no right over those countries himself, could convey none to another, and whose authority both in temporal and civil matters she disowned. She added, that the magnificent ceremonies practised by the Spaniards in taking possession of such immense tracts of land in America, should never preclude her from sending colonies thither, nor would she even submit to suffer the ocean to be claimed as the property of any prince or person. She, however, ordered part of the treasure to be restored to Pedro Serrana, a Spaniard, who pretended to be an agent from the merchants whose effects Drake had seized; but understanding afterwards that Philip had sequestered the money, she refused to make any farther restitution.

A. D. 1581. On the 6th of January the parliament met at Westminster, when a supply was granted

to the queen of one subsidy and two fifteenths. Several laws were made for the security of the government, but chiefly against the attempts of the catholics, who had occasioned many disturbances. In one of these last it was enacted, that whoever reconciled any person to the church of Rome, or was himself reconciled, should be guilty of treason: to say mass was subject to the penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a fine of two hundred marks: whoever absented himself during a whole month from the service of the church, was subjected to a fine of twenty pounds. The uttering slanderous or seditious words against the queen, was punishable, for the first offence, with the pillory and loss of ears; the second offence was declared felony. The writing or printing such words, was felony, even for the first offence.

A treaty of marriage between the duke of Anjou and Elizabeth had been for some time negotiating, and a resolution was now taken on the part of the former to finish it. The duke had long been convinced that political reasons alone would never be sufficient to answer the intended purpose; and he accordingly sent over Simier, an agent of his own, to act in conjunction with his brother's ambassador. He could not have sent a person more likely to answer his purpose. He was artful and intriguing, of insinuating address and agreeable conversation. Instead of entering into the serious reasons of political interest, he entertained the queen with the topics of passion and gallantry. Elizabeth listened to his discourse, and Simier soon insinuated himself so firmly into the queen's favour, that he obtained a more ready access to her person, than even the most favoured ministers of state. Leicester, who had laughed at every preceding treaty of marriage, was now sufficiently alarmed; he feared that the queen was at last caught in her own snare, and that the young Frenchman had really engaged her affections. He was acquainted with the arts of Simier, and exerted all his power to render him odious; he even took advantage of the credulity of the times, and spread reports, that Simier had gained an ascendancy over the queen, not by any natural principles of her constitution, but by love potions and incantations. Simier was exasperated at these unmanly proceedings, and determined to ruin the credit of Leicester. He accordingly revealed to the queen a secret which none of her courtiers dared to discover; namely, the marriage of Leicester with the widow of the late earl of Essex, which that nobleman had hitherto carefully concealed from Elizabeth. This discovery answered the purpose of Simier; the queen was so provoked at the action, that she threatened to lend Leicester a prisoner to the Tower, and to prevent the effects of his resentment, took the Frenchman under her own protection.

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts he received from his agent, and desirous of finishing a treaty pregnant with the most conspicuous advantages, determined to pass over into England, and solicit his suit in person. He accordingly landed at Dover, and secretly visited the queen at Greenwich. Anjou had no reason to be displeased with his visit; he lost no ground in being personally known to Elizabeth. For soon after his departure she commanded Burleigh, now lord treasurer, Suffex, Leicester, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and secretary Walsingham, to concert with the French ambassador the terms of the intended treaty. And at Henry, who was desirous of freeing France from the restless ambition of the duke of Anjou, had given his plenipotentiaries almost unlimited powers to agree to all the demands of the court of England, the condition of the treaty were soon settled, and the instrument ready for the royal sanction. It was agreed, that the marriage should be

celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue should enjoy the free exercise of their religion; that after the marriage was solemnized, the duke of Anjou should enjoy the title of king, but that the management of affairs should continue solely in Elizabeth; that their children, male or female, should succeed to the crown of England; that if there should be two males, the eldest, in case of Henry's death, without issue, should be king of France, and the younger of England; that if there should be one male only, and he should succeed to both the crowns of France and England, he should be obliged to reside eight months every two years in the latter kingdom; that the laws and customs of England should be observed inviolate; and that no foreigner should be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

Notwithstanding these articles were very favourable to the English, and though there was little probability that Elizabeth, who was then in her fortieth year, should have any children by the duke of Anjou, yet the treaty spread an alarm through the whole kingdom. It was strenuously opposed by all her favourite ministers, and the queen herself, as a proof of her remaining uncertainty, added a clause, by which it was declared, that she was not bound to complete the marriage till farther articles, not specified in the treaty, should be agreed on between the parties and till the king of France should be certified of their agreement. Walsingham was dispatched to Paris, in order to form the closest connection with Henry, and enter into a league offensive, and defensive, against the increasing power and dangerous usurpation of the Spanish monarch.

Walsingham pursued his instructions with the utmost assiduity; but had the mortification to perceive that the resolutions of Elizabeth were fluctuating and unsettled. Sometimes he received orders to pursue the negotiation for completing the marriage, preferable to that of the league; and at others she declared for the league in preference to the marriage. The minister was astonished at this inconsistent conduct in the queen, and the whole privy-council were doubtful what would be the result of this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition.

In the mean time the duke of Anjou exerted his utmost abilities in defence of the Low Countries; but he was now so greatly distressed for want of money, that he had been obliged to put his army into sale to the confederates. This inability of the duke alarmed the confederates. The prince of Orange saw the web of policy he had been weaving to many years ready to be cut to pieces by the sword of the prince of Parma: his last effort was to persuade the states to throw off even their nominal obedience to the crown of Spain. Accordingly, in an assembly of the confederates at Antwerp, he represented that they were under of either submitting to the yoke prescribed by the Spaniards, or of shaking, from their necks the yoke of a tyrannical and perishing monarch, by disclaiming his authority, and uniting under the duke of Anjou, who had already been declared the protector of their liberties. He observed, that the marriage of the duke with the queen of England, on the point of being concluded, there was no reason in the world to imagine that Elizabeth would look upon his quarrel as her own; that all the reasons of good policy engaged his brother, the king of France, to support him in his new acquisition, and that Hamant and Artors, together with the Flanders, which was now returned to the Spanish yoke, would then undoubtedly follow the example of the other states, and join in the confederacy. His reasons, however powerful, did not all succeed to induce the states to embrace the duke's proposal.

they did not think the provocations they had received from the king of Spain could dissolve the allegiance they owed their sovereign. But the imprudent conduct of Philip effected what their leader attempted in vain. He proscribed the prince of Orange, and set a price of twenty-five thousand crowns upon his head. Exasperated at this tyrannical action, the states immediately assembled and declared, by proclamation, that Philip, king of Spain, had forfeited the sovereignty of the Low Countries, by violating, contrary to his oath, the privileges of the people; "That therefore the provinces, in consequence of the permission given them by Philip himself, when they recognized him to be prince of Flanders, and before they owed him any allegiance, voluntarily, and of their own proper motion, had chosen for their prince Philip Valois, duke of Anjou, and brother to the king of France."

In consequence of this resolution taken by the states, a formal deputation was sent to the duke, inviting him to come and take possession of the principality of the Low Countries; but before this could be effected, some very alarming difficulties were to be overcome. The active prince of Parma had, with incredible expedition, marched his army towards French Flanders, the provinces where the duke's chief interest lay, and sat down before the city of Cambra. Anjou immediately advanced to raise the siege, at the head of a well-disciplined army of twenty thousand men. Parma pushed the siege with great violence; but not being able to make himself master of the place before the duke's arrival, he was obliged to abandon the undertaking, and retreat with precipitation, his forces consisting only of five thousand foot and two thousand horse. Soon after, Comptonde Bellievre arrived in the prince of Parma's camp, with letters from the king of France, showing and disclaiming the duke's behaviour, and offering a cessation of arms till every thing could be accommodated in a friendly manner. But the prince of Parma treated this as a mere artifice; and, upon retreat, the duke of Anjou drove the Spaniards out of the Cambresis. His success was not, however, sufficient to support his army; money was wanting; and unless a very considerable sum could be procured, all his conquests were in danger of returning again to the enemy. The most pressing applications were made to Elizabeth, and she remitted to the duke an hundred thousand crowns; with which, and the assistance he received from his brother and queen dowager, he levied a new army, and took the field against the prince of Parma. But the campaign now greatly advanced, he, after several fruitless skirmishes with the Spanish forces, put his army into winter quarters, and determined to pass into England, in order to prosecute his suit to the queen.

Accordingly, about the middle of November, he sailed at Dover, and proceeding immediately to London, was received by Elizabeth with the greatest reverence and affection. Every action betrayed tenderness, and she appeared, at last, indolent in concealing it. The truth is, she seems to have known how far either ambition or affection could carry her, and notwithstanding all her efforts, to have been deceived by both. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her coronation, she was seen, after a long and intimate colloquy with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his. This unguarded action was construed into an absolute promise of marriage, and that she was desirous of making her intentions to all the world. Expresses were immediately sent to every part of the kingdom, and to all the courts of Europe. Perhaps

Elizabeth, in that critical moment, when she seemed dissolved in softness, was ignorant that ambition would evermore gain the ascendancy in her soul. But she no sooner reflected on the consequences that might possibly result from suffering the softer passions to prevail, than she shuddered at the precipitate step she was going to take; a step by which, perhaps, she was to lose all the glories her wisdom, her courage, and her perseverance, crowned with perpetual success, could impart. She was ready to divide her power, by which all England was obedient to her nod, and all Europe in terror of her frown, with a young man of untried temper, of foreign education, and of a different religion. She was to hear the discontents, the reproaches, nay, perhaps, the curses of her subjects, who, by this marriage, dreaded to see the fair and flourishing fabric of their religion, reared by the toil of princes, and cemented by the blood of martyrs, sink into ruins. She reflected with horror on her sister's misery, who, in the decline of life, married a catholic prince much younger than herself; and she began already to imagine that she saw a total alteration in the laws and government of her kingdom.

Agitated by these reflections, the queen passed several nights in great anxiety without sleep or repose. At the same time her most favourite courtiers discovered an extreme aversion to the marriage; and even the ladies of her bed-chamber made no scruple of opposing her resolution with the most zealous remonstrances. At last, her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and sending for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conversation with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. But, however that be, he expressed great disgust at leaving her; threw away the ring she had given him; and uttered many curses on the mutability of women in general, and of Islanders in particular.

A short time after this, the duke of Anjou returned to the Low Countries; but wanting to make himself master of their forts, he was driven away as a traitor and oppressor, and obliged to return to France, where he died. The distracted state of the French monarchy prevented the queen from feeling any effects of that resentment she had reason to dread from the affront so wantonly put upon that royal family. The blind tenderness of Elizabeth for a man more worthy of hatred than of love, can only be accounted for by the weakness of the human heart, which frequently suffers genius and merit to be imposed on by incapacity and unworthiness.

A. D. 1582. During these translations the troubles in Scotland continued to rage with the most unrelenting violence. The death of Morton, and the influence of the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, now earl of Arran, alarmed the enthusiastic preachers. A fast was appointed to be held all over the kingdom, when the pulpits resounded with declamations against the king's present counsellors. A conspiracy of the nobility was formed for seizing the person of James, who was then at Ruthven, a seat belonging to the earl of Gowrie. The utmost secrecy was observed, and the council not having the least intimation of the conspirators' designs, the attempt succeeded without any opposition. The earls of Gowrie and Mar, the lords Lindley and Boyd, the master of Glams and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermling, Plankey and Cambuskenneth, were the principal leaders in this enterprise. James wept when he found himself deprived of his liberty. "No matter for his tears," said one of the conspirators, "better that boys should weep than bearded men." James was deeply affected, and could never be prevailed upon to forgive the expedition. He, however, prudently

submitted to the present necessity, and stifled his resentment. He agreed to issue writs for calling an assembly of the church and a convention of the states, in order to exculpate the associated lords from the crime of treason, and ratify their enterprize. Though the ecclesiastical assembly had no right to meddle with civil matters, yet on this occasion they usurped an authority they never enjoyed, and declared that the late attempt was agreeable to all that feared God, or desired to preserve the person of the king, and the prosperity of the realm. They even threatened every person who should dare to oppose the authority of the confederated lords with the severest ecclesiastical censures. The convention ratified these proceedings, and declared the attempts of the associates a lawful act. The earl of Lenox, unwilling to excite a civil war in the heart of his country, retired into France, where he soon after died. The earl of Arran was confined a prisoner in his own house; and Elizabeth (who it is supposed countenanced the conspiracy) sent ambassadors to compliment the captive king on his delivery from such pernicious counsellors.

A. D. 1583. Mary no sooner heard of her son's detention, than she immediately wrote a pathetic and spirited letter to Elizabeth, craving the assistance of that princess, both for his and her own liberty. She said, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her most tender concern; and the experience which she herself, during so many years, had acquired of the extreme unhappiness attending lest situation, had rendered her more apprehensive that a similar fate should attend her unfortunate offspring. She concluded by entreating Elizabeth to resume her natural disposition and to reflect on the support as well as comfort which she might receive from her son and herself, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, she would deign to raise them from their present melancholy situation, and reinstate them in that liberty and authority to which they were intitled.

Though Elizabeth was sensibly affected with Mary's letter, yet political motives prevented her from paying any attention to its contents. She was apprehensive of the consequences, and the hopes of Mary once more vanished. In the mean time James, impatient of restraint, made his escape from his keepers; and going to St. Andrew's, summoned his friends and partisans to attend him. The confederated lords perceiving that all the opposition they could make would be in vain, laid aside any farther thoughts of attempting to recover their authority: some of them accepted a pardon, which was offered them on their submission, while others took shelter in England and Ireland; and the earl of Arran, a man without either manners or moderation, was placed at the head of affairs, and engaged the chief attention and confidence of the young monarch.

In the beginning of the following year 1584, James, who had now shook off that natural pusillanimity to which he was subject, summoned a parliament, and caused an act to be passed for preventing the clergy from sowing the seeds of sedition from the pulpit. It was declared that no clergyman should, for the future, presume to blacken the character of the king, or his ministers, in their sermons, or censure the affairs of government. This highly provoked the enthusiastical preachers: they said, that the king himself was a papist in his heart, and bestowed the most degrading epithets on his friends and favorites. But all their attempts would, probably, have been rendered abortive, had not the violent conduct of the earl of Arran engaged the people to support them. Gowry, notwithstanding the late pardon, was tried, and executed; and many innocent persons suffered

from the tyranny of that favourite. The banished noblemen were persuaded that they had now an opportunity of recovering their honours and estates: they made the attempt, and were successful. Arran was degraded from his authority, deprived of his estate and title he had usurped, and the whole country seemed to have obtained that tranquility to which they had long been strangers.

While these things were transacting in Scotland the English were frequently alarmed by the practices of the discontented party. All the prudence Elizabeth could not secure her from conspiracies. The zeal of the papists grew stronger by restraint. A great number of letters were dispatched, containing the most earnest exhortations to several persons more immediately concerned about the person of Elizabeth, to imitate the example of Judith, and put a period to the life of a princess anathematized by the holy father. At the same time, assuring them that they would be powerfully protected by the person of the king, and the duke of Guise, who had formed an association for restoring the catholic religion in England, and extirpating the protestants. These letters appeared to have been written by one Francis Throgmorton, a young man of family and excellent parts; who being apprehended, and brought before the council, absolutely denied the accusation: but on being shewn two lists, one of all the ports in England favourable for landing an army, and the other of all the gentlemen who favoured the Romish religion, and were well disposed to assist in an invasion, he retracted his denial, and made the following confession: "That going, some few years since, to the German Spa, he contracted an intimacy with Jesuit and Sir Francis Inglefield, two English fugitives, that their conferences generally turned on the means of invading England; and that they delivered him the two lists above mentioned: that after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him the catholic princes had formed a design to free the queen of Scots from her confinement, and that the care of executing the attempt would be committed to the duke of Guise: that nothing was wanting but to know what assistance might be depended upon from the English catholics: that in order to obtain their measures on more certain information, Charles Paget, under the name of Mope, was sent to St. Felix, where the duke of Guise intended to assemble his forces: that he (Throgmorton) himself had imparted the project to the Spanish ambassador, who, being found, had been already intrusted with the secret, and shewed him a copy of the list of the persons of the troops might be landed: that he also showed the ambassador with the names of men to whom he might safely open his mind, in order to promote the design, and that conference had since been held on the best method of raising troops in England to join the foreign forces on that coast. Throgmorton was immediately sent to prison, and being soon after tried and convicted of treason, was executed with several of his accomplices, executed at Tyburn.

A. D. 1585. In the beginning of the year a most horrid conspiracy was discovered, projected against the life of Elizabeth. Walter Parry, a bigotted catholic, after having received the queen's pardon for a capital offence committed in Italy, where he openly professed his religion, he had concealed while he continued in Italy. Happening to contract an intimacy with a jesuit, he too readily listened to the designs of that order, and was persuaded that it would not do a more acceptable or meritorious action than that of taking away the life of his sovereign. Campeggio, the pope's ambassador, consulted on this important question.



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all his doubts, and approved extremely of his intended undertaking. Parry accordingly retired to Paris, whence he proposed to pass over into England, in order to execute his bloody design. Remorse, however, staggered his resolution; it is not sometimes even in the power of fanaticism to silence the remonstrances of conscience. He was desirous of trying every method in his power to soften the persecutions carried on against the catholics, before he proceeded to extremities. His soul shuddered at the complicated horror he was going to commit. He found means of being introduced to the queen; assured her that many conspiracies were formed against her life; and exhorted her, as the only means of rendering the attempts abortive, to allow the catholics a little more indulgence in the exercise of their religion. Finding all his attempts were, in vain, he determined to execute his bloody design, and imparted his intention to Nevil, next heir to the Westmoreland family, who readily approving of the infernal project, measures were immediately taken for carrying it into execution. But while they were waiting for a favourable opportunity, the earl of Westmoreland died; and Nevil, hoping to recover the honours and estates of that noble family, revealed the whole to the queen. In consequence of this Parry was seized and imprisoned; a few days after which he was tried at Westminster, when he confessed the fact, and being found guilty of treason, was condemned to be hanged, which sentence was executed in Palace-yard Westminster, during the sitting of parliament.

During these transactions in England, the prince of Orange was assassinated by one Baltazar Gerard, a native of Burgundy, who executed the bloody deed with the most consummate intrepidity. He sacrificed his own life, in order to destroy the famous restorer and protector of religious liberty. This event spread general consternation through the Netherlands, where the people considered that prince as their father, and where the prince of Parma had made an important progress in re-establishing the authority of

the deplorable situation the states offered the safety of their country to the king of France; but the present condition of that monarchy obliged him to reject so advantageous an offer. Thus disappointed, the states sent over a solemn embassy to Elizabeth, imploring the queen to take them under her protection. The business was of a delicate nature; and the council were divided in opinion, whether they should accept or reject the offer. Some considered the Flemings as rebels, whose revolt could not be countenanced without injustice, and whose proposals, if they were accepted, would expose the nation to dangers, to which they would bring no adequate advantage. Others represented the unbounded ambition of the king of Spain, his tyranny in the Low Countries, his implacable hatred to Elizabeth, as sufficient motives for accepting the offer. It was said, that the acquisition of the provinces, the efforts of a brave people groaning under the weight of lawless power, would lessen the danger by supplying resources. The queen, always less entranced than circumspect, thought proper to adopt a middle way. She declined the sovereignty, that she might avoid the reproach of being a usurper; but she entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the states, whereby she engaged to lend them six thousand men, and maintain them during the war; that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other; that her expenses should be paid at the conclusion of the war; and that the states should supply her with the castle of Ram-

mekins, should be immediately put into her hands, by way of security.

Elizabeth was not insensible that these proceedings would immediately occasion a rupture with Spain; but she was far from being terrified at the ambitious power of Philip. The great success he had acquired, and the increase of his naval power, were not sufficient to deter her from succouring a people distressed, and supporting the liberties of a country threatened with the most arbitrary despotism. The earl of Leicester, who was appointed to command the English forces, embarked on the 23d of October, attended by several of the principal nobility, and a select company of 500 gentlemen. On his arrival at Flushing, he was met by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, governor of that place; and every town through which he passed expressed the most sincere joy, considering him as their guardian angel, and the person who was to rescue them from the most impending danger.

Philip II. was one of the most formidable princes of Europe. Besides large acquisitions in America and the East, he was, in some measure, the arbiter of the court of Rome, and the protector of the holy league formed in France against the Hugonots. He made religion a political resource for his unbounded ambition. The idea of his prodigious power alarmed most of the princes of Europe; and the king of Sweden, when informed that Elizabeth had entered into a league with the states-general, highly blamed her conduct, and said she was tearing the crown from her head. But she shewed no less courage in the danger than prudence in the design. She dispatched a fleet of one and twenty sail, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, with two thousand three hundred land forces, commanded by Christopher Carlisle, to attack the Spanish settlements in America, the chief source of Philip's power, and the most defenceless parts of his extensive dominions. The appearance of the English being wholly unexpected in that distant part of the world, they easily made themselves masters of the capital of St. Domingo, reduced Carthagena, and burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena, in Florida. Drake lost several hundred men in this expedition, but brought home such a prodigious quantity of treasure, as sufficiently rewarded the survivors for their sufferings. At the same time, he displayed the weakness of the Spaniards in the New World, in such alluring colours, that his countrymen were animated to attempt other enterprizes of a similar nature.

But the earl of Leicester was far from having equal success in the Low Countries. The prince of Parma, at the head of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, made himself master of Grave and Venlo; while, on the other hand, lord Willoughby, governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, cut off a large quantity of provisions belonging to the enemy; and Sir Philip Sidney and count Maurice surprised the town of Axel, in Flanders. The prince of Parma, exasperated at these losses, besieged Rheinburgh, garrisoned by twelve hundred English, under the command of colonel Morgan. Leicester thought this place of too much importance to be neglected, and immediately made dispositions for attacking Zutphen, a town of the greatest consequence to the enemy. The stratagem succeeded; the prince of Parma immediately abandoned the siege of Rheinburgh, and advanced to give Leicester battle before Zutphen. A bloody engagement ensued; but the English, after exerting all their valour, were obliged to retreat. Among others, the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, a man of the finest genius, and the most heroic virtue, perished in this battle. Being mortally wounded, and almost suffocated with thirst, a bottle of water was offered him, but observing a soldier lying by his side in the same

dreadful situation, he resigned to him the valuable acquisition, with this generous observation, "That man's necessities are still greater than mine."

A. D. 1586. As Elizabeth received daily intelligence of Philip's designs against her person and government, she thought it essentially necessary to secure the interest of the king of Scotland. Wotton, her ambassador, by consulting only how to please him and gain his confidence, soon became thoroughly acquainted with all the secrets of his cabinet. It is no wonder Wotton succeeded in gaining the ascendancy over a prince of so open and unguarded a temper as James: he was a master of profound dissimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of the most careless gaiety, the deepest designs and most dangerous artifices. Elizabeth was fearful lest James should contract an alliance by marriage, that might render him formidable to England: in the present state of the Scottish kingdom there was nothing to fear. But Wotton employed his intrigues to still more dangerous purposes: he formed a conspiracy for seizing the person of the king, and delivering him into the hands of the English princess; who would certainly not have been displeased had it succeeded, though she was entirely ignorant of the scheme. The treachery was, however, discovered, and Wotton was obliged to secure himself by a precipitate flight.

Notwithstanding James was highly exasperated at this design against his liberty, he thought it prudent to dissemble his resentment: negotiations were soon after formed, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two kingdoms, for their mutual security and the defence of the protestant religion against the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. By this treaty it was stipulated, that if Elizabeth was invaded, James should furnish her with a body of two thousand horse and five thousand foot: that the charge of these armies should be defrayed by the prince that demanded assistance; that if the invasion should be made in England, within sixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James should march his whole force to the assistance of Elizabeth; and that the present league should supersede all former alliances of either state with any foreign prince, so far as religion was concerned.

By this treaty James was guaranteed not only against the dangers of an invasion, but also against domestic troubles, so much the more to be dreaded in Scotland, as the fanaticism of the presbyterian teachers had lately defied the authority of the king, the parliament, and the church. They had even proceeded to that height of audacity, as to excommunicate the archbishop of St. Andrew's, because he had found it necessary to restrain their licentious conduct; and the primate of the kingdom was constrained to divest himself of his ecclesiastical authority. One of the preachers declared publicly from the pulpit, that the king himself was the chief persecutor of the church; and, as a punishment, denounced against him the curse that fell upon Jeroboam that he should die childless and be the last of his race.—Such are the effects of religious bigotry, which sometimes carries its votaries to the most unreasonable lengths.

The spirit of deposing and murdering princes upon papal bulls and excommunications had arrived to the greatest height in the English seminaries abroad, and several plots were formed by the catholics for taking away the life of Elizabeth. The brain of one John Savage had been fired to such a degree by the king-killing doctrine, that he solemnly devoted himself to murder Elizabeth. A plot of the like nature had also been formed in the English seminary at Rheims; and one Ballard, a priest of that school, came over to England, with a resolution of executing the like horrid project. Ballard found means to engage in

his design one Babington, a young gentleman of good fortune in Derbyshire: he was also courted by several catholics of distinction, and it was agreed amongst them that a select number should join Savage in executing his diabolical intentions.

In the mean time the papists, in order to carry on their plot with less suspicion, and lull, if possible, the watchful council of the English cabinet into a fatal security, published several hypocritical writings, in which they professed the highest regard for the person and government of Elizabeth, admonished the people of their persuasion not to engage in any party against the state, but to confine themselves to such weapons as were alone lawful for christians to use, such as tears, prayers, fastings, and the like.

Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to the queen, ever watchful for the safety of his mistress, soon obtained a superficial account of the design of the conspirators; and, (by the assistance of one Mallow, a man of impenetrable dissimulation, who found means to insinuate himself into the favour of Ballard) was regularly informed of every circumstance attending the conspiracy. It had been determined, in several of their meetings, to assassinate Elizabeth, place Mary on the English throne, and restore the catholic religion. Babington had, some years before, contracted an intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a prisoner of the queen of Scots, and had by him been introduced to the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the court of France. That prelate had recommended him to the captive queen, and he, for some time, managed her correspondence with her foreign friends. But, on her being more closely confined, the connection dropped, and Babington laid aside all farther thoughts of Mary and her cause. Unfortunately for him, Ballard re-kindled almost his former zeal for her service; and he undertook, with the assistance of an hundred gentlemen, to set Mary at liberty.

As soon as the plan was settled, Babington wrote to Mary informing her of all that had passed between him and Ballard; and insisted that the gentlemen who were concerned in so dangerous an attempt for her service, should be assured of a reward suitable to their merit. This letter was written in the same cypher which had passed between him and Mary, and was so agreeable to her, that she failed not to answer it in the same cypher, desiring the conspirators to be extremely cautious, lest they should precipitate matters before the return of their English friends from abroad, before they were assured of foreign succours, and before some disturbances were raised in Ireland. At the same time, she pointed out some natural methods for her own deliverance, which might either be overturning a cart in the gateway of the house where she was confined, setting the stable on fire, or carrying her off when she rode out to the benefit of her health.

The astute and diligent Walsingham laboured to obtain the letters that passed between Mary and Babington. But he was still desirous to obtain farther information. To effect this, he caused one of Mary's letters, delivered to him by a most trustworthy agent, a postscript in the same cypher, obliging Babington to send her the names of the principal conspirators. The stratagem succeeded; and a watchman soon discovered, that Savage, also mentioned; Charles Tilney, a man of family, one of Elizabeth's pensioners; John Chene, a man of Lancashire; Edward Abington, who had been collector to Elizabeth; Christopher, a gentleman of Southampton; and one Bannister, a person of quality in Ireland, were the persons who had sworn to assassinate the queen. At the same time, the ridiculous vanity of Babington, in boasting of his

ham with another method of discovery, and also an indication of defence. He had caused a picture to be drawn, in which he himself was represented standing amidst the six assassins, with a motto, implying, that they were all embarked in some dangerous enterprise. A copy of this picture was carried to Walsingham by another of his spies, who had found means to insinuate himself into Babington's confidence. Walsingham delivered this copy to the queen, that she might know the assassins, and be upon her guard if any of them should attempt to approach her person.

Babington, convinced that delays in secret enterprises were dangerous, procured a licence for Ballard, under a feigned name, to pass over to the continent; but the real intention of his journey was, to hasten the foreign succours, whose arrival was desired with anxiety. And to remove all suspicion, Babington applied to Walsingham himself, pretended the greatest zeal for her majesty's service, offered to go abroad, and employ that confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham, desirous of seizing all the assassins, commended his loyal intention, promised to assist him with his counsel and advice in the execution, and encouraged his delusive hopes by keeping up a correspondence with him.

The treacherous Babington having, as he imagined, gained the favour of Walsingham, began to flatter himself that the whole scheme would succeed according to his wishes. But while he was lulled in this security, Ballard was seized by a warrant from one of the secretaries of state. This incident alarmed the conspirators, and introduced confusion into their counsels. Some proposed, as the only method of escaping, to pass immediately over to the continent: while others advised, that Savage and Charnock should execute, without delay, their intended purpose upon Elizabeth. The last proposition was agreed to, and Babington furnished Savage with money that he might purchase cloaths necessary for obtaining the more easy access to the queen's person. The next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too late; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with Walsingham, the anxiety and concern which the consciousness of guilt had inspired in the conspirators, began to subside; they flattered themselves that the seizure of Ballard was owing entirely to the usual diligence of informers in detecting such and seminary priests: Babington was even permitted to take lodgings in Walsingham's house; but being that all his actions were watched with the most scrupulous assiduity by one Scudamore, he began to stand forth in distrust. Soon after, as they were at supper, Scudamore received a note from Walsingham, ordering him to watch Babington more closely than ever; and Babington, by Scudamore's assistance, reading the note over his shoulder, was convincingly convinced of his danger. He rose from table, went out of the room, as if on a sudden occasion, made the best of his way to the garden, and, after acquainting Charnock and Savage with the discovery he had made, they fled immediately into the woods, where they concealed themselves for ten days, but were at last discovered at Harrow on the Hill, dressed like common soldiers, and brought prisoners to London.

On the nineteenth of September, Babington and the five of them accomplices, were arraigned and pleaded guilty, and the next day seven other conspirators were convicted on evidence. They were all suffered the same sentence pronounced by the court in its utmost room: but the others were to hang till they were dead. They all died with great decency and resignation, and con-

fessed their sorrow for that part of the conspiracy relative to the murder of Elizabeth.

The lesser conspirators being thus punished, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whose account, and by whose concurrence, this deep and dangerous plot had been formed against the life of the queen, and the peace of the kingdom. But great difficulties occurred with regard to the manner of proceeding. Scarce a precedent in the history of mankind could be found of a measure of this nature: not one in the annals of England. Some of the council therefore proposed, that no farther proceedings should be carried on against the queen of Scots; thinking that the close confinement of a woman, who was now become very sickly, would be sufficient security to the government. Leicester advised that Mary should be secretly dispatched by poison: but Walsingham declared his abhorrence of so detestable an action, and insisted that all their proceedings should be open and candid. The majority of the council declaring for Walsingham's opinion, a resolution was taken for trying the queen of Scots; and she was immediately removed to Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire.

Mary had for some time been so strictly guarded, that she was still ignorant of the detection of Babington's conspiracy; and she received the intelligence of this event with equal surprize and concern, from Sir Thomas Gorges, who had been sent for that purpose by Elizabeth. Nau and Curle, her two secretaries, were immediately apprehended; all her papers were seized, and transmitted to the council; among which were many letters from persons abroad, and some English noblemen, expressing their firm attachment to her person and title.

Elizabeth thought proper to take no notice of this last discovery; but the persons themselves, conscious of their guilt, and dreading the punishment due to their crime, endeavoured to atone for their fault by changing their principles, and declaring themselves inveterate enemies to the queen of Scots.

In the last sessions of parliament, an act had been passed relative to the crime of treason, and it was determined to try Mary on this statute, and not by the common laws made against that crime. Accordingly Elizabeth appointed a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy counsellors, and judges, who were empowered to examine and pronounce sentence against Mary, whom they styled daughter and heir to James V. late king of Scotland.

On the 11th of October the commissioners repaired to Fotheringay castle, when Sir Walter Mildmay and Edward Barker delivered to the queen of Scots a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commission, and of her approaching trial. Mary read the letter with a countenance more becoming her dignity than her situation, and told them, without the least emotion, that it was very surprizing the queen should command her as a subject to submit to a trial and examination before persons of a rank far inferior to herself: that she was an absolute independent prince, and would submit to nothing that had a tendency to lessen her royal majesty, the state of sovereign princes, or the dignity or rank of her son; that however her spirits might be broken and oppressed by misfortunes and calamities, she was not yet reduced to that abject state her enemies desired; nor would she ever be prevailed upon to consent to her own degradation and dishonour: that though she had long lived in England, she had lived in captivity; was ignorant of the laws and statutes of the kingdom, destitute of council, and could not conceive who could be called her peers, or sit in judgment on a sovereign prince: that she had never enjoyed the protection

of the laws of England, and therefore could not be supposed to have subjected herself to their jurisdiction and authority : that if in her own person every rule of justice should be violated, she should find her revenge in the judgment of the whole world, where innocence would triumph on a theatre infinitely larger than that of a single kingdom.

The commissioners were greatly embarrassed at this spirited answer to Elizabeth's letter ; and they deputed lord Burleigh the treasurer, Bromley the chancellor, and Sir Christopher Hatton the vice-chamberlain, to prevail upon her to relinquish her plea with regard to her royal dignity, and submit cheerfully to a trial, which was now absolutely impossible to be avoided, even though her acquiescence could not be obtained. Various arguments were urged on this occasion, which were so forcible that they at length produced the desired effect : Mary gave up her plea of royalty, and agreed to appear before the court of commissioners on the 14th of October.

The trial had the appearance of great order and solemnity. At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of state for the queen of England, under a royal canopy : over against it, at some distance, stood a chair for the queen of Scots ; and by the walls, on both sides, benches were placed for the commissioners. As soon as the court was opened, the chancellor, turning to Mary, told her, " that she was accused of conspiring the destruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the protestant religion ; and that they were commissioned to examine into the truth of the accusation, and to hear her answer. Mary replied, " that she came into England to crave the assistance which had been promised her : that she was a queen, and no subject to Elizabeth ; and if she appeared before them, it was only to secure her honour and reputation." The chancellor denied that any assistance had been promised her ; and declared, that her protestation was in vain ; for since the law, upon which the accusation was founded, allowed of no distinction in the person of the transgressor, it could not be admitted.

This contested point being settled, the crown lawyers opened the charge against Mary queen of Scots. They accused her of offering to cede to the king of Spain the right to the crown of Scotland, if James, her son, refused to be a convert to popery. Mary did not attempt to exculpate herself from this accusation ; she only answered, that she had no longer a kingdom at her disposal, but had still power to give what belonged to her, and was not responsible to any person. Strong proofs were produced, that she had formed a resolution of disinheriting her son as an heretic ; that the late alliance of that prince with Elizabeth had heightened these prejudices ; and that her maternal tenderness was abated by time, resentment, and religious zeal.

As Mary knew these facts could not affect her life, she took no pains to confute the assertions. The great business, therefore, was to prove the capital charge of the impeachment, that Mary had concurred in the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth. In order to effect this, copies of the intercepted letters between her and Babington were produced, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed ; and this was confirmed by the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who, even without being threatened with the torture, had sworn, that she both received those letters from Babington, and that they had wrote the answers by her order. The confession of Babington also corresponded with the depositions of her secretaries. Mary was incapable of making a satisfactory defence before the commissioners ; her reply consisted chiefly in her own denial. She asserted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of secrecy

and fidelity to her, their evidence could not be credited ; and that if these men had received any letters, or wrote any answers, the imputation could never lie upon her. She added, that it was easy to forge the hand writing and cypher of another.

As soon as the trial was finished, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay-castle to the Star-Chamber in London ; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two secretaries, who voluntarily attested the authenticity of the letters produced at the trial, they pronounced sentence of death against the queen of Scots. At the same time a declaration was published by the commissioners and judges, importing, " That the sentence against Mary no way derogated from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland, but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

Though Elizabeth was, in reality, far from being displeased at the sentence passed against Mary, she affected to be deeply interested in the fate of the unfortunate princess ; and in order to exculpate herself from any public odium, she summoned a parliament, that she might appear to be guided solely by the voice of her subjects. She well knew that she should not want the most earnest solicitations from that assembly to consent to a measure so agreeable to her secret inclinations. Nor was she deceived : the commons confirmed the sentence pronounced against Mary, and requested the execution of it with an ardour she could desire.

Elizabeth failed not to support, with great propriety, the part she acted : she made a parade of humanity and hypocritical moderation, would promise nothing, and left the world in uncertainty with regard to her real sentiments. She complained of her own unfortunate situation ; expressed her uneasiness from the importunity of her parliament ; renewed her expressions of affection for her people ; but still refused to declare her real intention with regard to the fate of the captive princess. She, however, complied with the request of the parliament, with regard to the publication of Mary's sentence. The lord Burleigh and Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to deliver to the queen of Scots the sentence pronounced against her, its ratification by the parliament, and the earnest applications made by that assembly, that being carried into execution, from a permanent captivity their religion could never, while she was alive, obtain a full settlement and security. Mary received these news with joy, the idea of dying a martyr to the catholic faith supported her spirits in that critical moment. " I can hardly believe," said she, " that the queen, my sister, has consented to this ; but if her will be such, that death, which will put an end to my sufferings, cannot be delayed, I will not, and I think that soul unworthy of her, that should shrink in passing through the shadow of death."

In the mean time great efforts were used by the reign powers to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against Mary. The kings of France and Scotland made vehement representations, though it was conjectured that the opposition by the king of France was not sincere. Elizabeth's ministers, indeed, strenuously opposed every measure that had a tendency to make her situation more enlarged on the troubles and conspiracies that were excited by the queen of Scotland. They asserted that she was already degraded from her rank, and that, in natural equity, every person interested in the sovereignty, had a right to justice against her, and should attempt to save her life. They added, that Mary lived, every thing was to be done to prevent attempts of the catholics ; and that the

dence and justice demanded the punishment of that princefs.

Although Elizabeth's actions fufficiently indicated ſhe had malice in her heart, yet ſhe ſtill continued to conceal her ſentiments; and her duplicity furniſhed her with new artifices. Rumours of invaſions, rebellions, and aſſaſinations, were ſpread with great addreſs. The people were terrified at their danger, and the death of Mary was conſidered as neceſſary to reſtore the tranquillity of the nation. The captive princeſs, however, ſupported herſelf with ſuch placid dignity, as does honour to her memory. When Sir Amias Paulet took down her canopy of ſtate, ſhe bore the inſult with the utmoſt patience; and when he told her, that ſhe could now be conſidered only as a dead perſon, and incapable of any dignity, ſhe only answered, that ſhe received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power could ever wreſt it from her. She wrote a pathetic letter to queen Elizabeth, requeſting, "that after the fatal ſentence was executed, her body might be ſent to France, there to be interred near the ſacred relics of her mother, and accompanied with thoſe rites and ceremonies which her religion required: that the execution of her ſentence might be public in the ſight of all the world; and that her ſervants, after they had done the laſt offices, and been witneſſes of her perseverance in the faith, and of her ſubmiſſion to the will of heaven, might be ſuffered to depart without moleſtation, and enjoy the legacies bequeathed them by their dying miſtreſs."

A. D. 1587. When Elizabeth thought importunities ſufficient had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed as decency required, ſhe determined to proceed to the laſt act of this affecting tragedy; but even in making her final reſolution ſhe had recourſe to artifice. She ſent for ſecretary Daviſon, a man of great parts, but eaſy to be deceived, and commanded him to make out a warrant for the execution of Mary queen of Scots. He obeyed the order; the queen ſigned the warrant, and told him to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the ſeal affixed to it. The next day ſhe ſent him a meſſage, enjoining him not to execute her former commands till farther orders. Daviſon came immediately to court, and informed the queen, that the warrant had paſſed the ſeal. She ſeemed offended, and blamed him for his precipitation. Alarmed at this inconſiſtency of conduct Daviſon informed the council of the whole tranſaction; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would proceed no farther without their participation. They requeſted that the execution might be haſtened; ſaying that if the queen was offended, they would ſequally ſhare the blame; and Beale, clerk of the council, was accordingly diſpatched with the warrant, addreſſed to the earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby and Cumberland, commanding them to ſee ſentence executed on the queen of Scots.

In conſequence of this, on the ſeventh of February, the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent reached Fotheringhay caſtle, and informed Mary of their commiſſion; ſaying that ſhe muſt prepare for death the next morning by eight o'clock. She received the ſummons with great calmneſs and compoſure. She concluded, indeed, that ſhe did not expect to die ſo ſoon; but all her geſtures, looks and words, were full of devotion. She deſired that ſhe might have a conference with her almoner, confeſſor, and Andrew Melville, a member of her houſhold, but they reſuſed to ſpeak with regard to her confeſſor. They, however, recommended the dean of Peterborough, who could very readily aſſiſt her in making preparations for her paſſage into eternity. She replied, that his aſſiſtance was not neceſſary; and as they had thought

proper to deny a requeſt for which the dictates of humanity ſo ſtrongly pleaded, ſhe would endeavour to ſupply the defect by her own prayers.

When Shrewsbury and Kent had left her, ſhe ordered ſupper to be haſtened, and having eat ſparingly, as was her uſual cuſtom, ſhe called for a glaſs of wine, and drank to all her attendants. They pledged her in order on their knees; and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of their duty. She, in return, deigned to aſk their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effuſion of tears attended this laſt ſolemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveness.

Then addreſſing herſelf to her chaplain, ſhe ſaid, they pretend I muſt die becauſe I conſpired againſt the queen's life: but the earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other cauſe of my death but the apprehenſions, which, if I ſhould live, they entertain for their religion. My conſtancy in the faith is my real crime: the reſt is only a colour invented by intereſted and deſigning men.

She then read over her teſtament, with the inventory of her goods and moveables, and wrote on them the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed them; and what money ſhe had ſhe put in different purſes, according to the number of her ſervants, and according to their merits and qualities diſtributed among them. After this, ſhe wrote letters of recommendation for all her ſervants to the king of France and the duke of Guiſe, and one to her confeſſor, deſiring him to pray for her ſoul. She then retired to reſt, and after ſleeping with the greateſt compoſure for ſome hours, ſhe ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer.

Towards the morning ſhe ordered her women to dreſs her in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet; and all the time they were performing this office, ſhe continued to exhort them to patience and reſignation.

Thomas Andrews, ſheriff of the county, entering the room, informed her that ſhe muſt attend him to the place of execution. She replied that ſhe was ready; and bidding adieu to her ſervants, followed him with a ſerene aſpect, being gently ſupported by two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards. In paſſing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, ſhe was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other perſons of diſtinction. When ſhe came to the porch of the hall where the ſcaffold on which ſhe was to die was erected, her faithful ſervant Melvil, for whom ſhe had a particular regard, threw himſelf at her feet in tears, and uttered the moſt paſſionate expreſſions of ſorrow and heavineſs. "My good ſervant," ſaid the queen, "ceale to lament; for thou haſt cauſe rather to rejoice than mourn; for now thou ſhalt ſee Mary Stuart's troubles receive their expected end. I know, my good ſervant, that all the world is but vanity, and ſubject ſtill to more ſorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee, carry this meſſage home to me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and France. But God forgive them, who have long deſired my life, and thirſted for my blood, like as the hart panteth for the water brook. O God, thou who art the author of truth, and truth itſelf, I know, the inward chamber of my thoughts, how that I was ever willing that Scotland and England ſhould be united, and to obviate the ſource of all theſe fatal diſſords." "Hitherto," continued ſhe to Melvil, "thou haſt ſerved me faithfully, and howbeit I take thee in religion to be a proteſtant, and I am a catholic, yet, ſeeing there is but one Chriſt, I charge thee upon thine account to him, that thou carryſt that my laſt words to my ſon. Tell him, that I pray him to ſave God, to defend the catholic church, to govern his

his kingdom in peace, and never to put himself in the power of another, as I have done. Assure him likewise, that notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland." She then with her face bedewed with tears, added, "Good Melvil farewell. Once again, farewell, good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

She then turned to the noblemen who attended her, and desired that her servants might have and enjoy with quietness, what she had given them by her will and testament; that they might be favourably treated, and sent safely to their respective countries, and lastly, that they might be permitted to be present at her death; that their eyes might behold, and, their hearts be witnesses, how patiently their queen and mistress should endure her execution, that thereby they might be able to make a relation when they came to their own countries, how she died firm in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent strongly opposed granting her this last request, telling her that they would be apt by their speeches and cries both to disturb her and the spectators: that he was also apprehensive, lest they should practise some superstition unmeet for him to suffer; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood, &c. To which she replied, "My lord I give you my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not deserve any blame in any of the actions you have named; but alas! poor souls! it would do them good to bid their mistress farewell. And I hope," added she, "that your mistress, being a maiden queen, would vouchsafe, in regard of womankind, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. And I know her majesty hath not given you any such strict command, but that you might grant me a request, of far greater courtesy than this, even were I a woman of much inferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that she was not like to obtain her request, she burst into tears. "I am cousin to your queen," cried she, "and descended from the blood royal of Henry the seventh, a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland." For her mind, which was fortified against the terrors of death, was not prepared for this fresh insult and indignity.

After some consultation, the lords agreed that Mary might make choice of a few of her servants to attend her on the scaffold. The persons she fixed on were Melvil, her physician, her surgeon, her apothecary, and another old man; and two ladies who used always to be in her bed-chamber. She then entered the great hall, where was erected the scaffold, covered with black. She mounted it, and saw without dismay, the two executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with spectators, and no one was so Steele against all sentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, at seeing a sovereign princess in distress, remembered the surprising train of misfortunes that had attended her, beheld her mild but inflexible constancy, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and still more by affliction, fully displayed themselves at this last moment. As soon as she ascended the scaffold, and seated herself in a chair which was placed for that purpose and covered with black cloth, Beal, the clerk of the council, read the warrant for her execution, but she continued silent during the whole ceremony, and showed by her behaviour, an indifference and unconcern as if it did not relate to her.

She now prepared herself to suffer the sentence which put an end to all her misfortunes here; and she seemed to have so far done with temporal things, as to be wholly employed in those that will never end. But the tranquillity of soul was inter-

rupted by the dean of Peterborough, who exhorted her to change her religion, and die in the true faith. To which she answered, "Do not, Mr. Dean, trouble yourself with me. I was born and educated in the Roman faith, and mean to speed in blood in its defence." Notwithstanding this declaration, the lords ordered the dean to proceed; but Mary again interrupted him, and requested, with great earnestness, not to endeavour to disturb the tranquillity of her soul: and the two earls perceiving that was fruitless to harass her farther with theological disputes, ordered the dean to desist from his unreasonable exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. The dean accordingly addressed a prayer to heaven for enlightening her heart with the light of the truth, and dispelling the clouds of bigotry and superstition. During the dean's prayer, she employed herself in private devotion from the office of the virgin; and afterwards prayed aloud in English, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own sufferings, for her own son, and for queen Elizabeth.

Her prayer being thus ended, she began, with the help of her two women, to disrobe herself; the executioner also lending his assistance. She fixed at the incident, saying, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants seeing their mistress ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: she turned about to them, put her finger to her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, tied a linen handkerchief round her eyes, which being done, Mary laid her head upon the block without fear or trepidation, repeated the thirty-first psalm, and stretching out her arms, the signal for the execution, her head was severed from her body, and strokes. The executioner instantly taking the head from the floor, held it up, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death, and aloud, "Long live queen Elizabeth, and may all her enemies perish in this manner." The dean of Peterborough and the earl of Kent only replied "Amen;" the rest of the spectators being dissolved in tears. Her corpse was interred with great pomp and solemnity in the cathedral of Peterborough, where it lay till the accession of her son to the throne of England; when he ordered the remains to be removed into the south isle of Henry the Seventh chapel at Westminster, where they now lie under a stately monument erected to her memory.

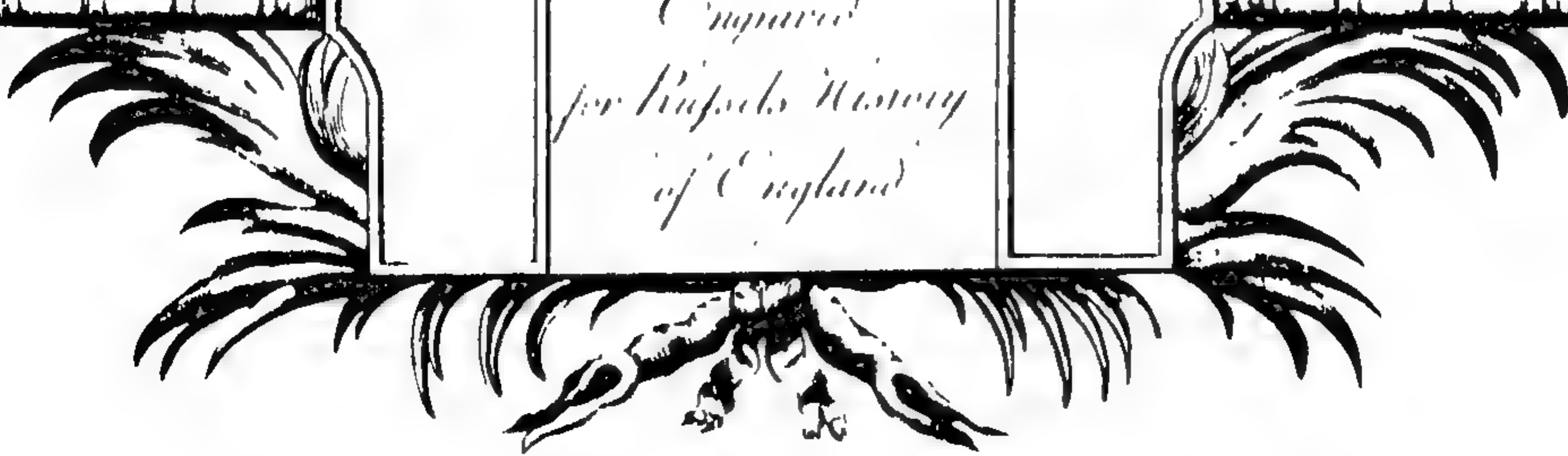
Thus fell Mary queen of Scots, in the sixty-third year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England. She was a lady in whom nature and fortune seemed to have directly opposed each other, the former having exhausted her whole attention, her accomplishments, and the latter to make her miserable. It was her peculiar misfortune that the advantages she ought to have derived from her education, rank, beauty and accomplishments, were all directed immediately to her destruction. In her youth she was an exile, she was educated in the court of adulation, and in the palace of dissimulation, the wicked court then in the world, which rendered her sometimes impatient under the most severe treatment received in her native country. No person was ever more unhappy in marriage than she. At a very young age she was espoused to a husband of found constitution and mean capacity. To his attachments she abandoned herself to the seductions of profligate men. These are doubtless great faults, whether they are considered as popular or crime, as the result of an insupportable situation, or as the result of an insupportable situation, or as the result of an insupportable situation.



White, John

White, John

Engraved
for Richard Watson
of England



the faulty of human nature, or of violent passions, and momentary incidents. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed unlimited confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which was never sufficiently under the guidance of discretion; she was betrayed into actions, which may, with some difficulty, be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. At the same time the beauties of her person, and graces of her air, combined to render her one of the most amiable of women; while the charms of her address and conversation aided the impressions which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all she touched. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society; of a lofty spirit, constant and even vehement in her purpose; yet gentle, and affable in her demeanor; she seemed to partake only of so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those softer graces, which compose the proper ornaments of her sex.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of the death of Mary, than she affected the utmost grief; nor would she for some time, suffer any of her ministers to approach her. She openly declared, that the execution had been done without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclinations. She wrote a very pathetic letter to the king of Scotland, calling heaven and earth to witness, that it was her resolution to have shed the blood of Mary. She committed David Rizzio to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-Chamber. The minister well knew the danger of a contest with his sovereign; he acknowledged his guilt, and sued for pardon. The queen was inexorable; a tedious imprisonment, and a fine that reduced him to beggary, were the reward of his services. No person was deceived by this behaviour of the queen; they knew that dissimulation cost her nothing. Davison wrote an apology to his friend Walsingham, containing many curious anecdotes. He declared, that on the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, who had made strong representations in favour of Mary, Elizabeth commanded him to deliver a warrant for her execution. She signed it readily, ordered it to be sealed, and appeared in such good humour on the occasion, that she said to him, in a calm manner, "Go tell this to Walsingham, who will be sick, though I fear he will die with sorrow when he hears it." At the same time, she blamed Paulet and Davison, that they had not before called her of this, and wished Walsingham would bring them to her compliance in that particular. "I told her," said Davison, that Paulet had absolutely refused to sign a warrant inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice." The queen was very angry, and accused Paulet and others of perjury, in having taken the oath of non-resistance, whereby they had bound themselves to defend her wrongs, and yet refused their assistance when it was wanted. "But (added she) there are many who will be found less scrupulous."

When the king of Scotland received advice of the death of Mary, he was so afflicted with grief that he resolved himself to the wildest resolutions. He refused to admit Cary, who brought the letter from Elizabeth into his presence. He recalled his ambassador from the English court; war and vengeance were to have taken possession of his soul. Great numbers of the nobility caught the flame, and a rupture between the two kingdoms seemed inevitable. When the count of Arundell, lord Sinclair appeared in a suit of black, and said his dress only was the proper one for the queen of Scotland.

Elizabeth was alarmed at these warlike appearances, and as the first flame was abated, she had re-

course to conciliating measures. Walsingham wrote a long letter to James, wherein he intimated the dangers to which Scotland would be exposed in a war with England; the inconveniences that must attend his receiving succours either from France or Spain; and how absurd it would be for James to risque his expectations of the crown of England, by irritating the people. These considerations, joined to the peaceable temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment, and a good correspondence with the English court was gradually restored.

The northern storm being thus dissipated, Elizabeth was more at leisure to watch the motions of Philip of Spain, who had for some time been making preparations for invading England. A prodigious number of ships were equipping in his ports; and though he had not yet declared war against England, no person was deceived in his intentions. But the navy of Elizabeth was able to dispute the prize of victory with the sovereign of the New World. Drake was sent, with a strong fleet, to insult the coasts of Spain, intercept the supplies of naval and military stores continually sending to Cadiz, and destroy the shipping of the enemy in their own harbours. Drake executed his commission with great courage and success, burning and destroying above an hundred sail of ships, most of them laden with provisions and military stores; and after taking the town of St. Vincent, and bombarding Lisbon, he sailed for the Western-Islands, in order to intercept a rich carrack, or galleon, called the St. Philip, then on her return from the East-Indies. He succeeded, and returned to England with an immense booty. But the most valuable acquisition was a packet of papers found in the galleon, by which the English learned the nature of the oriental commerce, and were inspired with the thoughts of establishing an East-India company.

A short time after this successful expedition, Thomas Cavendish, who had made a voyage round the world, returned to England. He was a gentleman of Devonshire, and having spent his fortune at court, resolved, if possible, to retrieve it by an attempt against the Spanish settlements in the New World. He fitted out three ships at Plymouth, one of 120 tons, another of 60 and a third of 40. With these small vessels he ventured into the south-seas, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took no less than nineteen vessels richly laden; and returning to England by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in triumph, amidst the universal acclamations of the people. His sailors and soldiers were dressed in silks; the sails of his vessels were made of damask; and the booty he brought with him was immense.

But the English were not equally successful in the Netherlands. The earl of Leicester had entrusted the command of Zutphen and Deventer to Stanley and York, two of his creatures; who, instead of defending those important posts, treacherously delivered them up to the prince of Parma. The states, alarmed at these practices, sent an embassy to the English court, requesting that the government might be taken from the earl of Leicester, and given to some more able and prudent general. Elizabeth knew too well the value of the Dutch alliance to sacrifice it to the impetuous temper of a favourite. Accordingly, Leicester was recalled, and the states elected Maurice, son to the prince of Orange, governor in his stead.

A. D. 1588. The great preparations made by Philip of Spain gave a universal alarm to the English nation. That sagacious and hypocritical monarch, though he had not yet declared his intention, was manifestly taking measures for seizing the crown of England. Pope Sixtus V. not less ambitious than Philip, excited him to the enterprize; he again communicated the queen's mind published a bull against

against her, with the usual indulgences. All the ports of Spain resounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; and the Spaniards seemed to threaten the English with a total annihilation.

Three whole years had been spent by Philip in making the necessary preparations for this distinguished enterprize; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious strength, was called "The Invincible Armada," was now completed. A consecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was lavished on the occasion. This tremendous armament consisted of the following particulars: nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers; eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen; two thousand and eight galley slaves; and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. The marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer of great reputation and experience, was appointed to command the Armada; and by his counsels and directions all the naval preparations were conducted. There was hardly a noble family in Spain but sent either a son, a brother, or a nephew, on board this fleet, in order to acquire riches and estates in England, which was considered as an easy conquest. The duke of Parma, in order to insure success, was ordered to provide transports sufficient to embark an army of twenty-five thousand men, and land them in England as soon as the Spanish fleet appeared on the coast of Flanders. Ships were accordingly provided, and the duke quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieupoort.

The English fleet at this time consisted only of twenty-eight sail, most of which were very small vessels; but the alacrity of Elizabeth's subjects sufficiently atoned for the weakness of her navy. The maritime towns, the nobility and gentry, testified the greatest zeal on this occasion. The city of London fitted out thirty ships, though fifteen only had been required. The gentry and nobility hired and armed forty-three ships at their own expence. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, was lord admiral, and took upon him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; while a smaller fleet, consisting of forty vessels, under the command of lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the forces commanded by the duke of Parma.

Twenty thousand land forces were cantoned along the southern coasts of England; another body of disciplined men encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the earl of Leicester, whom the queen, on this occasion, created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord of Hunsdon commanded a third army, consisting of thirty thousand men, for the defence of her majesty's person. Arthur, lord Grey, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were consulted about the management of the war; and, pursuant to their advice, all the landing places on the coast from Hull, to the Land's-End, and thence to Milford Haven, were fortified and garrisoned. The militia of the country were armed and regulated under proper officers, who received instructions for interrupting the disembarkation of the enemy, wasting the country before them, attacking them rear, and keeping up a continual alarm in their army, till a sufficient force could be assembled to give them battle. Sir Robert Sydney was sent into Scotland, in order to induce James to continue firmly attached to the English interest. The Scottish monarch was fortunately disposed to cultivate an union with Elizabeth, and even to march, at the head of all the forces of

his kingdom, to the assistance of the English. His authority with the king of Denmark, and the connection resulting from their common religion, prevailed upon that prince to seize a squadron of ships, which Philip had either purchased or hired at Danish harbours. But her chief hopes of success were placed on the affections of her people, who were very papists themselves, though they knew she had absolved them from their oaths of allegiance. They exerted themselves on this occasion. Contrary to their expectations, they could not expect to be intrusted with arms; several of the young nobility served as volunteers, either in the fleet or army: some equipped ships at their own expence, and gave the command of them to protestants; while others were active in animating their tenants and vassals in support of their own Party distinctions were forgotten, and every man exerted himself in the defence of his country.

The magnanimity of Elizabeth was remarkable on this trying occasion. She appeared on board the camp at Tilbury, harangued her army, and expressed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. She assured her troops, that the weakness of her sex should not prevent her marching at their head against the Spanish invaders; that she would reward their bravery herself; and that she would sooner perish on the field of battle than live in the slavery of her people. "My arm (said she) is but the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and, what is more, of a king of England." The whole army caught the heroic ardour of the queen; they were impatient to meet the enemy, and earnestly desirous of convincing the haughty Spaniards, that they still possessed the spirit of Englishmen.

The Armada was some time prevented from sailing by the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz. The duke of Madeira Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, was appointed admiral in his room. This mistake was employed by Elizabeth in making her preparations for rendering the design abortive. Although the invincible fleet sailed from Lisbon on the ninth of May; but being overtaken with a violent tempest, the fleet was obliged to put into the bay, having received considerable damage. Although of two months, the armada failed once more to execute the intended enterprize. The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, of which one hundred were galleons, and of a greater value than any that had ever before appeared on the coast of England. The Spanish admiral was ordered to lie near the coast of France as possible, in order to receive prince Parma, and avoid meeting the English, which might occasion some delay in the execution. It was never imagined that they could make any material opposition. But an accident induced the Spanish admiral to neglect this prudent advice. In passing a fishing boat in his passage, the master of which informed him that the English admiral perceived that the late storm, which scattered the armada, prevented any attempt being made to disembark. He laid up his ships, and discharged the greater part of his seamen. Deceived by this intelligence, the Spanish admiral determined to destroy the English fleet in the mouth harbour before he joined the prince of Parma. He accordingly fled towards that port, in order to obtain an easy victory. The armada was drawn up in the form of a half moon, and stretched to the length of seven leagues from the extremity of the bay to that of the other. But this tremendous armada dismayed not the English; they knew that their vessels were for all constituted, and so diligently managed that they would not be able to break themselves; against the repeated attacks of the



*Engraving
for Russell's History
of England*

*QUEEN ELIZABETH going in procession
to St Paul's Cathedral, to receive thanks
for the defeat of the Spanish Armada*

balance. Experience soon convinced them that they were not mistaken. Two of the largest ships in the Spanish fleet were soon after taken by Sir Francis Drake; and while the enemy advanced slowly up the channel, the English followed their rear, and harassed them with perpetual skirmishes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of success: the design of attacking the English navy in Plymouth was laid aside; and they directed their course towards Calais, in order to join the prince of Parma.

No sooner were these transactions made known in England, than the nobility and gentry hastened out with their ships from every harbour to join the admiral, who soon found his fleet amounted to one hundred and forty sail. He still hung upon the rear of the Spaniards, and distressed them with repeated attacks. At last the armada came to an anchor before Calais, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma; but before that general could embark his troops, all hopes of success vanished, by a stratagem of the English admiral. He filled eight of his larger ships with combustible materials, and setting them on fire, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this appearance, the Spaniards cut their cables, and betook themselves to flight in a very precipitate and disorderly manner. In the midst of this confusion, the English fell upon them with such fury, that twelve of their largest ships were taken, and several others were thoroughly damaged.

The ambitious Spaniards were now convinced that their scheme was entirely frustrated; and would willingly have abandoned the enterprize, and returned immediately to their ports, could they have done it with safety: but this was impossible; the wind was contrary; and the only chance of escaping, was that of making a tour of the whole island, and reaching at last the Spanish harbours by the ocean. But a violent storm soon overtook them, and completed the destruction of the Invincible Armada; not half the number of vessels returned to the ports of Spain. It is said that Philip, being informed of the disaster, fell on his knees, to thank heaven for sparing him so much; while the Spanish clergy, considering an event so contrary to their expectations, assigned a very ridiculous cause for it, namely, that the infidel Mahometans were suffered to continue in a catholic kingdom.

The lord high-admiral having entirely cleared the English coast of Spaniards, returned with his fleet to Downs, and was received in London with the most acclamations of joy. A public thanksgiving was ordered to be observed throughout the whole kingdom for so singular a deliverance; and the queen went to St. Paul's, in great solemnity, to perform the sacred duty. At the same time eleven standards and colours, taken from the enemy, were hung up in the body of the church, as trophies of so gallant a victory*.

A short time after the dispersion of the Spanish armada, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, the king's great, but unworthy, favourite, paid the debt of nature. Though he had not discovered any abilities or courage in any of his military enterprises, yet he was entrusted with the chief command of the English at a time when the Spaniards expected to invade the kingdom; a partiality which might have proved fatal to Elizabeth, had the prince of Parma landed his troops in England. But

the queen's affections seemed to terminate entirely with his death; for she caused his goods to be exposed to sale, in order to reimburse herself for the money she had lent him.

A. D. 1589. The affairs of England were now in a state of tranquillity. The Scots, since the death of Mary, were no longer terrible. James, surrounded by factions, invested with little authority, and naturally inclined to repose, was so far from being able to give the English any disturbance, that he found it his interest to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. He had lately married a daughter of the king of Denmark, and by that means lost the favour of the catholic party. Philip of Spain had sufficiently seen his error, to attempt a new invasion: he was not so fond of enterprize as to squander the treasures of his kingdom in undertakings big with absurdity. Elizabeth was therefore now able to assist the Hugonots in France, who still suffered the most violent persecutions. The duke of Guise, more absolute than Henry III. had compelled that prince to take up arms against them, and also against the king of Navarre, the presumptive heir of the crown. Elizabeth furnished the latter with large sums; and, by her assistance, he had gained a victory over the league at Coutray. He could not, however, maintain his advantage, because the Germans, who were marching to his assistance, were defeated by the duke of Guise. Unforeseen events, however, changed the face of things in France. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with the admiration of Guise, and strongly prejudiced against the king, took up arms against him, and Henry was obliged to fly from his capital for safety. He, however, dissembled his resentment, entered into a negotiation with the league, and loaded Guise and his partizans with offices and favours. Deceived by these appearances of friendship, Guise, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, came to court, and were both assassinated by the king's orders. This perfidious conduct rendered the league more furious and formidable than ever. The citizens of Paris renounced their allegiance, and were followed by those of many considerable places in the kingdom. Henry finding it impossible to resist the storm that was gathering round him, was obliged to have recourse to the Hugonots for assistance; he joined the hero whom he had been obliged to treat as an enemy. At the same time, he insisted large bodies of Swiss infantry and German cavalry; and being still supported by his chief nobility, he assembled an army of near forty thousand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, threatening the severest revenge against the inhabitants. But the city was saved by the resolution of Jacques Clement, a Dominican monk. Inflamed by the bloody spirit of bigotry which distinguished this century, he embraced the resolution of sacrificing his own life to save the church from the persecutions of an heretical tyrant. He found means to be admitted into the king's presence, and plunged a dagger into the breast of his sovereign, who expired on the first of August. The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. ascended the throne, but found he had a kingdom to conquer, and subjects to subdue.

In the month of October this year died the famous Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to Elizabeth. He was one of the most able and accomplished ministers that ever appeared in this or any other country, and not more distinguished by his great abilities than his untutted virtues. Though he

had

* Part of the ammunition taken from the Spaniards in the battle, together with different instruments designed for the destruction of the English, had they been allowed, are

still preserved in the Tower of London; an ample description of which is given in the account of that fortress, inserted in *The History and Survey of London*.

had passed through many great employments, and had been very frugal in his expences, he died so poor, that his family were obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, who was first married to Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the earl of Essex, the great favourite of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1590. No sooner did Henry IV. ascend the throne of France, than the ambitious Philip formed a design of deposing that monarch; intimation of which being given to Elizabeth, she sent the former a considerable body of troops in order to assist him against so dangerous an enemy. The famous sieges of Paris and Rouen, which the duke of Parma had the honour of raising, deceived, however, the hopes of the queen. She seemed dissatisfied with the conduct of her ally, and complained of his exposing the English too much on every occasion; a complaint that seems not to have been well founded, as it was undoubtedly owing to the valour of those troops, especially to their officers, who, under the command of the young earl of Essex, risked every thing for glory. But while the English were gathering laurels in the fields of France, the queen sustained an irreparable loss, by the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, lord high chancellor of England. He was a person of great abilities, unshaken probity, and firmly attached to the constitutions of his country.

A. D. 1591. Elizabeth, desirous of distressing Philip as much as possible, determined to make an attack on part of the treasure of the Indies, the true source of all his power. Accordingly, in the beginning of the spring, she dispatched lord Thomas Howard to the Azores, or Western Islands, with a squadron of seven ships, to intercept the galleons in their return to Europe; but the Spanish monarch, apprized of her design, fitted out a fleet of fifty-five sail, and sent them to the Azores, to convoy the India ships. Howard, who knew nothing of this strong fleet, escaped with difficulty. His little squadron was riding at anchor in the harbour of Flores when the Spanish fleet appeared. He, however, found means to put to sea, by which the enemy were disappointed in the hopes of taking him and his whole division. Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, was not so fortunate: he was surrounded by the enemy, and all hopes of escaping were cut off. In this desperate situation he attempted to break through the Spanish fleet, but was disappointed; and after an engagement of fifteen hours with the whole force of the enemy, he was obliged to surrender, but not before he was mortally wounded. The rest of the squadron returned to England, disappointed, indeed, in their expectations of acquiring part of the riches of the New World, but not in essentially distressing the enemy; for the Plate fleet had been so long detained at the Havannah, through fear of the English, that they were obliged to put to sea at an improper season; the consequence of which was, that they were unable to reach the Spanish ports, and the greater part of them were lost.

A. D. 1592. Notwithstanding Henry IV. had obtained some advantages over the league, yet the catholics were far from being intimidated: they made the most violent efforts against their sovereign, and the cardinal legate published the pontiff's bull for the election of a popish king. They intended to have given the crown to Philip; and the duke of Parma marched a powerful army into France, to overawe the assembly, which the Spanish party proposed to be held at Rheims or Souffons. But the duke of Mayenne, sensible of the consequences, ordered the assembly to be held at Paris. Thus, in some measure, disconcerted the plan of the prince of Parma; and Henry drew all his troops out of Normandy, in order to fight the Spanish general before he could advance

into the heart of the country. What the consequence would have been, it is impossible to say; but all the vast designs of Philip were rendered abortive by the death of the prince of Parma, who paid the debt of nature in the forty-fifth year of his age. Even Elizabeth herself is said to have dropped from generous expressions to the memory of that great man; and, perhaps, few princes ever excelled him in virtue, in civil, and in military accomplishment. His great merits were soon conspicuous after his death. No other general had authority sufficient to maintain a proper discipline in the Spanish troops. The soldiers mutinied, and a great number of them deserted.

Elizabeth now determined to make another attempt to humble the pride of Philip, by cutting off the sinews of his strength in the West Indies. Sir Walter Raleigh was sent with a squadron of five men of war, either to attack Panama, or intercept the Plate fleet in their return to Europe. No man was ever better adapted to enterprizes of this kind than Sir Walter: his schemes were great, but difficult, not impracticable to any capacity but his own; his learning was not inferior to his knowledge, his constancy to his courage, nor his virtue to his genius, which was equal to the greatest undertakings. Having been detained too long in port by contrary winds, he failed three months later than he intended; and after passing the Land's End, he learned, that orders had been sent from Spain to stop the return of the Plate fleet to Europe that season. This intelligence, together with a violent storm which separated his fleet, obliged him to alter his plan of operations. He sent one part of his squadron, under Sir Martin Forbisher, to cruize on the coast of Spain; and another part, under Burroughs, a brave sea officer, to the Azores. The earl of Cumberland was also at sea with three men of war, and had chased a galleon into Flores just as Burroughs arrived at that island; while the Spanish fleet, which was then at sea, went in search of Forbisher. Burroughs would have made himself master of the galleon, which had taken shelter in Flores, had not a dead calm succeeded, and given the Spaniards an opportunity of unloading the treasure, and setting the ship on fire. He had, however, good fortune, soon after, to take another galleon in a desperate engagement, in which the greater part of the Spanish crew, consisting of six hundred men, were either killed or wounded. The English gained both riches and honour by this capture. The money publicly known amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and the embezzlements were thought to be at least equal in value.

Towards the latter end of this year the papists began again to shew their inclination to rebel both in England and Scotland. One Richard Hacket was sent by the English fugitives beyond sea, to persuade Ferdinand, earl of Derby, to assume the regal title, by claim of descent from Mary, daughter to Henry VII. and to threaten him that unless he undertook this enterprize, and withal concerted with an adviser, he should shortly die in the most violent manner; and, as an encouragement, he was told that he might assuredly rely on the assistance of the king of Spain. The earl, however, fearing that a trap laid for him, discovered the whole affair to his council, and Hacket was taken and hanged. The threats of that villain were unhappily fulfilled in the poor earl, who, in less than four months, died in the most excruciating torture, supposed to be the effects of poison. The suspicion fell upon a gentleman of the house, who disappeared the morrow after his lordship's death. In the cabinet was found an image of wax, with his name written

through the belly of it of the same colour with his own; which was thought to have been placed there to take off the suspicion of his having been poisoned, and to throw it upon the effects of necromancy, which, in those days, was greatly credited. Coppinger and Arthington, two principals concerned with Hacket, died soon after, the former in Bridewell, and the latter in Wood-street Compter.

A. D. 1593. The French monarch, notwithstanding all his heroic qualities, and the great assistance he received from the English, soon found that arms alone would never make him master of his kingdom. He found it impossible to triumph over the rage of a party whom religious zeal had rendered the most obstinate rebels. A conspiracy was even formed in his court, for electing some catholic prince to fill the throne of France, if Henry any longer delayed to embrace the established religion. The more sensible among the protestants perceived the necessity of satisfying the catholics. Henry accordingly abjured Calvinism, either from conviction, or, as it is rather supposed, from political motives. But however it might be, the papists triumphed greatly in gaining so glorious a proselyte; and the dreadful disputes, which had for so many years deluged France with blood, began to subside. Elizabeth, who was herself warmly attached to the protestants by political reasons, reproached Henry for this interested conversion in a very angry letter; but she at length listened to his apologies, and continued her assistance: she even entered into a new treaty with him, in which it was stipulated, that no peace should be made with Philip without the concurrence of both parties.

A. D. 1594. Philip's intrigues were not confined to England only: he endeavoured to excite fresh disturbances in Scotland; large supplies were promised by the governor of the Netherlands if the catholics would attempt to wrest the sceptre from James, and give it to a prince of the Romish persuasion. The project, however, was principally levelled against England; for though the Spaniards promised to send an army into Scotland, it was only to cover their enmity against Elizabeth, whom they intended to invade; and, during the general conflagration which they imagined must attend her death, they proposed to invade England, which would then become easy conquest. The scheme was carried on for sometime with apparent success; but being at length discovered, several of the agents employed in the conspiracy were apprehended, two of whom were executed at Tyburn, where they confessed every circumstance relative to the horrid undertaking in which they had been employed.

A. D. 1595. Elizabeth was so enraged at the persistent and heroic Spaniards, that she determined to carry the war into the very heart of Spain, and immediately gave orders that all necessary preparations should be made for that purpose. During this year several noble achievements were performed by the English; but the most remarkable was the expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, a fertile tract of land in South America, rather possessed and inhabited by the Spaniards. He had, at his own expense, sent one Whiddon to view the coast, and make all the observations in his power. His report confirmed Raleigh in his resolution of endeavouring to wrest that extensive country out of the hands of the Spaniards. His undertaking was so warmly applauded, that both the treasurer and admiralty of England contributed to the expences of the expedition for carrying the design into execution. Accordingly, on the sixth of February, Sir Walter sailed from Plymouth, and on the twenty-first of March took the city of St. Joseph in the island of Guiana, and made Borco, the Spanish name of the place. Having procured all the infor-

mation possible with regard to the strength and riches of Guiana, Raleigh manned his long-boats with about an hundred men, and proceeded above four hundred miles up the river Oroonoko; but met with so many difficulties from the navigation and the heat of the climate, that he did not reap all the advantages so brave and dangerous an undertaking deserved. It is certain, however, that he made great discoveries; and though we have no authentic account of the riches he acquired in this undertaking, there is sufficient reason to believe they were very considerable.

A. D. 1596. In consequence of the orders issued by Elizabeth, the necessary preparations were now ready for making a forcible attack on the Spanish territories. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, consisting of one hundred and ninety vessels, on board of which were 6360 soldiers, 1000 volunteers, and 6772 seamen. The fleet was commanded by lord Effingham, and the land forces by the earl of Essex. The lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conniors Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were named as counsellors to the general and admiral.

Every precaution being taken to render the expedition successful, the fleet set sail from Plymouth on the first of June. The general rendezvous was appointed at Cadiz, and armed tenders were dispatched before the fleet to intercept every ship that could carry any intelligence to the enemy. Near Cadiz they took an Irish vessel, by which they learned that the harbour was full of merchant ships of great value; and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without the least apprehensions of a visit from the enemy. This intelligence raised the spirits of the English, and inspired them with hopes of enriching themselves at the expence of the Spaniards.

After making a fruitless attempt to land at St. Sebastian's, on the western side of the island of Cadiz, a proposition was made by Sir Walter Raleigh to attack the ships and vessels in the bay; and he was strongly seconded by the young earl of Essex, who burnt with an eager desire of signalizing his courage on this important occasion. The motion was unanimously agreed to; and it was determined that Raleigh should lead the attack in the *Warspite* and be seconded by Sir George Carew in the *Mary Rose*, Sir Robert Southwell in the *Lion*, Sir Francis Vere in the *Rainbow*, vice-admiral Crofts in the *Swallow*, Sir Conniors Clifford in the *Dreadnought*, and the lord Thomas Howard in the *Nonpareil*.

In the mean time the Spaniards were not idle in making proper dispositions to receive the enemy. They ranged their gallees under the wall of the city, so as to flank the English ships as they passed; some culverins were planted to secure the channel of the harbour; and the artillery, both of Fort St. Philip and the curtain of the fortification, were brought to bear on the English fleet. Besides these, the Spaniards had put guns on board all their large galleons, which were covered by Fort Punta, situated in the middle of the harbour. The cannonade continued the whole night on both sides, and the following morning, at break of day, the action began.

Sir Walter Raleigh, at the head of the English van, advanced to the attack, and received the fire from Fort St. Philip, the curtain, and seventeen gallees, but he answered only by a flourish of his trumpets, pursuing his course with amazing intrepidity in order to encourage the ships that followed him, and reserve his fire for the body of the enemy. After a long and most desperate engagement, Sir Walter prepared to board the Spanish admiral, a ship of 1300 tons, but the Spaniards perceiving his intention, ran

her on shore, and set her on fire. Three other galleons followed the example of their admiral, but two of them were saved, and brought away by the English.

During this engagement, the earl of Essex, with 500 men, landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Five hundred Spaniards advanced about 400 paces from the city to meet him; but were struck with a panic, retired into the city with the utmost precipitation, and were closely followed by the English. Cadiz was now in the utmost consternation; and before any measures could be taken for making a proper defence, the English had forced the gate, and were soon in possession of the market-place. The garrison and inhabitants retired to the castle and town-house, but soon offered to capitulate; and it was agreed that their lives should be saved on their paying 70,000 ducats. A prodigious quantity of silver was found in the place, and sent immediately on board the English fleet.

While Essex was employed in the reduction of Cadiz, Sir Walter Raleigh was sent to burn the merchant-ships at Port Real. The Spaniards offered to pay two millions of ducats for their ransom; but Raleigh rejected the offer, saying, that he came to destroy, and not to ransom the ships of the enemy. The Spaniards, however, found means to unload some of their ships, and set fire to others, in order to deprive the English of their riches. Besides the merchant-ships, two galleons, thirteen men of war, eleven ships freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others, were taken by the English. They also destroyed a prodigious quantity of military and naval stores prepared for an intended expedition against England; and the whole loss of the Spaniards was estimated at twenty millions of ducats.

The only Englishman of note that perished in this memorable conquest was Sir John Wingfield, who was killed in the city of Cadiz; and the victory was obtained with the loss only of 200 men. Besides the great riches lost by the Spaniards, and the ruin of their trade to the New World for this year, they were obliged to submit to the mortifying reflection of seeing one of their principal sea-ports in the hands of an enemy whom they had hoped to conquer, and whose destruction they had flattered themselves they should easily accomplish.

The earl of Essex considered the great success of this enterprize only as a step to farther conquests. He insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz, and undertook, with 400 men and three months provisions, to defend the place against all the attempts of the enemy, till succours could arrive from England. But this offer was rejected, nor were his schemes for intercepting the caracks at the Azores, assaulting the Groyne, or taking St. Andero and St. Sebastian, accepted. All the other seamen and soldiers, fatished with the honour they had acquired, were impatient to return home in order to secure their plunder. Essex complained of their want of spirit in this enterprize, and the queen herself was not pleased at their return without attempting to intercept the India fleet; but the great success of the enterprize against Cadiz covered all their mismanagements. Essex was created earl of Nottingham, a promotion which gave great offence to Essex, because it was said, in the preamble to his patent, that this dignity was conferred upon him for his good services in taking Cadiz, a merit which Essex insisted belonged principally to himself.

Towards the latter end of this year died that brave and experienced sea-officer Sir Francis Drake; whose death was a public calamity to his country, as he was one of the best seamen England ever produced. His courage was unquestionable, and he had been successful in most of his expeditions. He had for some

years served in parliament as a burges for Plymouth, and the house, on many occasions, received great lights from his information. As he had risen from the lowest sphere in the navy to its highest honours, he had clear and distinct notions of its most minute articles.

A. D. 1597. Philip was so enraged at the losses he had sustained by the taking of Cadiz, and the destruction of his navy, that he resolved to make another effort for the conquest of England. Accordingly, in the beginning of the spring, he assembled a formidable fleet, at a time when Elizabeth thought him absolutely disabled from executing any scheme of revenge. His fleet rendezvoused at Ferrol, and having taken on board the land forces destined for the expedition, steered directly for England; but before they reached the channel, a violent storm dispersed the fleet, and their scheme was for the present rendered abortive.

In revenge for this attempt Elizabeth determined to attack Tercera, the principal island of the Azores, and, if possible, intercept the Spanish flota, in their return from the West-Indies. A large armament, consisting of 122 ships, was accordingly fitted out with the utmost expedition, and six thousand land forces were embarked. The command of the whole expedition was given to Essex, together with one of the divisions of the fleet; the second division was commanded by lord Thomas Howard, and the third by Sir Walter Raleigh: lord Montjoy was appointed lieutenant-general under Essex; and Sir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance.

The fleet sailed on the 9th of July, and its destination was first against Ferrol and the Groyne, in order, if possible, to surprize the Spanish fleet in those harbours; after which they were to make an attack on the Azores. But contrary winds, storms, and a fatal quarrel between the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, broke these measures, and the fleet returned to England about the end of October, without having performed any memorable action.

A. D. 1598. In the beginning of this year Elizabeth received certain advice that Henry of France and Philip of Spain, equally tired out with a bloody and expensive war between them, were desirous of peace, and that a private negotiation was actually on foot for that purpose. The same intelligence reached the states-general, who, as well as Elizabeth, was greatly alarmed at this design, and each immediately dispatched an ambassador to oppose the pacific sentiments of the French monarch. Henry shewed them at once the solidity of his reasons and the rectitude of his views, and as Philip would not treat with the Hollanders upon the condition of acknowledging them a free people, nor Elizabeth negotiate without their concurrence, he concluded, at Vervins, a separate peace, whereby he recovered possession of all the provinces seized by Spain during the course of the war, and procured himself leisure to attend the domestic settlement of his kingdom.

Some of the chiefs of the English ministry, particularly lord Burleigh, who best merited the queen's confidence, advised her to embrace pacific measures; but all his reasons were urged in vain. That prince, at other times so attentive to the preservation of peace, now listened not to the ears of adverse fortune. He no longer dreaded the attempts of the Spanish armada's of Philip had lost their terror. He was seduced with the hopes of sharing in the riches of America, and deeply interested in the new republic, preferred an honourable war to the advantages of peace, which must have entailed misery and poverty upon Holland. The earl of Essex encouraged her in these sentiments. He represented to her, that the presence of the Hollanders was the original cause of the war; and that it was at once unsafe and dishonourable

to abandon the cause she had undertaken to defend, till she had placed them in a state of greater security, and procured them that liberty for which they had so long and so nobly contended.

The arguments of Essex, whose person was very agreeable to the queen, prevailed: the favourite seemed daily to gain the ascendant over the minister. That nobleman was no less distinguished by his understanding than by his birth and figure. He was bold, generous, sincere, a firm friend, active, and passionately fond of glory; but carried away by his passions, and incapable of submitting to the rein of prudence. These passions at last proved his destruction. The Hollanders considered Elizabeth as their guardian angel, and readily submitted to any terms she pleased to require. The debt they owed the queen was now fixed at eight hundred thousand pounds; of which sum they agreed to pay thirty thousand pounds a year during the continuance of the war, and these payments were to be continued till they had paid four hundred thousand pounds. They also agreed to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns while England continued the war with Spain; and that if Philip should attempt an invasion of England, to assist the queen with a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse.

The ratification of this treaty took place on the 8th of August; a short time after which Elizabeth found herself delivered from her greatest fears by the death of Philip II. king of Spain, her most powerful enemy, who, at the age of seventy-two, and the forty-third of his reign, died a most dreadful death, being devoured by lice, which swarmed from innumerable ulcers in all parts of his body.

The satisfaction of Elizabeth at this event was greatly lessened by the loss of lord Burleigh, her zealous and faithful counsellor. That truly great man had long and earnestly requested his mistress to grant him some moments of interval between business and the grave; but he asked in vain. He continued immersed in all the fatigues of office, till death, on the fourteenth of August, gave him that repose which was denied him by Elizabeth. Lord Burleigh was now on the verge of eighty, and though many ministers have lived with less envy, none ever died with greater reputation. He was chiefly distinguished for solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application to business; he had been regarded as the chief minister near forty years, and his death, a rare instance of fortune, was equally regretted by the sovereign and the people.

The credit of Essex would now have been firmly established, had it not been for his own imprudence; the lofty spirit of that nobleman could ill submit to the implicit deference which Elizabeth's temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Disputing, one day, on some affair with the queen, he carried matters so high, as to turn his back upon her with an air of contempt. Elizabeth's anger, which was naturally prompt and violent, rose on this provocation, and she instantly smote him a box on the ear. The passion of Essex was violent to be restrained. He laid his hand upon his sword, and swore that he would not have taken so mean an affront from her father Henry himself. The marshal and vice-chamberlain interposed between the sovereign and the subject, and prevented any further consequences at that time; but Essex left the court, with a seeming resolution never more to return. His lord Egerton, the chancellor, exhorted him to repair his offence by proper acknowledgments, to atone his faults, and consider his duty and his time. He counselled him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must arise from his supporting a contest with his sovereign,

and deserting the service of his country. Essex answered, in a letter full of resentment, and which breathed all the violence of his haughty soul. He was even so imprudent as to shew this letter to his friends, who, with equal imprudence, dispersed copies of it. But, notwithstanding this additional affront, the queen's partiality for him was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in all his former posts; and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from the short interruption of anger and resentment.

A. D. 1599. Essex was no sooner established in the queen's favour, than he abused it. The troubles that now subsisted in Ireland opened a new scene for his ambition, and he rashly engaged in an undertaking which terminated in crimes and misfortunes.

Hugh O'Neill, whom the queen had created earl of Tyrone, and whose treachery was equal to his ferocious valour, excited a general rebellion in that kingdom; and having received assistance from the king of Spain, gained very considerable advantages. He had already assumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and the patron of Irish liberty. It was therefore determined to prosecute the war with vigour, and subdue the rebels by extraordinary efforts. The queen cast her eyes on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed with talents that would sufficiently atone for his want of experience. Jealous of every occasion that offered for distinguishing himself, Essex represented, that this expedition required a man of birth, experience and reputation, much superior to those of Mountjoy, and at last procured the appointment for himself. Had he listened to the advice of his enemies, he could not have engaged in a more fatal undertaking. But Essex was incapable of caution; he imagined that every difficulty would give way before him; and that his presence, at the head of a numerous army, would be sufficient to hush the ferocious Irish into peace. The queen's preparations were equal to the tenderness she cherished for her favourite, and her desire of subduing the flagitious rebels. She raised an army of twenty thousand men, a force considered as abundantly sufficient for finishing the war in a single campaign. Essex was created lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and furnished with a commission more ample than any that had hitherto been granted. He was empowered either to continue or finish the war; to pardon the earl of Tyrone, and other rebels; an authority never granted to any of his predecessors.

Soon after the commission was signed, Essex set out for his new government, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from an affection to his person, had attached themselves to his fortunes; and attended by the acclamations of the populace, by whom he was greatly beloved. The first act of his authority in Ireland was an indiscretion, though of the generous kind. He appointed his friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse, though the queen had enjoined him not to employ that nobleman, and even repeated orders were hardly sufficient to induce him to revoke the commission. The rest of his conduct was conformable to this beginning. Instead of leading his powerful army into Ulster against Tyrone, and putting an end to the rebellion, by reducing the chief, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the Irish council to march into Munster, situated at the other extremity of the kingdom. He indeed reduced the rebels to submission; but he lost a very considerable part of his army in the attempt; and had no sooner left the country, than they again revolted.

By this time the season was considerably advanced, his army sickly, and greatly reduced in their numbers.

bers ; so that he was obliged to request a reinforcement of two thousand men, in order to enable him to march against Tyrone. The troops were immediately sent by Elizabeth, and Essex at last advanced into Ulster against the chief of the rebels. Tyrone, though at the head of an army greatly superior in numbers to that of the English, wisely avoided a decisive action, and proposed a conference with Essex, in order, as he pretended, to put a stop to the flames of civil discord, which had so long wasted Ireland. The offer was accepted, and the two generals met without any of their attendants. Tyrone behaved, during the conference, with the greatest submission, and a cessation of arms was concluded till the first of May. By this treaty the expensive expedition of Essex was rendered abortive, and affairs continued on the same footing as before.

As soon as Elizabeth was informed of the earl's conduct, she wrote him a very severe letter, expressing the highest dissatisfaction, and commanding him to continue in Ireland till farther orders. This sufficiently alarmed the haughty Essex. Persuaded that if he continued any longer at a distance from the court, he should lose all his influence with the queen, while his enemies enjoyed the malignant satisfaction of triumphing in his fall, he determined to disobey the orders of Elizabeth. He accordingly left Ireland, and arrived at London before any one was the least apprized of his intentions. He immediately repaired to court, and presented himself before the queen, covered with dust and sweat. Whether Elizabeth's tenderness awaked at the sight of her favourite, or whether surprize prevented her from attending to proprieties, she gave him a very kind and flattering reception ; and, on his departure, he was heard to thank God, that though he had met with many troubles and storms abroad, he had found at home a sweet and pleasing calm.

This placid interval, however, was deceitful. Like the momentary cessations in a storm, the tempest returned with all its force. Essex soon learned how much his presumption and his faults had weakened his influence over Elizabeth's heart, which was less tender than haughty. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber, and to be twice examined before the privy council. His answers were calm and submissive, but not sufficient to satisfy Elizabeth : she committed him to the custody of the lord keeper ; and none of his friends, not even his counsels, were permitted to visit him.

In the mean time the earl of Tyrone, meeting with no opposition in his progress, reduced the province of Ulster to his obedience ; and being encouraged by a bull sent from pope Clement VII. granting him and his adherents the same indulgencies as those who fought against the Turks in the recovery of the Holy Land, he flattered himself with being soon master of the whole kingdom. He was also promised a supply of men and money from Spain ; and having received a consecrated plume from the pope, he called himself the champion of the catholic religion.

Elizabeth, alarmed at the progress of the rebels in Ireland, sent the lord Mountjoy into that kingdom. The whole island, at his arrival, was in a very desperate situation ; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was not discouraged. He advanced immediately into Ulster against Tyrone, and, soon penetrated into the heart of that country, the seat of the rebels. He drove them from the open fields, and obliged them to take refuge in their bogs and forests. Sir George Carew had equal success in Munster, and the queen's authority was once more established in Ireland.

A. D. 1600. The success of Mountjoy rendered the conduct of Essex less excusable at court, though

his popularity increased with his misfortunes. He had now been confined six months in the house of the lord-keeper, on which account such cabals were raised by his friends and domestics, that the ministry were accused of malice, and the queen herself of injustice. Alarmed at the prejudices of the people, Elizabeth determined to bring Essex to an open trial before the privy council. Coke, the attorney general, opened the cause against him, and treated him with the cruelty and insolence which that great lawyer usually exercised on the unfortunate. Essex made no defence ; he declared he would never have any contest with his sovereign, and that he should readily submit to any judgment they might think proper to pronounce against him. The chancellor's sentence, on this occasion, is remarkable. " If the earl of Essex (said he) had been tried in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual imprisonment in the Tower ; but now we are now in another place, and in a court of law, my sentence is, that the earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of a marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance ; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it shall please her majesty to release him, and all the rest of his sentence."

The celebrated Sir Francis Bacon was ordered by the queen to draw up a narrative of the whole proceedings, in order to satisfy the nation that she had acted with the utmost lenity. Bacon, who was firmly attached to Essex, gave the whole transaction a very favourable turn for his patron : he painted, in the most elaborate expressions, the dutiful submission made by that nobleman before the council, the queen, when Bacon read the passage to her could not forbear smiling ; and observed, that old love could not easily be forgotten.

Essex received his chastisement with so much humility, that the queen, persuaded that it was sincere, gave him proofs that she had not entirely withdrawn her countenance from him. She gave order that his sentence should not be recorded, and restored him to his full liberty ; but at the same time advised him to be cautious of giving farther offence, and ordered him not to appear at court. Essex immediately prepared for his departure into the country ; but ere he set out, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that he kissed her majesty's hand and the rod with which she had corrected him, and that he never could recover his usual cheerfulness, till he deigned to admit him to that presence which had been the chief source of his happiness and glory ; and that, in the mean time, he would remove to a country solitude, and labour assiduously to atone for his former offences.

Pleased with these sentiments, the queen, which that she wished his actions might be consistent with his expressions ; but as he had so long abused her patience, she would take some time to try his sincerity. She added, " That if the furnace of affliction produced such good effects, she should ever alter her better opinion of her chemistry."

Happy had it been for Essex could he have been formed to that submission he knew how to wear ; but his restless passions were too powerful to be guided by the reins of prudence. Though surrounded with the society of an amiable and sensible person, whom he perused the writings of the ancients, capable of healing the diseases of the mind, he was equally solid and agreeable, he could not conquer the illusions of ambition ; he cherished a passion that preyed upon his repose. Elizabeth, indeed, was that this haughty spirit, when driven to bay, was capable of trampling under foot every

day, as well as the laws of his country. By pushing her precautions too far, she inflamed his resentment. He lost all hopes of her favour, forgot her former kindnesses, and flew to revenge. He imprudently followed the interested counsels of some needy friends who lived upon his bounty, and determined to have recourse to violent measures. To increase the number of his partizans, he paid his court to the catholics, and secretly solicited the king of Scotland's assistance. He acquainted him, "that whatsoever appearances the English court affected, a resolution was formed to place the Infanta of Spain on the throne of England; that to facilitate this design, all places of power, all posts of importance, were in the hands of those who were warm enemies to the Stuart family; the lord high-treasurer had the command of the navy and army; Buckhurst was at the head of the treasury; Cobham was warden of the cinque ports; Cecil, lord lieutenant of the north; Raleigh governor of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; and Carew president of Munster; places very favourable for landing the Infanta." He added, "the queen's understanding was so greatly impaired, that she was incapable of doing for herself, and was entirely guided by her ministers; that it was therefore absolutely necessary for him to act openly against this conspiracy, by sending ambassadors immediately to the English court, to demand a public declaration of his title to the succession, and the removal of his enemies, all creatures and pensioners of Spain, from the court and council."

But Essex placed his chief dependence for support on the puritans, whose manners he now entirely despised. The most celebrated preachers of that sect resorted to his house, which now became a kind of pulpit, where the fervours of fanaticism constantly recharged themselves. The genius of the age was so rarely devoted to these rhapsodies, that the language of the reformation had more attractions for the people than pleasure itself: nothing more effectually ingrained an ambitious leader with the public than these religious entertainments. The ambitious Essex spared not the queen in his discourses; he represented her as a foul woman, whose temper was as crooked as her religion. Elizabeth was informed of these liberties, which highly incensed her against him. He could not have attacked her in a more tender part. She was always fond of flattery, and loved to be complimented on her beauty; nor could either her own good sense or old age itself, cure her of this preposterous vanity.

A. D. 1601. Essex had now formed a select council of malcontents, consisting of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Christopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and John Truitt of Frakes. The rest of his friends, according to a list he produced at Drury House, the usual scene of their meeting, consisted of one hundred and twenty of the full noblemen and gentlemen in the realm. Here all their plans were laid, and all resolutions formed. Among other criminal projects debated in this assembly, was that of the most proper method of taking up arms; and it was at last resolved that the first attack should be made upon the person of the queen. That Sir Christopher Blount, at the head of a detachment, should take possession of the gates, that Davis should seize the hall, Danvers the guard-chamber; and that Essex, attended by a number of his partizans, should rush in from the palace, oblige the queen to remove his enemies, dissolve parliament, and settle a new plan of government.

Elizabeth was informed of all these resolutions, and took the necessary precautions to render them

abortive. Essex never doubted but the citizens of London, by whom he was greatly beloved, would take up arms at the first signal. He was, however, mistaken. The court had taken measures to prevent it; and when he appeared in the city, accompanied with about two hundred men, he found that his seditious exhortations had no effect. They gazed at him as he passed along the streets, but none took up arms in his defence. Disappointed of assistance, he returned to his own house, which was soon surrounded by a detachment of the guards. He at first determined to defend himself to the last extremity, and perish like a soldier with the sword in his hand, rather than by the axe of a base executioner. But he soon after abandoned this resolution; and, notwithstanding all his bravery, submitted at discretion. He and the earl of Southampton were immediately conveyed across the water to the archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were the next day sent to the Tower; and the friends of Essex were confined in different prisons.

The queen, who had behaved on this occasion with the greatest tranquillity and presence of mind, gave immediate orders for the trial of the most considerable of the prisoners. On the 19th of February the earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, the lord-treasurer Buckhurst acting as lord high-steward. The prisoners, among other articles, were charged with conspiring to surprize the queen in her palace; inciting the citizens of London to sedition and rebellion; assaulting her majesty's forces in the streets, and holding out Essex house against Elizabeth. The guilt of the prisoner was too glaring to admit of any doubt; and even Essex's friends were astonished when he insisted on his innocence, and still more so, when, without the least appearance of reason, he accused secretary Cecil of being a partizan with him in his rebellious attempts; which accusation, on being confronted with Cecil, he could not maintain. His whole defence being as trifling as this charge, the peers found him and Southampton guilty of treason.

When sentence of death was pronounced, the behaviour of Essex was manly and decent; he professed a contempt for his life, but not for his reputation. He said he should be sorry if he was represented to the queen as a person who despised her clemency, though he believed he could never purchase it at the expence of any mean submission. "If her majesty," added he, "had so pleased, this body of mine might have done her better service, but I am happy it can serve her any way." The behaviour of Southampton was more modest and submissive, he intreated the good offices of the peers in so mild and becoming a manner, as excited pity in every breast.

For some days Essex maintained his pride, but at length it was subdued by the principles of religion. His spiritual directors persuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of heaven, unless he made a full confession of his disloyalty. Convinced of this, he gave in to the council an account of all his designs; together with the particulars of his friendships and correspondences in writing, upon which Sir Henry Nevil, Elizabeth's resident in France, was sent for home, and imprisoned, as being privy to his treasons; though it appears that that gentleman had never assented to the proposals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treason, an offence to which a man of honour has always the greatest repugnance. Lord Montjoy was likewise accused by the earl, but the greatness of his services in Ireland, and perhaps the fear of rendering him desperate, prevailed with Elizabeth to overlook the accusation, and continue him in his government.

In every great example which Elizabeth made during her reign, she always appeared full of reluctance and hesitation. But what, in all probability, proceeded from art in preceding cases was now owing to a more sincere motive; for the present situation of Essex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the most real agitation and irresolution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion. She signed the warrant for his execution, then countermanded it; she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy in never making application to her for mercy and forgiveness: for after his return from Cadiz, being one day alone with her, he regretted that the necessity of her service required him to be so often absent from her, which exposed him to all those ill offices of his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, employed against him. Elizabeth, affected by this tender jealousy, made him the present of a ring, which she desired him to keep as a pledge of her affection, and assured him in whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet if he sent her that ring, she would immediately upon the sight of it, recollect her former tenderness, would once more see him, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. This gift Essex preserved amidst all his misfortunes, and after his condemnation resolved to try what effect it would have on the queen. He committed the care of it to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to present it to Elizabeth. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, who was the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, imputed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy. She, therefore, after much delay, and many internal combats, was urged by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution.

The unfortunate Essex suffered his sentence on the 25th of February, in the court-yard of the Tower, which was the place he had himself requested. He was attended by Ashton, a dissenting minister, and two divines of the church of England. By Elizabeth's particular order several noblemen were present on the scaffold at the execution, with some of the aldermen of London, and several other gentlemen belonging to the court. Among the rest was Sir Walter Raleigh, the avowed enemy of Essex: but his friends telling him how invidious such behaviour must appear, they prevailed on him to leave the scaffold, from whence he retired to a window, where he saw the head of Essex struck off. The behaviour of the earl in his last moments was full of penitence and contrition. He betrayed no signs of fear, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence.

Thus fell Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He was descended from a royal lineage on the female side, and endowed with superior talents and heroic qualities. He was generous, liberal and humane, a patron of learning, in which he himself held a considerable rank, a warm friend and an open enemy. His foibles were vanity, ambition, and an impetuosity of temper which he could not restrain. He ruined himself for want of knowing how to enjoy good fortune with moderation. The people, by whom he was too much beloved, were irritated at his death; and the queen, who was accused of cruelty, no longer heard the usual acclamations when she appeared in public.

Several of Essex's associates were afterwards executed: Meyrick and Cull, two of the principals, were hanged at Tyburn on the 15th of

March. Sir Christopher Blount and Sir Charles Danvers were beheaded on Tower-hill; later Orel, and Sir Edward Baintown were tried and condemned, but the former died in prison, and the others were pardoned. The earl of Southampton's life was preserved with great difficulty; but he kept a prisoner in the Tower till the death of the queen, when he was released by order of James I.

A. D. 1602. The designs of the Spaniards for disturbing the peace of Elizabeth were far from terminating with the death of Philip II. The late councils still continued, and the same measures were zealously pursued. The preparations for an expedition against Ireland had been for some time broached but suspended on account of the troubles that arose out in Spain. These having now subsided, Don John d'Aquila was sent at the head of a body of troops into that kingdom, and made religion a pretence for the enterprizes of ambition and rebellion. He assumed the title of "General of the Hosts for the preservation of the faith in Ireland." Care had been taken to authorize these measures by bull from Rome: and d'Aquila endeavoured to persuade the people, that a queen deprived of her authority by the pope, had no longer any right to the crown; that her subjects, absolved from their oaths of allegiance by the holy father, ought to take up arms against her, and drive her from a throne of which she ought to be considered as an usurper. He added, that the sole intention of his coming was to assist them in this religious undertaking, and to deliver them from the dominion of the Devil.

Mountjoy saw the gathering storm, and exerted his abilities to break its force. The Irish shewed every where signs of a general insurrection, and the utmost vigour was necessary to prevent it. He immediately laid siege to Kinsale, which the Spaniards had taken immediately after their landing, but had hardly begun his operations before he received intelligence, that another body of twelve thousand Spaniards, under the command of Alphonso O'Donnell, were landed, and had taken possession of Bantry and Berhaven. He found himself therefore obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppose the progress of the enemy. Tyrone immediately hastened for relief of Kinsale; but Mountjoy having received information of his design, advanced to meet him with the head of part of his army, totally defeated the rebels, and took several of them prisoners. Tyrone himself escaped into Ulster, but was unwilling of giving the English any farther disturbance. The Spanish general now perceived that all efforts would be in vain, and immediately offered to surrender all places held by the Spaniards in Ireland and evacuate the kingdom. The conditions were accepted, and the Spaniards embarked for their country. This defeat struck the rebellion to the ground. They saw the foreign forces on whom they had depended, incapable of giving them any aid, and despaired of ever being able to make head against the English.

Elizabeth was so exasperated at the sight of the difficulties in which they had involved themselves by fomenting the rebellion in Ireland, that she determined to seek ample revenge. She ordered a squadron of nine ships to be immediately sent out under the command of Sir Richard Boscawen and Sir Richard Monson, with orders to make an expedition to the coast of Spain. They sailed for England early in the spring, and took possession of the squadron fell in with the galloon bearing treasure; but were not strong enough to attack it with any prospect of success. The other ships, however, met with a fleet of very rich ships, and were for the same reason, obliged to let them pass.

unmolested. These disappointments induced the two admirals to join the little squadrons, and pursue the design of the expedition in company. For some time they met with no ships of the enemy, and it was determined, in order to prevent the expedition from being entirely fruitless, to attack the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal, where they were informed a rich carrack had taken shelter. The harbour was defended by a castle mounted with heavy pieces of cannon; eleven galleys were moored near the entrance, and the militia of the country, amounting to near twenty thousand men, appeared on the shore. But all these indications of a powerful opposition were not sufficient to intimidate the English. They broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns of the castle, sunk, burnt, and put to flight the galleys, and made themselves masters of the carrack. With this prize they returned to England, where her loading was valued at near a million of ducats; a very sensible loss to the Spaniards, and a still more considerable supply to Elizabeth.

In the mean time the lord Mountjoy improved so well his late victory in Ireland, that Tyrone and his friends were soon reduced to the greatest distress; and many of them, after concealing themselves in woods and morasses, where they lived rather like beasts than men, thought proper to abandon their retreats, and submit to the mercy of the English government. They were received with kindness, and the terms imposed upon them were so mild and generous, that Tyrone himself, seeing all hopes either of succeeding, or escaping to the continent, were vanished, applied, in the most abject manner, both to the queen herself and the governor, for pardon. The queen was long resolved not to shew the least favour to that ferocious and perfidious rebel, but being continually importuned by her council, who represented the prodigious expence she had been at, in maintaining an army in Ireland to pursue the rebels, and that by shewing clemency to the great leader in every insurrection, she would infallibly restore tranquillity to that distressed kingdom, and introduce a proper legislation among the people, she was at last prevailed upon to recede from her resolution. She signed his pardon, and sent it to Mountjoy; sacrificing her resentment to the peace of her subjects, who had so long felt all the dreadful effects of civil discord.

But the terms to which the lord deputy was restrained were thought so severe by the council, that they apprehended Tyrone would never submit to them. Had that furious leader perceived even the prospect of supporting himself against the English, there is not the least doubt but he would have rejected the conditions with disdain; but he was destitute of every resource, and enjoyed only the wretched alternative of accepting the queen's pardon on her own terms, or perishing with hunger. He made submission in choosing the former, and accordingly repaired to the lord deputy's seat at Mallow, where he presented himself before him on his knees, and in that submissive posture received his pardon. O'Rourke, another active chief in the late insurrection, surrendered about a month after Tyrone, and thus ended a dreadful rebellion which had raged in Ireland with the utmost violence during eight years, and which cost the queen near four hundred thousand pounds annually, was entirely suppressed; the kingdom was reduced to a state of subjection, and the people tasted the pleasures attendant on tranquillity.

A. D. 1603. But Elizabeth did not long enjoy the satisfaction of seeing this considerable part of her dominions in a state of peace. An incident now occurred that not only rendered her insensible to any degree of pleasure, but in a very short time

deprived her of her existence. The countess of Nottingham had been for some time afflicted with a violent distemper, and finding her life was drawing towards a period, she was seized with remorse for her cruelty to Essex in not delivering the ring to the queen according to his earnest request. She petitioned therefore, and at last obtained a visit from Elizabeth when she craved her pardon, and revealed the fatal secret. Astonished with this detestable instance of treachery, the queen burst into the most violent passion of rage: she shook the dying countess in her bed, saying, "that God might pardon her, but she never could;" and breaking from her, immediately retired to her palace at Richmond.

From this moment Elizabeth gave herself up to the deepest and most incurable melancholy: her pride would not suffer her to ease the anguish of her breast, by disclosing the real cause of her grief. Reasons, stratagems, and prayers were in vain employed to persuade her to have recourse to medicines for relief; and it was with the utmost difficulty they prevailed with her to take the food that was necessary for the support of life. She seemed determined to banish sleep from her eyes; nor could she be prevailed upon to retire to her bed; but spent her tedious nights in a continued silence, upon cushions piled up in her room. But though silent, she was not insensible, and perceived herself abandoned by many, whom her munificence had raised from the greatest obscurity.

It was now sufficiently visible that Elizabeth's end was near approaching; and several serious deliberations were held in the council with regard to the succession. For though all the members were firmly attached to James, yet they could not tell what the secret intrigues of the popish and puritan factions might produce, and therefore reasonably thought, that Elizabeth's own declaration in favour of James would greatly strengthen his title. The lord high-admiral declared, that when she was first seized with her disorder, she said to him in private, "My throne has always been filled by a succession of princes, and ought only to go to my next heir." But as this was not considered sufficiently explicit, it was thought proper that the lord keeper, the lord admiral, and secretary Cecil, should, in the name of the council, intreat her to signify her final intention with regard to this subject. They found her almost speechless, but she had strength sufficient to repeat the substance of her former declaration to the lord admiral, "that she had filled a royal throne, and desired to have a royal successor." Cecil thought that this declaration was not sufficiently explicit, and urged her for a further explanation. "I desire (said she) that a king should succeed me, and who should that be, but my near kinsman, the king of Scotland."

Though there was no great danger of any opposition being made to the Scottish succession, the council thought proper to take every precaution for securing the peace and safety of the kingdom: great numbers of idle and suspected persons, who swarmed in the metropolis and the adjacent villages, were seized and sent to Holland, for the Dutch service. The fleet which lay ready equipped, was ordered to guard the mouth of the Thames; and all the sea ports were shut throughout the kingdom. It was also resolved to summon all the peers to town, and if any commotion should happen on the queen's death, which was now hourly expected, to make the earl of Northumberland general of the forces.

In the mean time the queen's situation was truly deplorable: she had sat drooped and pensive ten successive days and nights, without having an hour's rest during the whole time. On the 21st of March she was put into bed by force, and though she then seemed to be better, she lay on her side without speaking

speaking to, or taking the least notice of, any one about her; only she caused some meditations to be read to her, particularly those of M. du Plessis. The archbishop of Canterbury attending her on this occasion, she heard his exhortations, and joined him in prayer, with great humility and devotion. On the 23d of the same month she was speechless all the day; and having in the night got a continued sleep of five hours, waked only to die, in the calmest manner and almost insensibly, about two o'clock the next morning, in the 70th year of her age, and the 45th of her reign.

Her corpse, without being opened or embalmed, was removed, on the 28th of March, from Richmond to Whitehall; but as Elizabeth had given orders that it should be neither opened or viewed after her decease, no person was permitted to see it. It is conjectured by some that her reason for leaving this injunction was, that the world might not be satisfied with respect to her virginity; while others are of opinion that she had about her person some imperfections that rendered her very unfit for marriage; and which was the cause of her being so unwilling to have her body exposed after her decease. She was interred on the 28th of April, in the chapel of Henry VII. with great magnificence, king James having given orders that no expence should be spared on the occasion.

Elizabeth mounted the throne when it was tottering under the misfortunes of an ill-conducted war, and its pillars were weakened by superstition and cruelty; it had been rifled of its ornaments by impious hands, and all its glories were blasted by the cankering breath of religious fury. How artfully, how gracefully, how nobly she recovered its strength, repaired its beauty, and retrieved its honours, have been sufficiently displayed in the preceding pages. Steadiness was the characteristic of her reign; *economy* the great secret of her government; and the art in dividing her enemies among themselves, the instrument of her success.

Few great personages have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends, than Elizabeth; though there were scarce any whose reputation has been more certainly and more unanimously determined by the joint consent of posterity. Her vigilance, her constancy, her magnanimity, her peneration, and address, are allowed to merit the highest praises; nor do they appear to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne. By the assistance she gave to France, she disappointed the ambitious schemes of her mortal enemies the Gules; by her supporting the Scottish reformers, she ruined her formidable rival the queen of Scots; and by protecting the revolted provinces in the Netherlands, she gave a fatal blow to the power of Spain, whose throne was then filled by the most powerful and most ambitious monarch in Europe. Her credit in Germany balanced the influence of Charles, and established the Protestant interest. The Turks, the Poles, the Swedes, and many other princes and states, appealed to her throne as to the grand tribunal of justice here below, nor did they believe her mortal, till death convinced them of the fatal truth. She seemed to have matched the distaff from the hand of destiny, in order to abridge or prolong, at her pleasure, the thread that formed the fate of empires.

But we must at the same time acknowledge, that Elizabeth was too rigorous, and too imperious towards her dependents, too regardless of the constitution, and too little concerned for the liberties and privileges of her subjects. Her prerogative swallowed up every thing that came in competition with it; and she thought her people were entitled to no

greater liberty than had been enjoyed by their ancestors.

With respect to the person of Elizabeth, she is described by those who knew her to have been handsome, well made, strong limbed, and rather tall than middle sized; her forehead high and round, her eyes brown and lively, her complexion fair, her hair of a lightish yellow, her fingers long and taper, her voice clear and shrill: she had a fine set of teeth, and her outward form was much set off by an air that was exceeding agreeable.

She was fond of being thought learned and spoke with great fluency the Greek, Latin, Italian and French languages, understood the Spanish, and translated several pieces from the antient writers with judgment and fidelity. Nor must it be forgotten, that by her influence genuine literature was revived and improved. She was, indeed, more penetrating to discover, than ready to reward merit; but she entrusted the care of the latter to persons who discharged it nobly.

Elizabeth's predominant passions were, jealousy and avarice, the former of which hurried her, in some cases, into acts of tyrannic cruelty. Her vanity appeared in her love of flattery, which she greedily swallowed, even when it was fulsome and absurd; and in the variety and richness of her apparel, which she continued to wear long after her declining years seemed to require a more decent garb, and a much graver deportment. In a word, the private character of Elizabeth is certainly, in some respects, very exceptionable; but at the same time it must be acknowledged by the impartial, that the princely qualities with which she was possessed render her the object of undisputed applause.

The most remarkable occurrences that happened, during the reign of Elizabeth, were as follow:

In her third year (1561) on the 15th of June, the spire of St. Paul's Cathedral was totally destroyed by fire, which arose from the carelessness of a plumber, who left a pan of coals in the steeple when he went to dinner.

In 1563 an order was issued by her majesty for ascertaining the number of Scotchmen in London, when it appeared that only 58 could be found throughout the whole metropolis.—This year also gave rise to the manufacturing of knives in England, when was executed by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London. Before this time they were imported from Germany; but the art was soon improved by the English, and large quantities were shortly afterwards exported to different parts of the world.

In 1565 Tobacco was first brought into England by Sir John Hawkins.

The year 1569 furnishes us with the first instance of a lottery in England. It began drawing at the western door of St Paul's cathedral on the 11th of January, and continued day and night till the 14th of May following.

In 1571 a remarkable circumstance happened in the county of Hereford. On Saturday evening February 17th, Marcley-hill, near the city of Hereford, was moved from its situation. It continued in motion till the Monday following, carrying along with it the trees, hedges, and cattle on its surface. In its way it threw down a chapel, and at length came to a hill twelve fathom high where it settled, and left a chasm in its original situation thirty feet long, and forty feet deep.

In 1583 a similar prodigy happened at Blackmoor: a field of three acres, with the trees and hedges, was moved from its situation, passed over another field, and settled in the highway to Here.

In 1586 potatoes were first brought to England from America by Sir Francis Drake; but not cultivated in the kingdom till the beginning of the following century.

In 1589 William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college Cambridge, invented an engine, or steel-loom called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of stockings. This was not above twenty years after the English had been taught the art of knitting them with wires or needles, by the Spaniards. Mr. Lee's invention has been of great advantage to the stocking manufacture, by enabling the English to export great quantities of all kinds to foreign countries.

In the following year mills were first erected in England, by Godfrey Box of Liege, for cutting iron into bars for the use of the Smiths.

In 1594 the plague raged with great violence in London and its suburbs. The number of people who died of this dreadful disease amounted to 17,890.

In 1597 watches were first brought into England from Germany.

The year 1599 gave rise to that useful instrument the telescope, which was discovered by one Janssen, a spectacle maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand. He knew not, however, the theory on which the instrument depended, and therefore never made them of any considerable length: eighteen inches was the utmost extent of his instruments. Galileo, astronomer to the grand duke of Tuscany, was the artist that perfected the discovery, and rendered it of the greatest service in astronomical observations; and hence the telescope has acquired the name of Galileoscope.

In the commencement of this century learning began to revive throughout Europe, when the English sovereigns and nobility took a distinguished part in giving it the utmost encouragement. Henry VIII. was considered as one of the most learned persons of his time. Queen Catherine Parr translated a very old treatise into English in the beginning of the reign of Edward the VI. Lady Jane Gray, considering her age, her sex, and her station, may be considered as a prodigy of learning. She was familiarly acquainted with the writings of the ancients, and acted their noble sentiments at a very early age. Elizabeth wrote and translated several books, and was familiarly acquainted both with the Greek and Latin languages. But cardinal Wolsey may be considered the father of revived learning in England. Wolsey had a soul exquisitely susceptible of the glory arising from a patronage that gives a surer immortality than power or titles can communicate. The pope of Leo X. who restored the arts in Italy, excited his emulation; he was desirous of disseminating the seeds of literature in his native country. The learning of the English was then useless and heavy; they were totally strangers to taste. Wolsey saw that he had the virtue to attempt the improvement of the one, and the introduction of the other. He was himself well acquainted with many branches of learning, as well as master of all the graces of a fine gentleman and a polite courtier. It was not enough for Wolsey to confine himself to the love of learning, and the muses to his own enjoyment and amusement, without planting those seeds which, in succeeding ages, were productive of many of the noblest fruits of study. He searched for genius and letters, as the lord of the mines for a mine of treasure. His house, like the Vatican, was the retreat of the learned. He never found a foreigner celebrated for his talents in a profession, he settled on him a handsome pension, and invited him to England. He intended to purchase copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for

his college at Oxford; which, if finished according to his plan, would have been the noblest foundation in the world.

The other personages who most distinguished themselves for their learning, during this period, were as follow:

John Collet dean of St. Paul's, of whom no higher testimony need be given of his merit, than his intimacy with Erasmus. There was a remarkable similitude of manners, of studies, and of sentiments in religion, between these illustrious men, who ventured to withdraw the veil of ignorance and superstition, and expose them, in their genuine colours, to the eyes of the world; and to prepare the minds of the English for that reformation in religion, and the restoration of learning, which soon after followed. Collet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and Latimer, were the first that revived the literature of the ancients in England. He founded St. Paul's school, and died 1519.

Archbishop Wareham shone as a divine, a lawyer, and a statesman; but was at last supplanted in the king's favour by Wolsey. Erasmus makes honourable mention of this prelate, whom he esteemed a perfect model of the episcopal character. He died on the 23d of August, 1532.

Sir Thomas More was a great master of the elegant learning of the ancients. His Utopia, a kind of political romance, which gained him the highest reputation as an author, is an idea of a perfect republic, in an island supposed to be newly discovered in America. He was beheaded, for denying the king's supremacy, on the sixth of July, 1535.

Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and Roger Ascham, tutor to queen Elizabeth, were the politest scholars of their time in the university of Cambridge. Among other useful attempts for the improvement of learning, they introduced the true pronunciation of the Greek in that seat of the muses.

William Tindale, canon of Christ-church, Oxford, and deservedly stiled the English apostle, was the first that translated the New Testament into English from the Greek. This work appeared in 1526; and three or four years after, he published an English translation of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, and intended to have gone through with the whole; but his attempt provoked the catholic clergy, and he was burnt for heresy at Willford, near Brussels, in 1536.

Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was one of the greatest ornaments in the court of Henry VIII. He was famous for the tenderness and elegance of his poetry, in which he excelled all the writers of his time. His great merit excited the jealousy of Henry; and, after the formality of a trial, he was condemned and executed for high treason on the nineteenth of January, 1547.

Archbishop Crammer was one of the most learned persons of his age, and has been justly esteemed one of the chief ornaments of our church and nation. He was in high esteem with Henry VIII. for his learning, his sincerity, his prudence, and his moderation. But he fell a sacrifice to the bigotted fury of queen Mary, on the 21st of March, 1556.

Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was a polite scholar, and one of the most perfect characters of his age. The celebrated Erasmus, one of whose excellencies consisted in doing justice to the merit of his friends, tells us, that he was comparable to any of the ancients.

Sir Philip Sidney was the delight and admiration of the court of Elizabeth. He was the ornament of the university, and appeared with equal advantage in a field of battle, at a tournament, in a private conversation among his friends, or in a public char-

rafter as an ambassador. His talents were equally adapted to prose or verse, to original composition or translation. His *Arcadia* was not only admired for its novelty, but continued to be read longer than such compositions generally are, and has passed through many editions. He died the 16th of October, 1586.

John Gerrard, a surgeon of London, was the greatest English botanist of that age. He published his *Herbal* in 1597, which has, ever since its first appearance, been considered as a very useful work.

Edmund Spenser, the celebrated author of the "*Fairy Queen*," was the father of the English heroic poem, and of true pastoral poetry in this island. He stands distinguished from almost all other poets, by that faculty by which a poet is distinguished from other writers, namely, invention; and excelled all his cotemporaries in harmonious versification. The stanza of Spenser, and the old words which constantly occur, contribute to give that great poet an air of peculiarity; and hence all the imitations of him resemble the original. But Parnassus proved a very barren soil to Spenser. Elizabeth was far from having a just sense of his merit. After the death of Sir Philip Sidney he languished without a patron, and died in want of bread, in 1599.

Richard Hooker, some time master of the Temple, and afterwards rector of Bishop's Bourn, in Kent, was one of the most celebrated writers of the age in which he lived. His "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," which is a defence of the government of the English church

against the cavils of the dissenters, is written with a classic simplicity, and esteemed one of the completest works, both for style and argument, that ever appeared in the English language. Queen Elizabeth used to call him "*The judicious Hooker*," an epithet by which he is still distinguished. He died on the second of November, 1600.

Sir Thomas Bodley deserves to be mentioned here, as a man of letters; but much more for the ample provision he has made for literature, by the library he founded at Oxford, and in which he stands unrivalled. In 1599, he opened his library, a mausoleum which will perpetuate his memory as long as books themselves endure. He died the twenty-eighth of January, 1612.

Besides the writers already mentioned, many others flourished during this period. John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancashire, translated the Bible into English, with notes. Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins translated several of the psalms into English metre, which are still sung in most of the churches.

Elizabeth's reign produced a number of excellent poets; particularly Spenser already mentioned, Sidney, Donne, Johnson, Shakespeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher. Fairfax translated Tasso with great ease and elegance; and Harrington translated *Archie* with tolerable accuracy. Bacon acquired immortal renown by his philosophical writings; and Camden excelled as an antiquary and historian.

B O O K XI.

From the Accession of James I. to the Death of Charles I.

S E C T I O N I.

J A M E S I.

THE direct line of the royal family being extinct by the death of Elizabeth, the succession was peaceably admitted to be in James VI. of Scotland, as great grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. Accordingly, as soon as the queen's death was notified, that monarch was proclaimed king of England by the name of James I.

Messengers were immediately dispatched to inform James of his accession to the English throne, and to hasten his journey to London. The whole nation appeared greatly interested in favour of their new monarch. On his arrival he was received in the capital with the greatest rejoicings, and was crowned at Westminster on the 25th of July, amidst the universal acclamations of the people.

James began his reign with lavishing a profusion of titles on his courtiers; no less than 239 persons received the honour of knighthood within six weeks after his accession. These honours were chiefly conferred on the Scots, which gave great offence to the English, and might have produced national quarrels, had not James prudently resolved to employ only Englishmen in the administration.

The most distinguished among the king's ministers was secretary Cecil, created successively lord Ellington, viscount Cranborne, and earl of Salisbury.

This nobleman was the son of the famous Burleigh, whose name, it was natural to suppose, must be odious to James, as the declared enemy of his mother, and the chief cause of her tragical catastrophe; but Cecil had taken care to make his peace with James before the death of Elizabeth. Skilled in the art of cunning and duplicity, he had, for some time before the queen's decease, kept up a correspondence with James, and informed him of every thing that passed in the English council that regarded himself. Walter Raleigh, lord Gray, and lord Cobham, had not taken the wise precautions of Cecil, and had been at the head of the faction that brought the earl of Essex to the scaffold, immediately felt the effects of James's prejudice, by being all dismissed from their respective employments.

No sooner did James ascend the English throne, than all the sovereigns of Europe were startled by the most anxious expectations: they beheld the accession of a prince who died a martyr to the cause of popery, and who had suffered a long imprisonment in a kingdom whither he had fled for protection. The hopes of the catholics and the fears of the protestants were equally excited on this occasion, and ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Christendom soon appeared at the English court.



order to compliment the king on his new acquired dignity; and to conclude with him new alliances.

Henry IV. of France could not reflect without concern, that James, in one part of his life, had entered into negotiations with Spain, and thought he had every thing to dread from such an union, especially in James, whose real disposition was as yet unknown, should discover an enterprizing genius. The marquis of Rosny, afterwards the famous duke of Sully, a minister worthy of Henry IV. was charged with the affairs of France in the English court. That able statesman proposed a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, in order to invade the territories of the house of Austria on every side, and humble the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the English monarch was little adapted to such vast enterprizes; the love of peace was his ruling passion, and Rosny found James to be master of so much art and dissimulation, that his address was insufficient to discover the real intentions of the English monarch. He refused to make any declaration but in general terms, of his sincere desire of living in friendship with France. A solemn conference was, however, at last held, and it was agreed that the Queen should have the liberty of levying forces both in France and England; that the two monarchs should supply that republic with the sum of one million four hundred thousand livres a year for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole sum should be advanced by the king of France, but that one third of it should be deducted to discharge a debt due from that monarch to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either the territories of France or England, the contracting princes should assist each other, Henry with a force of ten thousand, and James with that of six thousand men.

Soon after the signing of this treaty, the tranquillity of England was greatly interrupted by a conspiracy said to have been formed in the kingdom against the government. The design was to place Arabella Stuart a near relation of James, and descended equally with him from Henry VII. on the English throne. She had been long a state prisoner in the Tower, and possibly never knew that the least design was formed for her liberty. Indeed the whole conspiracy is still a mystery; time itself has afforded no clue that will help us to unravel it. But however that

Sir Walter Raleigh, with his friends the lords Cobham and Gray, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Bacon, Sir George Brooke, Bartholomew Brooksbury, Anthony Capple, with two priests, Watton and others were sent to prison. The trial of these conspirators, if indeed any conspiracy ever existed, was short and confused; no signs of guilt appeared; no regular plot had been formed. A few passionate persons, flowing from the disappointed ambition of the courtiers, computed, perhaps, their whole

Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated lawyer, managed the prosecution on the part of the crown, in the most violent and opprobrious terms on this occasion. He called Raleigh a traitor, a monster, a spider of hell; terms that sufficiently point out the manners of the age, and will for ever throw a stain on the character of that famous pleader. Raleigh, however, defended himself with surprising temperance and courage; but, notwithstanding the force of his arguments, he was found guilty by his country to all law and the principles of equity. Two priests were executed; Cobham, Gray and others were pardoned on the morning of their execution but not before they had laid their heads on the block, and were prepared to receive the fatal blow. Raleigh was reprieved, but not pardoned, and remained many years after in confinement.

A. D. 1604. James now turned his thoughts towards theological disputation, of which he was not only very fond, but capable of acquitting himself with distinguished eclat. The severities of Elizabeth had restrained the partizans of the Romish church; but the fanaticism of the puritans was not to be subdued. These fiery disciplinarians had flattered themselves with receiving protection from a prince who had been trained up by their own sect in Scotland. But James was too well acquainted with their independent principles, was too jealous of his new authority, and too much a friend to pleasure, to shew them any favour in a country where they were not the predominant party. He, however, ordered a conference to be held at Hampton-court, between a certain number of bishops and puritanical ministers, and engaged to attend himself as moderator.

The conference was accordingly held at the place appointed on the 14th of January. In the course of the debates, James shewed uncommon talents of disputation; and it may be said with justice that his talents would have been great, had he governed a college instead of a kingdom. His eloquence, like a powerful charm, dissipated every phantom of doubt, which either he himself, or the other disputants, had raised; the non-conformists were silenced; and the king assigned the victory to the prelates. He even threatened the dissenters to use more formidable arguments if they did not conform, and closed the conference with this grave aphorism: "no bishop, no king."

Soon after this conference James opened the parliament, whose meeting had been deferred on account of the plague, which raged with such violence in London, that 30,000 persons died of it within the space of twelve months. The speech his majesty delivered to the members on opening the session sufficiently displayed his character, and proved him to have more knowledge and greater parts, than prudence, or any just sense of decorum or propriety. The style and manner of it were excellent, but it was destitute of that majestick reserve which should always be observed by a king in his addresses to the great council of the nation. The general propositions, however, were just, and the following passages demand the applause of every lover of English liberty: "When I have done all that I can do for you, I do nothing but what I am bound to do, and am accountable to God should I do the contrary; for I acknowledge that the most essential difference between a lawful king and an usurping tyrant, consists in this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant thinks that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the gratification of his desires and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king, on the contrary, acknowledges, that he himself is only ordained for promoting the wealth and prosperity of his people; and that his greatest and principal happiness, must consist in their prosperity. If you are rich, I cannot be poor; if you are happy I cannot be unfortunate; and I protest that your welfare shall be the constant object of my study and attention. That I am a servant is most true; and that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, considering them in number and in different ranks; so, if we will take the people as one body and mass, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, so must a righteous king acknowledge himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him: For though a king and people are relative, yet can he be no king if he is destitute of subjects; but there are many people in the world, that are without a king. I shall therefore never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour to be the great servant of the commonwealth, and ever think the prosperity thereof to be my greatest felicity." The remainder of this speech was

was calculated to effect an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and in the conclusion of it he dropped some severe expressions against the puritans, which rendered that sect and their friends very diffident of his intentions during the subsequent part of his reign.

No material business was done during this session; but soon after the prorogation of the parliament, a peace with Spain was finally concluded. This treaty contained some articles not at all favourable to the states of the United Provinces; but as they were never executed, nor any complaints made on that head by the Spaniards, it is natural to imagine, that, by some secret agreement between the contracting parties, they were never intended for any thing more than mere form. About the time this treaty was concluded, the town of Ostend capitulated, after a three years siege. The Spaniards found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins to recompense them for the vast sums of money, and the incredible number of lives they had lost in making the conquest. James gave himself no concern about the loss of this fortress, resolving to improve his present connection with Spain. He accordingly dispatched the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to that court, attended by a numerous and magnificent retinue. The Spaniards were extremely surprized on their arrival, when they beheld the blooming countenances, and graceful appearance of the English, whom their bigotry, inflamed by their priests, had represented as the most infernal demons.

A. D. 1605. We come now to a period that furnishes us with an event not to be paralleled in history; namely, the Gun-powder plot, which affords a striking instance of the depravity of the human mind, when blinded by religious prejudices. The catholics, persuaded at first that the son of Mary Stuart would mitigate the severity of the laws in their favour, were enraged to find themselves treated with the same rigour: they forgot the real duties of religion to indulge the principles of a blind and headstrong zeal.

Catesby, a gentleman descended from an ancient family, of good parts, and master of a considerable estate, had formed a plan for overturning the English government; and in order to carry the design into execution, had made several journeys to the court of Philip, in order to procure an army of Spaniards to land in England: but the late peace having rendered his plan of an invasion abortive, he formed a most extraordinary method of revenge; and declared his intention to Piercy, a descendant from the illustrious house of Northumberland. The hardships under which the catholics laboured was often the subject of their conversation; and Piercy, in a fit of enthusiastic zeal, hinted a design of assassinating the king. Catesby answered, "That the attempt, if successful, could not possibly remove the evil; that a more general revenge was necessary, in order to restore the catholic religion in England. The whole royal family, the nobility, and the parliament, are (said he) equally infected with the same heresy, and must all be destroyed, before a catholic prince can be placed upon the throne, and religion restored to its ancient purity. Nor is this undertaking either impossible or difficult. They will assemble on the first meeting of the parliament, and afford us an opportunity of a sure and ample vengeance. A mine may easily be run under the parliament house; and a few barrels of powder, properly placed, will bury all our enemies in one common ruin." Piercy was highly pleased with the contrivance of Catesby, and it was agreed between them to communicate the design to a few of their friends, and, among the rest, to Thomas Winter, who was immediately dispatched to Flanders in search of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whole

zeal for the catholic religion, and courage to execute any desperate enterprize, they were well acquainted.

Fawkes was soon found, and immediately entered into the conspiracy with all the ardour of bigotted enthusiasm. A house was hired in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble; and it was agreed to carry a mine from the cellar under the room in which the parliament met; and the very moment when the king was delivering his speech to both houses, to set fire to the magazine and destroy the whole assembly by one dreadful blast; thus making the very spot, where the edicts for proscribing the catholic religion had received their sanction, the scene of this dreadful catastrophe.

These consultations were held in the month of December of the preceding year; and it being expected that the parliament would meet in February, the work was immediately begun, and carried on with astonishing perseverance. They never desisted from their labour, relieving one another by turns; and that no alarm might be given to the neighbourhood, they entered Piercy's house by night, and carried with them provisions sufficient to support them till the mine was compleated. They had also provided themselves with fire arms and ammunition, fully determined, in case of being discovered, to perish rather than be taken.

When they had penetrated a considerable way into the wall which divided the cellar of Piercy's house from that under the House of Lords, they were greatly terrified at hearing a noise, which they knew not how to account for, as it seemed to proceed from the other side of the wall. A discovery was now greatly feared, and the conspirators prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity; but, upon inquiry, it was found, that the place from whence the noise proceeded was a large vault under the house of lords, filled with coals, which were now selling off and that the vault was to be let to the highest bidder. This opportunity was not to be neglected; Piercy immediately hired the place, deposited in it thirty-five barrels of powder, and covered the whole with faggots. Every thing was now ready for the dreadful blast; but the parliament being prorogued to the first of November, the conspirators had more time to finish their diabolical undertaking. More faggots were carried into the vault, and the door boldly thrown open, as if it contained nothing dangerous, or that ought to be concealed.

The great success the conspirators had hitherto met with in their infernal undertaking rendered them confident of success; and they began to deliberate on the best method of executing the remaining part of their project. The duke of York, whose tender age would not suffer him to be present at the opening of the parliament, must be secured, as well as his sister the princess Elizabeth, then at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire. Piercy undertook to secure and assassinate the duke; and Sir Everard Digby, Rod wood, and Grant, who were now let into the secret of the conspiracy, engaged to assemble them under pretence of a hunting match, to secure the princess, and immediately declare her queen. She proposed to apply immediately to foreign courts for assistance; but this was thought too dangerous, as it was resolved to make no application of that kind till the plot had taken effect.

The conspirators waited impatiently for the day that was to involve all their enemies in destruction; but they had now the prospect of its near approach. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept almost a year and a half. No remorse, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward had yet induced any single conspirator either to reveal the enterprize or discover the horrid secret.

ligious bigotry had extinguished every other motive in their breasts, and it was an indiscretion at last, proceeding from these very enthusiastic prejudices, that saved the nation from inevitable destruction.

About ten days before the meeting of the parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic peer, son to lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by a person unknown:

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends,
"I have a care for your preservation; therefore I
"would advise you, as you tender your life, to de-
"vise some excuse to shift off your attendance at
"this parliament, for God and man have concurred
"to punish the wickedness of this time: and think
"not slightly of this advertisement, but retire
"yourself into your country, where you may ex-
"pect the event in safety; for though there be no
"appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive
"a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall
"not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to
"be contemned, because it may do you good, and
"can do you no harm; for the danger is past as
"soon as you have burnt this letter; and I hope
"God will give you grace to make good use of it,
"to whose holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle was for some time at a loss what judgment to form of this letter, and unresolved in what manner to proceed. It had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand, and seemed to contain some mystery which it was not easy to explain. Had his own safety alone been concerned, in all probability he would have slighted the notice, as he was inclined to think it was nothing more than an attempt of his enemies to prevent his attendance in parliament; but fearing lest the king's life might be in danger, he carried it directly to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. The minister was also inclined to treat it with neglect: but as the words seemed to convey an ambiguous meaning, he determined to lay it before his majesty. The king was of a different opinion: he conjectured, from the serious and earnest stile of the letter, that something very dangerous and important was intended; and that the effect, which was represented to be at once both sudden and terrible, seemed to denote some contrivance by gun-powder. He was, however, of opinion, that either nothing should be done, or enough to prevent the danger; and that therefore the search should be deferred till the day before the meeting of the parliament, when the vaults under the parliament-house should be carefully inspected.

Accordingly, on the fourth of November, the lord chamberlain, who was obliged by his office to see every thing in readiness for his majesty's coming, visited all the places about the parliament-house. He slightly inspected the cellar, in one of the corners of which stood Fawkes, who passed for Percy's servant. The lord chamberlain was struck with the appearance of the man, in whose countenance all the marks of ferocious courage were conspicuously painted. Percy was known to be a very rigid papist, and while very little in town: the large quantity of powder was therefore, considered as something extraordinary; and it was thought necessary to make a more thorough inspection of the cellar; but, at the same time, it was resolved, that this search should be made in such a manner as should render it effectual, without giving the least alarm.

This resolution being taken Sir Thomas Knevet, master of the peace, with proper attendants, was about midnight to examine the cellar, under pretence of searching for stolen goods. Fawkes had just made all his preparations, and was coming out of

the cellar when Knevet arrived. The daring conspirator was immediately seized; and, after removing the billets, the barrels of powder were discovered. Fawkes had a dark lantern in his hand; and the matches, with every thing necessary for setting fire to the powder, were found in his pockets. The guilt of this determined conspirator was now sufficiently apparent; and knowing that all denial would be in vain, he avowed the design, and that it would have been executed on the morrow; at the same time, expressing the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of setting fire to the powder, and of softening his own death with the pleasure of perishing with his enemies. He expressed the same intrepid boldness when examined before the council. This obstinacy continued two or three days; but being closely confined in the Tower, and the rack placed before him, his courage at last forsook him, and he not only made a full discovery of the whole plot, but related the name of every person concerned in it.

The principal part of the conspirators at this time resided in town; and though they knew that the letter to Monteagle had alarmed the ministry, and even that a search was intended to be made by the lord chamberlain, yet they never abandoned their hopes of success till they heard that Fawkes was taken. It was then, indeed, too evident that the whole plot was discovered; and they fled immediately into Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, persuaded that the attempt had succeeded, was already in arms to seize the princess Elizabeth, who had prevented their design by taking refuge in Coventry. The whole country was now alarmed; and Sir Richard Wallh, high constable of Worcestershire, assisted by a great number of the inhabitants, surrounded the conspirators in Holbeach, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton. Their number, including all their attendants did not exceed eighty; but notwithstanding their inferiority, they prepared for a vigorous defence, determined either to perish or escape. But misfortune still pursued them. They had put some moist powder before a fire to dry, and a spark from the coals setting it on fire, some of them were so burned, that they were scarce able to handle their weapons. Their case was desperate, and no means of escape appearing, unless by forcing their way through the assailants, they made a desperate sally for that purpose. Catesby (who first proposed the manner of the plot) and Percy, were both killed. Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood and Bates, were taken prisoners and brought to London, where the former made an ample confession of the whole conspiracy. Several others were confined in the country; and some few, making their escape, fled to the continent.

In consequence of this astonishing discovery, the meeting of the parliament was postponed to the 10th of November, when the king opened the session with a speech, in which he endeavoured to restrain the fury of the English against the catholics. He observed, that it would be highly unjust, it would be criminal, to involve the whole body of catholics in the guilt of a few; that it could not be supposed they were all disposed to engage in committing such horrid barbarities; that all men, who embraced the tenets of the Roman church, should not be considered as supporters of the pope's power of dethroning kings, or sanctioning assassination; for though the wrath of heaven is denounced against crimes yet innocent error may obtain favour. "For my own part, added he, conspiracy, however atrocious, shall never alter my plan of government: while I punish guilt with one hand, I will support and protect innocence with the other."

A. D. 1606 The parliament granted the king a
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very considerable supply; and after having passed several acts of a public nature, directed their attention to the late horrid conspiracy. On the 27th of January eight of the conspirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Edward Digby, the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the rest had previously confessed their guilt. Digby was executed on the 30th of the same month, with Robert Winter, Grant and Bates, at the west end of St. Paul's Church-yard: and Thomas Winter, Keys, Rookwood and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace-yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, and being found guilty received sentence of death; but he was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confessing his own guilt and the iniquity of the enterprize, he exhorted all Roman catholics to abstain from the like treasonable practices. Sir Stephen Littleton, and several others, were tried in the country, all of whom being found guilty, were hanged.

The earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000*l.* under pretence of his having been acquainted with the conspiracy, though the only grounds of suspicion were, his having admitted Piercy, his kinsman, into the number of gentlemen pensioners, without tendering him the oath of supremacy. The lords Mordaunt and Sturton, two catholic noblemen, were also tried in the star-chamber and fined, the former in ten thousand, and the latter in four thousand pounds. The lord Monteagle had a grant of 200*l.* a year in land, and a pension of 500*l.* a year for life, as a reward for discovering the letter which occasioned the whole conspiracy to be rendered abortive. And the anniversary of this providential escape was ordered to be for ever commemorated.

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The only material circumstance that happened in the following year, 1608, was the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, lord high-treasurer. He was succeeded by Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, a nobleman of great talents, and every way qualified for discharging the duties of so important an office.

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A. D. 1610. By this time, the immoderate expences of the court had nearly emptied the exchequer, and the king was obliged to summon a parliament in order to obtain the necessary supplies. Economy, indeed, was not one of James's virtues: he was lavish of his treasures to his rapacious courtiers, and always in want, because he wanted sufficient fortitude to restrain, within proper bounds, his passion for conferring favours. The talk of procuring a supply to his majesty was undertaken by the earl of Salisbury, who in order to conciliate the affections of the commons, assured them that the king was resolved to redress all their grievances, and then proceeded to explain the causes which obliged his majesty to have recourse to his parliament for a supply. He enumerated the debts of the late queen, which the king had discharged; the maintaining an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland; the great sums he had expended on his journey, and that of his household, from Edinburgh to London; in supporting three courts, for himself, the queen, and the prince of Wales, in sending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in his bounty to his officers and dependents. He reproached them that Elizabeth, though a single woman, had received very large supplies during the latter part of her life, which alone was expensive to her, and that she had, notwithstanding, alienated a great part of the crown lands, an expedient, which, though it appeared the present necessities, multiplied those of her successors.

These, and several other reasons, were urged by the treasurer, to obtain a large supply from the parliament, but they were urged in vain, the commons

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We cannot close the transactions of this year without taking notice of a memorable and melancholy event that happened on the continent, and which greatly alarmed the English. The eyes of all Europe had been for some time fixed on Henry IV. of France, who, by his experience and good sense, was become one of the greatest politicians, and most able generals, of the age. That prince saw, that while the House of Austria was always ready to embrace every opportunity of aggrandizing itself, France had every thing to fear from its ambition; and he had formed a noble plan for humbling that ambitious family. But all his great designs were blasted in a moment by the poniard of the fanatical Ravallac. That infamous miscreant had for some time followed the king in his incursions, in quest of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpose. He intended to have stabbed him in the morning at the Feuillans, where he went to hear mass; but was prevented by the interposition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner, of the same day, the king appeared extremely weary, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to say, "My God! what is this that will not suffer me to be at quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his own coach with the duke d'Epernon, and several other noblemen. In passing through the street de la Roquelaer, which is very narrow, a stop was made by two loaded carts: the king had sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations that were making for the queen's entry; all the pages were gone round another way, except two, one of whom went before to clear the street, while the other slept behind to tie the horses. Ravallac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpose. He mounted on the coach-wheel, and, with a long keen sharp on both sides, struck the king over the forehead of the duke d'Epernon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The assassin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the artery, divided the vena cava, so that the king expired immediately. Ravallac was not perceived by any person while he perpetrated this atrocious murder; but had he thrown the knife under the coach, he could have escaped unnoticed: but he stood upon the coach like a statue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epernon called out, "Save him on your life!" On his examination he boldly confessed he perpetrated the murder, because the king would not take up arms against the papists, and that making war against the pope was nothing less than making war against God; because the pope was God, and God was the pope. This fanatical villain soon after suffered for his treachery, being put to death in the most horrid manner. The principles on which this regicide had been grounded gave James great uneasiness, and as the law was universally believed to have been the author of it, he thought it absolutely necessary to re-

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A. D. 1611. Though the timidity and haughtiness of James made him, during the greater part of his reign, inattentive to foreign affairs, there happened about this time an event of such great consequence as to rouse him from his lethargy, and summon up all his zeal and abilities. The famous preacher Arminius, of Amsterdam, had been chosen professor of divinity at Leyden, and was accused by the Calvinists with teaching absurd doctrines concerning free-will and predestination. Before his death, which happened in 1608, his party remained masters of the field of disputation, and his chair was now filled by Vorstius, who had published several treatises in defence of the Arminian principles. James opposed the doctrine of Arminius, and considered Vorstius as a dangerous rival in scholastic reputation. The royal disputant, therefore, attacked the professor with all the rage of arrogance and presumption. Fearful of the consequences that might ensue from this scholastic warfare, the states thought proper to deprive Vorstius of the chair he had filled with so much reputation. The king was appeased by this mark of condescension in the states, though he very charitably hinted to them, "That as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left it entirely to their own christian wisdom; but surely never heretic better deserved the flames." The states, however, had too much sense and humanity to understand his majesty's meaning; and they even procured a chair for the ejected professor in another university.

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frequently boasted of the management of Ireland as his master-piece; and it will appear, upon the necessary inquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation.

A. D. 1612. The nation this year sustained a very sensible loss in the death of Henry, prince of Wales, who paid the debt of nature on the 6th of November, in the 17th year of his age. He was a youth of very promising talents, and of an amiable character. He spent his time in studies becoming a prince, and exercised himself in the most manly diversions. He possessed the advantage of a fine person, and there was a martial turn in his disposition which could not fail of being very agreeable to a warlike people. His death diffused an universal grief throughout the nation, and his tomb was watered with the tears of the people.

Nor was this the only loss that James sustained in the course of this year: his principal counsellor, the earl of Salisbury, died on the 14th of May. His death was a great misfortune to James, who was thereby deprived of a very able minister, and one perfectly acquainted with the constitution and genius of the English.

A. D. 1613. A treaty of marriage having been concluded between the princess Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine, the ceremony was performed on the 14th of February, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest rejoicings. No expence was spared to render the entertainments on this occasion as magnificent as possible. The nation was greatly pleased with this match, as it promised the greatest advantages to the protestant interest in Europe. But these hopes were, in the end, rendered abortive, and the marriage proved a source of discontent between James and his parliament.

We come now to the introduction of those circumstances which proved fatal to that great and distinguished personage, Sir Thomas Overbury, who fell a victim to the malevolent disposition of an impious woman. During the whole time that James reigned in Scotland, he was seldom without a favourite; and both the English and the Scots had, ever since his accession to the English throne, laboured incessantly to supply this defect; but all their attempts were rendered abortive. At length, the lord Hay introduced Robert Carre, a Scottish gentleman descended from an antient family, and who had formerly been a page of honour to the king in Scotland. Hay, without mentioning him at court, assigned him the office, at a match at tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device; and hoped he would attract the attention of that monarch. An accident, however, happened which seemed at first to destroy all the hopes of his patron. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horse flung him, and broke his leg in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and carefully attended. Carre was about twenty years of age, of an easy and graceful demeanour, extremely ambitious and profoundly ignorant. After the tilting match was over, James paid him a visit in his chamber, and returned frequently to see him during his confinement. The innocence and simplicity of the youth finished the conquest began by his external graces and accomplishments. Other princes have been fond of chusing their favourites from among the lower ranks of their subjects, and have reposed in them the utmost confidence, because they received from their bounty every honour and acquisition. James was desirous that his favourite might derive from him all his sense, experience, and knowledge. Highly conceited of his own wisdom, he pleased himself that this raw youth, by his lessons and in-

structions, would soon be equal to his wisest minister, and be initiated into all the profound secrets of government, on which he set so high a value. He soon discovered an unlimited fondness for his name, beyond even that he bore towards his own children. Not content with knighting this favourite, he created him viscount Rochester, honored him with the garter, and brought him into the privy council.

Rochester had the good fortune to meet with a judicious and sincere confidant in Sir Thomas Overbury, who, building all his hopes of preferment on the young favourite, endeavoured to dissuade him the principles of prudence and discretion. By zealously endeavouring to serve every body, Carre was taught to abate the envy which might otherwise attend his sudden elevation: by shewing a preference to the English, he learned to escape the prejudices that had for some time prevailed against his country; and when he was contented to be ruled by Overbury's frail counsel, he enjoyed, what is exceedingly rare, the highest favour of the prince without being hated by the people.

This pleasing prospect, however, was but of short permanence to Overbury; for Rochester soon after contracting an amour with the countess of Essex, sacrificed at once his friend and his fortune to that unlawful passion. This lady had been married when only thirteen years of age to the earl of Essex then only fourteen; but it was thought necessary for the young earl to travel for some years before the marriage was consummated. At his return he was charmed with the beauty of his young countess; but astonished to find that she would on no account consent to any farther familiarities. After reiterated refusals, the earl gave over all thoughts of the happiness he had so long flattered himself with enjoying, and left the countess to pursue her own inclinations.

Rochester had paid his addresses to the countess before the arrival of Essex; and this attachment was the true cause for her behaving in so strange a manner to the earl. She imagined, that while she refused the embraces of Essex, she could never be considered as his wife, and that a divorce might be easily obtained which would entirely remove the difficulty attending her marriage with her beloved Rochester. A divorce was accordingly obtained: but Rochester could not think of concluding an engagement of so much consequence to his future happiness, without consulting his friend Overbury.

He accordingly informed him of his intended marriage with the countess of Essex, and begged his advice. Astonished at this declaration, Overbury used all in his power to dissuade him from so dangerous a connection. He represented to him how difficult it would appear to take to his own bed a woman, who was already married to a young man of the first rank; and to such long and warmth of his honest exhortations, Carre himself threatened Rochester with the loss of his confidence and friendship, if he could not be prevailed upon to honor and interest, as to prosecute a marriage with a woman of such abandoned principles.

Rochester had the weakness to impart this information to the countess, who instantly vowed revenge against the bold arranger of her conduct. The favourite himself was afterwards seduced by her charms, that he joined with her in the ruin of Overbury. To effect this, he immediately repaired to court; and after extolling in the most flattering manner, the great abilities of Overbury, stated, that he was lately grown so indiscreet and insolent, that he could with he was removed from his honourable employment, to a greater distance from the seat of power. Far from suspecting the favourite's application, James applied to

bury his ambassador to a foreign court. On receiving notice of the honor conferred upon him, he consulted with Rochester how he ought to proceed, as he considered his appointment as nothing more than an honorable banishment. The insidious favourite, under pretence of not being able to support his absence, persuaded him to reject the offer. Overbury followed his advice; but the favourite repairing immediately to court, represented the refusal of Overbury as the highest insolence: and James, who could not bear the slightest contempt of his authority, issued a warrant for committing him to the Tower.

Overbury being thus removed, Rochester not only obtained the king's consent to marry the countess, but his majesty also, previous to the performance of the ceremony, created him earl of Somerset; which was done as a compliment to the countess, that her second husband might not be inferior in dignity to her first. The nuptials were solemnized in the most magnificent manner; and nothing was now wanting to complete their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be lashed. She used every art to effect her bloody purpose; and at last prevailed, both on her husband, and the earl of Northampton her uncle, to engage in the atrocious design of taking him off by poison. Several attempts were accordingly made for that purpose, but the strength of Overbury's constitution as often rendered them abortive. At last nature gave way to repeated attacks, and he died in the Tower on the sixteenth of September, by a poisoned clyster. He was buried with the utmost dispatch and secrecy; and though this precipitate interment caused a strong suspicion in the public, the horrid action was not discovered till some years after.---It is proper to observe, that James was intirely ignorant of the whole affair; and that he was struck with horror when he found that unknowingly, he been made the promoter of such a detestable scene of barbarity.

A. D. 1614. The earl of Somerset, deprived of the advantage of Overbury's counsel, found himself greatly embarrassed in the management of public affairs. His small experience rendered every thing difficult; he became odious to the court; and though the king's partiality continued, his insolence and weakness gave his enemies so many advantages, that it was evident he must soon be removed. The queen was insulted by the favourite minion, and a party formed against him. After many consultations on the best method of effecting the ruin of Somerset, it was agreed to give the king a new favourite. The scheme succeeded; and George Villiers, a young man remarkable for his beauty and beauty, was the person chosen for this purpose.

James still beheld this gaudy object at a comedy at Cambridge, where he was conspicuously seated. He immediately engaged the attention of the audience, and was conducted to court, and soon obtained the influence of the favourite. He was created knight, and made a gentleman of the chamber with a pension of a thousand pounds per annum.

As the law his fall was approaching, and exerted his influence to avert it. But his efforts were in vain. The discovery of Overbury's murder reduced him to the level from which he had been raised by the king's favour. The apothecary's boy, who had been employed in administering the poisoned clyster, revealed the whole secret to Winwood, secretary of state. The evidence of the boy was confirmed by the deposition of the countess of Shrewsbury, then confined in the Tower. That lady had found means to work herself into the confidence of Sir Jarrvis, a favourite of the Tower, and being of an

intriguing disposition, she drew the secret from him. James was soon informed of the atrocious deed; and the lieutenant being questioned, could not help betraying, by his countenance, the guilt that rankled at his heart. He confessed all he knew, and it was now determined to prosecute all the actors in this detestable tragedy. Accordingly Welton, who had given Overbury the poison in tarts and jellies, and at last in a clyster; Mrs. Turner, chief confidant of the countess of Somerset; Franklin the apothecary, who had prepared the poison; and Sir Jarrvis Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, were ordered to be apprehended. All these, together with Somerset and his countess, were convicted of the atrocious fact, on the fullest evidence. Somerset and his countess only were pardoned; the rest suffered the punishment due to their crimes. After some years imprisonment, James set them at liberty, and conferred on them a small pension, on which they lived retired in the country, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity.

A. D. 1615. After the fall of Somerset, the fortune of Villiers advanced with amazing rapidity. He was created duke of Buckingham, lord high-admiral of England, constable of Windsor, and, in a few years, loaded with those honors and favours that might have rewarded the merit of many illustrious men. His family also was advanced to opulence. But this strange and unworthy profusion increased the king's necessities, and obliged him to raise money by very obnoxious means. He resorted to the Dutch the three important fortresses of Flushing, the Brille, and Rammakins, for three hundred thousand pounds. These places had been put into the hands of Elizabeth by the states of the United Provinces, as securities for the sum of eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and eight pounds, which that princess had advanced during the war with Spain. The necessities of James obliged him to accept the small sum above-mentioned, and the places were accordingly delivered up on the fourteenth of June.

This money was soon expended, but in what manner no one could guess; none of the king's debts were paid; the navy was not repaired, nor had any money been sent to the army in Ireland, though their want formed the chief pretence for treating with the states. At length it was discovered, that the lord treasurer Suffolk had converted the greater part of the money received from Holland to his own use. As he was father-in-law to Somerset, and consequently no friend to Villiers the favourite, this opportunity to ruin him was readily embraced. The lord treasurer was accused in the star chamber, of several misdemeanors in the execution of his office, and particularly with having secreted large sums received from the Dutch. Sir Edward Coke, who carried on the prosecution against him for the crown, aggravated his misdemeanors, his extortions, his mismanagement of the king's treasure, his boldness in applying it to his own use, and the corruptions and artifices of his deputy Bingley, to abuse the confidence of such as had any business with his master. He produced several precedents of treasurers who had been punished for much lighter crimes than those of the earl of Suffolk, and displayed the dangerous consequence, that must result from the corrupt administration of the public money.

Had Suffolk thrown himself upon the mercy of the king he would have been acquitted, but he endeavoured to invalidate the evidence brought against him, and justify his conduct against the malignant accusation of his enemies. He failed in the attempt, and his judges pronounced him guilty. He was fined thirty thousand pounds, and condemned to imprisonment.

imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Nor did his deputy Bingley escape: he was severely reprimanded, and fined two thousand pounds.

A. D. 1617. This year was rendered remarkable for the last expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, which produced great murmurs against the English government, and ended in the death of that valiant seaman. During his imprisonment of thirteen years in the Tower, he had applied himself closely to study, and acquired so great a reputation for learning, that all his faults were forgotten; and he was as much lamented as he had been before hated by the people. By the application of various friends James set him at liberty, but at the same time absolutely refused to grant him a pardon.

Sir Walter's estate being all forfeited he was greatly embarrassed, and determined to seek his fortune in a strange country. He had formerly traversed the seas of America, and knew all the coasts, especially that of Guiana, where he imagined there was a rich mine, of which he found means to inform the king, and at the same time told his majesty that he hoped to obtain immense quantities of gold from it, if he would grant him a private commission. The mine lying in a country belonging to the Spaniards, it could not be seized without breaking the peace with Spain. But the king, tempted by the golden hopes inspired by Raleigh, not only granted him a commission, but supplied him with ships and money for undertaking so capital an enterprise.

When his fleet, which consisted of twelve ships, was ready, he sailed from Plymouth, and steered directly for Guiana in America. On his arrival he found the Spaniards had formed a settlement on the river Oronoko, built a small town called St. Thomas, and were working some gold mines of some value in the neighbourhood.

Raleigh entered the mouth of the river with his whole fleet, but did not think it prudent to pursue his design against the rapid current of the river with his largest ships. He therefore detached five of his smallest vessels under the command of his son and captain Keymis, who was said to have discovered the mine in question, during his former voyage with Sir Walter to that country, with orders to sail up the Oronoko, as far as possible, in order to find the mountain in the bowels of which the mine was situated. But not being able to pursue their course, they landed near St. Thomas, where they fired upon the Spaniards. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, "that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot of which he immediately expired. Keymis and his companions were not dismayed, they carried on the attack with the utmost vigour, and soon made themselves masters of the place. They found not, however, the riches they expected: the Spaniards were poor, and the produce of the mines inconsiderable. Keymis was now requested to lead them to the mine he had before discovered, but absolutely refused; and the English, after burning the town, returned to the rest of the fleet at the mouth of the river. Raleigh, finding himself disappointed in the promises of Keymis, threatened him with the king's displeasure, which that officer prevented by retiring to his cabin, and putting an end to his own life.

Raleigh's companions now suspected that they had been deceived by their leader; that he had never any assurance of there being any such mine he pretended to be in search of; that he had always intended to plunder St. Thomas, and, after encouraging his soldiers with the spoil of that place, to have proceeded to invade the other Spanish settlements; hoping by such daring enterprises to repair the ruins of his shattered fortune, and flattering himself with being

able to purchase with his wealth the pardon he had before solicited in vain. They therefore absolutely refused to make any farther attempts on the Spanish settlements, and obliged him to return to Plymouth, where he was arrested by his majesty's order, and sent a prisoner to the Tower of London.

During the absence of Raleigh, the Spanish ambassador had made loud complaints at the court of London, of the depredations committed by the English under that intrepid commander; and the king, in order to appease him, declared that Raleigh had no orders to act in an hostile manner against his countrymen. As Raleigh returned without the gold he had promised his majesty, his affairs were now rendered desperate; but as he could not be tried for his actions during the late expedition, for which he had a commission in form, it was determined he should lose his head by virtue of the sentence pronounced upon him fourteen years before. Accordingly the king, to silence the clamours of the court of Spain, signed the warrant for his execution.

Raleigh now plainly perceived his fate to be inevitable, and therefore collected all his courage to act the last scene of his life with bravery and resolution. When he ascended the scaffold, he took up the ax by which he was to be beheaded, and feeling the edge of it, said, "It is a sharp remedy, but a sure one for all ills." His speech to the people was calm, manly, and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himself, and load his enemies with the public hatred. As soon as he had finished his harangue, he laid his head upon the block, with the utmost indifference, and received the fatal blow.

His death was regretted by the whole body of the nobility; and the English patriots beheld the fate of Raleigh with silent indignation. The public clamour against the pusillanimous administration of James was, by this event, greatly increased. It was thought an instance of cruelty and injustice to execute a sentence, which had been so long suspended, and tacitly pardoned by conferring on him a new trust and commission, especially as he was then the only man in England who enjoyed a high reputation for civil and military experience.

Never did the notions of liberty more generally prevail in Europe than at this period; even Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, were as jealous of their rights as the English themselves. The spirit of independence had taken root in Germany ever since the reign of Charles V. The example of the inhabitants of the United Provinces was always present with those people, who pretended to the same privileges, and thought themselves in a better condition to demand than even the Hollanders themselves. The emperor Matthias having procured his cousin Ferdinand of Austria to be elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and obliged the other archdukes to join him up Austria the inhabitants of these countries joined in complaining, that sufficient regard had not been shewn to their privileges; religion and a part of the grievance of the Bohemians, who were inspired with an enthusiastic zeal, soon became lost.

In the midst of these confusions Matthias paid a debt of nature, and Ferdinand of Austria was seated on the imperial throne. This new dignity, however, made no impression upon the protestants of Bohemia, whose power was now considerable. They refused on having liberty to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics, upon which the council of state issued a declaration against the protestants, peremptorily refusing to grant their demands. Exasperated at this denial, they repaired to the palace and threw three of the emperor's officers out of a window. This outrage exposed them to the wrath of Ferdinand. They knew they had nothing to expect from

from his clemency, and therefore determined either to succeed in an attempt to recover their liberties, or perish in the glorious cause. They considered themselves as entitled to depose a king they had not elected, and actually made a tender of their crown to the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to the king of England. Frederick accepted the offer, and was readily elected king of Bohemia. James complained of this proceeding in the electors as disloyal, imprudent and dishonorable. He could by no means approve of the maxims of elective governments, and was persuaded that Ferdinand, by a kind of prescriptive right, had acquired a lawful title to Bohemia. He accused his son-in-law of forcing him either to desert his cause, or break off his negotiation with Spain. He also complained of his duplicity, in having desired his advice with regard to his accepting the crown of Bohemia, and actually received it before the messenger could arrive at London. The popularity of Frederick's cause was, notwithstanding these reproaches, so great in England, that James found himself under a kind of necessity of doing something in his favour. He could not, however, be prevailed upon to give his son-in-law the title of king of Bohemia; and issued orders, forbidding the clergy to pray for him in the churches under that appellation.

A. D. 1619. In the beginning of this year James sustained a considerable loss in the death of his queen, who paid the debt of nature on the first of March, in the 46th year of her age. The character of this prince has been variously drawn by different writers. Some represent her as a vicious lewd woman: but this, on the strictest enquiry, appears to be nothing more than the effects of calumny: others more justly affirming, that she was possessed of many virtues, and no small share of understanding.

About the same time the earl of Northumberland, who had been confined in the Tower ever since the gunpowder plot, obtained his liberty through the intercession of lord Hay, who, luckily for him, had married one of his daughters.

The affairs in Germany began now to wear a very serious aspect. The new emperor Ferdinand II. who possessed greater abilities than generally fall to the share of the Austrian princes, prepared himself, with great diligence, for the recovery of his authority. Besides the assistance of his subjects, who adhered to the catholic religion, he attached to his interest a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates; all the catholic princes of the empire declared in his favour; even the Elector of Saxony, the most powerful among the protestants, and the king of Poland, espoused his cause. The Spanish monarch, who considered his own interest as inseparably connected with the younger branch of his family, sent him powerful succours from Italy, and from the Low Countries, and also furnished large sums of money for the support of Ferdinand and the catholic religion.

The Bohemians, alarmed at these powerful preparations, took every precaution in their power for defending themselves against the storm which threatened to destroy both their liberties and religion. They applied to all the neighbouring princes and states for assistance, and represented their cause as the cause of the gospel, which they asserted must either stand or fall with the emperor proved victorious.

A. D. 1620. Ferdinand having collected a powerful army, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count de Bucquoy, marched against Frederick in Bohemia. At the same time Spinola assembled an army of thirty thousand veterans in the Low Countries, and when Edmonds, James's resident at Brussels, demanded of the archduke Albert the means

ing of those large preparations, he was told, that Spinola had received his orders immediately from Madrid, and that the king of Spain alone knew the purpose for which the forces were intended. In the mean time, the Elector Palatine was put under the ban of the empire, and the execution of it committed to the elector of Saxony, who immediately entered and subdued Lusatia.

The war now raged with great fury in the bowels of Germany; and James, unable any longer to resist the solicitations of his subjects, who offered to advance very large sums to support the right of the Elector Palatine to the crown of Bohemia, gave leave for Sir Horace Vere to command a small body of forces for the preservation of the Palatinate. This little army consisted of two thousand two hundred men, composed chiefly of volunteers, and headed by the intrepid earls of Oxford and Essex; the company of the latter consisted of three hundred gentlemen, fifty of whom he paid out of his own pocket; and a kind of promise was extorted from James, that he would suffer two more regiments to be sent after them. These brave volunteers were landed in Holland, passed the Rhine below Wesel, and were escorted to Frankfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Nassau. On the first of October they joined the Palatine army, commanded by the Margrave of Anspach. They arrived, however, only time enough to be the melancholy witnesses of the destruction of that cause they came to support. The duke of Bavaria having joined the imperial general in Bohemia, advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which the Elector Palatine was posted. For some days the two armies faced each other; but on the eighteenth of November a battle was fought, which decided the fate of the Bohemian crown. The Elector Palatine was totally defeated, and fled, with his wife and family, to Holland. The inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialists; and the unfortunate Frederick saw himself abandoned by all his friends and allies, except count Mansfeldt, who still preserved his fidelity.

The complaints of the people against the timid and pusillanimous conduct of James were now both loud and alarming. It was said publicly, that he had not only deprived the elector of that assistance which the English were both willing and able to afford him, but had also deterred other princes from espousing his quarrel.

It cannot be supposed that James was unwilling to preserve the Palatinate; but he was so much infatuated by the persuasions of Gondomar the Spanish ambassador, that he believed the most effectual expedient for that purpose would be the marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain; and that the treaty (which was at this time negotiating for that purpose) would infallibly miscarry if he took any vigorous measures in favour of the elector. Besides, his aversion to war was insuperable: he never dreamed that his peaceable disposition tended only to expose him to contempt. He considered not that the Spanish match itself would be attended with such difficulties, that all his art of negotiation could never be able to remove, much less that this alliance could safely be depended upon as the means of procuring the great advantages he expected from it.

A. D. 1621. James, however, affected to pursue vigorous measures, hoping, by those means, to receive ample subsidies from the parliament, which met on the 21st of January. He opened the session with a long speech addressed to both houses, in which he expatiated on his own merit and necessities; and demanded supplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his son, should his endeavours

to procure a reasonable pacification be rendered abortive.

The commons, extremely incensed against the ambitious proceedings of the house of Austria, immediately granted the king two subsidies, with which James was satisfied for the present. This affair being discussed, the commons received petitions against the increase of popish recusants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licensing taverns and public houses; and granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Francis Michel an exclusive patent for the sale of gold and silver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of such scandalous frauds and extortion, that upon complaint being made to the upper house, they were ordered to be committed to prison. Mompesson, however, found means to escape; but he was degraded from the honor of knighthood, and his estate confiscated. His companion in iniquity was sentenced to do public penance in the street, sitting on horseback with his face towards the tail, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned for life.

The severe proceedings of the parliament against these delinquents greatly alarmed James, and he began to fear for his favourite Buckingham, who had been the principal author of these monopolies. He therefore went to the house of peers, and loathed the parliament with the most affectionate expressions, assuring them, that if he had known of these grievances, he would have punished the authors himself with the utmost severity. But at the same time cautioned them against listening to those who should accuse the innocent as well as the guilty. The house understood his meaning, and stopped the inquiry with regard to the source of these enormities.

A few days after the commons impeached lord chancellor Bacon, lately created baron of Verulam, and viscount of St. Alban's. In consequence of this James again repaired to the house, and, in a speech, represented the necessity of punishing corrupt judges; and solicited farther subsidies, as the supplies granted by the commons were already expended in subsisting the Elector Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He observed, that large sums would be necessary for defraying the expence of sending extraordinary ambassadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as in maintaining an army to act with vigour, if the negotiations proved abortive, and concluded with protesting, that he would not dissolve the parliament till all the affairs then under consideration should be fully determined.

The articles sent up to the peers by the commons, against the lord-chancellor were now read and examined. Conscious of his guilt, Bacon implored the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confession, to avoid the shame of a public enquiry. But the lords were inexorable, and insisted on a full confession of all his corrupt practices. He accordingly acknowledged twenty eight articles, and was so very particular in his confession, that he mentioned a dozen gold buttons which his servants had taken as a gift from a suitor in chancery. Upon making this confession he was condemned to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of holding any office, place or employment, and to be excluded from ever sitting in parliament.

Bacon was a nobleman universally admired for the greatness of his genius, and no less beloved for his courteous and affable behaviour. But his want of economy, and his indulgence to his servants, had involved him in debt, and in order to supply his necessities he had been tempted to take bribes from suitors in chancery. It is, however, affirmed, that

notwithstanding this enormous abuse, he always maintained, in the seat of justice, the inflexible integrity of a judge, and that his decrees were so just and equitable, that they were never questioned nor reversed. He survived five years the dreadful sentence pronounced against him in the house of lords; and being soon after released from the Tower, his genius, which was yet unbroken, shone out with amazing lucidity in literary productions, which, notwithstanding all his failings, have justly placed him among the ornaments of the English nation. Conscious of the greatness of Bacon, the king remitted the fine, settled on him a pension of 18,000. a year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of age and misfortune. Experience had taught Bacon the vanity of human greatness, and he now acknowledged that the pleasures resulting from study and retirement, were superior to those acquired by the highest posts in government.

In the mean time the commons indefatigably pursued their laudable design of removing all grievances complained of by the people; and discussed every complaint laid before them with the utmost freedom, though many of them sensibly affected the king or his ministers. Some parts of the king's prerogative were attacked; and his authority, in many respects warmly disputed.

James, alarmed at these proceedings, sent a very sharp message to the speaker; in which he observed that though he was ready to correct the abuses of his power, he would never submit to have that power itself questioned and denied. But this produced no effect upon the conduct of the commons, he prorogued the parliament.

This parliament is remarkable for being the first when the parties of court and country (afterwards known by the name of Tories and Whigs) were not regularly formed. All those who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, adhered to the former: while the puritans and the patriots adhered firmly to the latter. The spirit of enthusiasm, bold, daring, and uncontrouled, strongly disposed the minds of the puritans to republican tenets; and inclined them to analogize their affairs and conduct the same liberty which they assumed in the discussion of religious tenets. As the court, in order to discourage all parliamentary opposition, affixed the name of puritans to its antagonists, that rigid sect readily adopted this designation which was so favourable to their cause by connecting it with that of the patriots and country party.

Though James, during the recess of parliament had revoked several of his oppressive patents, and removed other grievances; yet when the commons assembled on the 20th of November, they were not from entertaining any favourable idea of the new reign. A few days after their meeting they presented a spirited remonstrance to his majesty, in which they represented, "That the power of the house of Austria threatened the liberties of Europe, the progress of the catholic religion in England, and the most alarming apprehensions, lest that once more gain the ascendancy in the legislature; the king's lenity towards the professors of dissenting religion had increased their arrogance and power; that the uncontrouled conquests made by the royal family had raised the expectations of the people, which they were disappointed by the most sanguine hopes of a reformation, if not a final establishment, at least an amelioration of their religion." They then presented humbly to offer to his majesty the following petition against these growing evils. "That he should graciously undertake the defence of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the subject, by the force of arms, that he should declare his intention

Spain, whose arms and riches formed the chief bulwark of the catholic religion in Europe; that he should engage in no negotiations for the marriage of his son, but with a protestant princess; that the children of popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of protestant teachers and schoolmasters; and that the fines and confiscations to which the catholics were subject by the law, should be exacted with the utmost rigour."

James was at Newmarket when he received intelligence of this unprecedented remonstrance, at which he was so exasperated that he immediately wrote a very severe letter to the speaker, wherein he sharply rebuked the house for debating openly on matters far above their reach and capacity, and strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government or deep matters of state; and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any of his friends and confederates.

The commons were far from being intimidated at the king's letter. They knew their own strength too well to be frightened at James's menaces. Instead of retracting what they had done, they entered with greater freedom than ever on the national grievances, and the dangerous state of the reformed religion both at home and abroad. They formed a new remonstrance, drawn up indeed in very respectful terms, but not less bold and spirited than the former. After reminding him of the cheerfulness with which they undertook to assist him in the defence of the Palatinate, they observed, "That their zeal for the protestant religion, and the interest of his majesty's family, had induced them to represent the dangers with which both were threatened, and to point out remedies for those evils: that by his letter to the speaker, he seemed determined to deprive them of the parliamentary liberty to speak freely in the house, and also of the jurisdiction which the house exercised over its own members; they therefore begged he would not withdraw a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited from their ancestors; and which he himself had confirmed in his speeches to parliament, and without which it would be impossible to discuss and determine the affairs that might come before their cognizance."

The resolute and determined remonstrance lighted on a spark of regal pride in the breast of James. His answer was short, peremptory, and suitable to that proud and largely power which filled his breast. After expressing his intentions with regard to the prerogative in very clear and explicit terms, he concluded with regard to the rights and privileges of parliament in the following manner: "And although we will allow the style, calling it your undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished it called that your privileges were derived from the consent and permission of our ancestors and us (for they grew by precedents, which rather confirm than inheritance:) yet we are pleased to give our royal assurance that as long as you continue within the limits of your duty, we will be careful to maintain and preserve your lawful rights and privileges as any of our ancestors were, and to preserve our royal prerogative, so as that you shall only have need to beware to trench on the prerogative of the crown, which would on any just king, to retrench them of their rights, that would pare his prerogative and the crown. But of this we hope there is no cause given."

The answer, which was dated at Newmarket the second of November, greatly alarmed the commons, who were not only every privilege, if not plainly infringed, but also as very precious.

He plainly told them it might be forfeited by abuse, and they had already abused it. They therefore resolved to grant no supply till they received satisfaction from James for the breach of their privileges, and drew up the following protestation, which is so very remarkable, that it will be necessary to give it at full length. "The commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make the following protestation: That the liberties, franchises, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters, in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest, and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the house itself) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliamentary business. And that if any of the members be complained of and questioned for any thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewn to the king by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

Alarmed at these proceedings, James hastened to town from Newmarket with a determined resolution to exert his authority, and convince the commons that they had proceeded too far in asserting their liberties. On his arrival, he sent immediately for the journal-book of the commons, and, before the council, tore out the above protestation, which he considered as an insult on his prerogative. At the same time he declared it absolutely null and void, because it was voted tumultuously at a late hour, and in a very thin house; and because it was expressed in such general and ambiguous terms as might be considered as a sufficient foundation for the most enormous crimes, and extended to the most unwarrantable usurpations on the prerogative of the crown. A few days after he dissolved the parliament by proclamation, and immediately wreaked his vengeance on those members of the house of commons, who had been most active in taking such liberty with his power and administration. He committed several of them to prison; others were sent to Ireland under pretence of executing some commission in that country; and the earls of Southampton and Oxford were committed to the Tower.

In the mean time the king of Bohemia, finding all his father-in-law's pacific endeavours prove abortive, determined to make one final effort for recovering his dominions. Accordingly he levied a powerful army under three commanders, Christian duke of Brunswick, the prince of Baden-Doutzick, and count Mansfeldt. But the same ill success attended the unfortunate Frederick; the two former generals were defeated by count Tilly at the head of the Imperialists. This misfortune did not, however, intimidate Mansfeldt; he continued the war with great perseverance.

perseverance, though ill supplied with money by the palatine, and king of England. At last the unfortunate Frederick determined to give over his fruitless efforts: he retired to Sedan, where he remained an unwelcome guest with his uncle the duke of Brunswick. Count Mansfeldt was dismissed the service, and retired with his army into the Low-countries, where the states received him into their pay.

James now gave up all thoughts of recovering the palatinate from the emperor. But he still flattered himself that if he could accomplish his son's marriage with the infanta of Spain, he should be able to maintain, by the assistance of that court, the territories of his son-in-law, and re-instate him in his former dignity. Ferdinand, however, determined to prevent him from executing his project. He assembled a diet at Ratibon, in which he declared, "that the elector palatine, having been guilty of high-treason, his estates, goods and dignities were forfeited; but being unwilling to diminish the number of electors, he ordered that Maximilian of Bavaria should be invested with the electorate palatine."

A. D. 1622. The eyes of the English were now turned towards Spain, where Digby, earl of Bristol, had the sole management of the negotiation for the marriage. Bristol was a nobleman of great abilities, and had formerly disapproved of entering into any engagements with Spain; but appeared now so convinced of the sincerity of that court, that he wrote a letter to James, congratulating him on the entire accomplishment of his views and projects: a daughter of Spain, whom he represented as extremely amiable, would soon, he said, be conducted into England, and bring with her an immense fortune of two millions, a sum four times greater than was ever given with any other princess. The truth is, that the court of Spain had hitherto carried on the negotiation merely to amuse the English monarch; but perceiving that James was determined, on any terms, to complete the alliance, it was thought that so favourable an opportunity of restoring the catholic faith in England should not be neglected, as it seemed more than probable it might easily be effected by means of the infanta, and her numerous train of domestics and dependents, who were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. From these expectations, the behaviour of the Spanish court was now entirely changed, and appeared as eager to conclude the negotiation, as before to find excuses for deferring it. The only difficulty consisted in extorting from the English monarch such concessions as might contribute to complete the favourite design, and which the impatience of James gave the greatest reason to expect.

Digby, during his residence in Spain, had been principally employed in settling the preliminaries of the marriage. At length the court of Spain made their final demands with regard to that particular, and the earl sent them immediately to his master. James made some difficulty of agreeing to these articles; but his desire of completing the marriage at last got the better of his prudence: he signed the articles, and sent them back to Spain. Among all the concessions favourable to the catholics, none gave greater disgust to the English than that in which the king engaged that the children of the prince and the Infanta should be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age, a condition which could only be stipulated with a view of implanting in their tender minds the strongest prejudices in favour of the Romish religion, and though to early an age might seem little susceptible of any lasting impression, yet the same motive which prompted the Spanish monarch to insert it, should have induced the king of England to reject it. Besides the public treaty, there were several private articles, by which both the king and prince of Wales

engaged to suspend the penal laws against the catholics, to obtain a repeal of them from the parliament, and to tolerate the exercise of the popish religion in private houses.

Every previous step being thus adjusted, nothing was wanting to conclude the marriage but the pope's dispensation, which was considered merely as a matter of formality. Elated by this success, James triumphed in his pacific councils, and consoled himself for the contempt with which he had been treated in every court of Europe for viewing, without concern, the deplorable state of the palatine. He boasted, that by his own distinguished wisdom and sagacity, he had procured advantages far superior than those he could have acquired by the most powerful armies. But all his flattering ideas of greatness were destroyed by a man, whom he had raised from a private station to be the curse of himself, his family and his people.

A. D. 1623. Ever since the fall of Somerset the duke of Buckingham had ruled unrivalled in the council, and was now as much in favour with the prince of Wales as with the king: both implicitly followed his councils and adopted his opinions; while that artful favourite employed all his power to serve the purposes of his own unbounded ambition. He had been all along envious of the great credit obtained by Bristol in the Spanish negotiation, and was determined to supplant him, or, at least, to share in the honour of concluding a treaty so agreeable to the king. He persuaded the prince to undertake a journey to the court of Madrid in person, in order to bring home his mistress the Infanta. He represented to him, that the romantic nature of the adventure could not fail of attracting the admiration and affection of that monarch and his subjects, and of introducing him to the princess under the character of a fond lover, rather than of a stately husband; that the negotiation with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languished in the hands of ministers, would quickly be terminated by so illustrious an agent, secured by the mediation and intreaties of the grateful Infanta; that the Spanish generosity, excited by so manifest an instance of trust and confidence, would undoubtedly make concessions far beyond what could be expected from the most political considerations.

Charles, inflamed with these generous and romantic ideas, embraced the proposal with rapture, and it was agreed to make application to the king to carry the design into execution immediately. They chose the moment when James was in the kindest and joyous humour; and by importunity, rather than the force of their reasons, they extorted from him a hasty and unguarded consent.

But the prince and Buckingham had hardly left the king, before he repented of his weakness. A difficulty occurred with a peculiar force, the danger to which the prince's person might be exposed, affected him in a very sensible manner. He reflected that however pardonable this romantic enterprise might be considered in youth, it must reflect on mature age: that if the professions of the Spanish monarch were sincere, a few months only would terminate the negotiation, and bring the Infanta to England without exposing his only son, the heir of the throne, to the perils of his age, to so dangerous an expedition.

Agitated by these reflections, James desired to retract his promise, and prevent by any means an undertaking which, if unfortunate, would ruin him at once, both infamous to his people and odious to all posterity. Accordingly, when the prince and Buckingham returned for their dismissal, he informed them of the reasons which had induced him to change his resolution, and that he would bury all thoughts of so ridiculous an expedition in the pit of forgetfulness. The prince, however,

affected at this disappointment, but answered only with tears. Buckingham assumed the air of authority, and told the king, that this retraction of his promise, so soon after it was given, must render all his declarations for ever after suspected; that the word of a king ought to be sacred, and never broken but by the most powerful reasons, or absolute necessity.

James, who was unable to make an effectual opposition to the designs of the prince and favourite, renewed his consent, proper directions were given for the journey, and the prince, with Buckingham, and their two attendants, Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with Sir Richard Graham, master of the horse to Buckingham, passed, disguised and undiscovered, through France. They even ventured to appear in a court hall at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, then in the bloom of youth and beauty.

They reached Madrid on the 6th of March, eleven days after their departure from England. Their unexpected appearance surprized every body in that capital. As soon as Philip was informed of their arrival he immediately paid Charles a visit; made him the warmest protestations of friendship; shewed him every respect in the power of majesty to bestow; and presented him with a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might have free access to him at all hours. He gave him the upper hand on all occasions, except in the apartments assigned for his residence. The same pomp and ceremonies were used, when Charles first visited the palace, as were common at the coronation of the kings of Spain, and the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself. Every kind of respect was used throughout the kingdom; and all the prisons were thrown open, that even those who before languished in confinement might share in the general joy. The Infanta, however, was only permitted to see her lover in public, the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict as not to admit of any farther intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation.

In the mean time pope Gregory XV. who had granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII. was placed in the pontifical chair. This event induced him not to deliver the dispensation till it could receive the sanction of Urban; who, hoping that some accident might be discovered, during the prince's residence in Spain, to effect his conversion to the catholic faith, delayed the dispensation.

This gave great uneasiness both to James and his son, which being perceived by Philip he took the utmost pains to dissipate every apprehension, and endeavoured to prevail on the prince to wait till the dispensation could be procured from the court of Rome. Charles, however, tired with expectation, asked Philip for leave to return home, which that monarch readily granting, the prince, after having taken the observance of all the articles in the marriage treaty, set out, attended by a numerous train of Spanish nobility, for St. Andro, where he embarked a vessel sent by his father to convey him to England.

The prince, perhaps, ever more engaged the affection of the Spaniards than Charles. His character, marked by decency, reserve, modesty, and sobriety, rendered him universally respected among all ranks of people. They were in love with his unparalleled conduct, and the romantic gallantry he had practised with other princes. At the same time his advanced age, and the blooming graces of youth, adorned his countenance, endeared him to the people of Madrid, and made deep impressions on the Infanta. Had the character of Buck-

ingham been equal to that of the prince, every thing had succeeded according to their wishes; but that nobleman was as much despised and hated as the prince was esteemed and beloved. His dissolute pleasures, his sallies of passion, his arrogant, impetuous temper, rendered him the object of the Spaniards aversion, and he was, in general, treated with contempt.

Buckingham, conscious of the affronts he had given to the court of Spain, and fearful of the influence of the Infanta when she arrived in England, determined to employ all his credit to prevent the marriage from being concluded. But it seemed a difficult task to prevail on the prince to treat a court, where he had received the most distinguished favours, with ingratitude; and, if possible, still more difficult to induce James to break off a treaty, the accomplishment of which had so long been the object of his wishes, and which he had now so nearly brought to a successful and happy issue.

Notwithstanding, however, these obstacles, Buckingham had so far got the ascendancy over James and his son, that peremptory orders were sent to the earl of Bristol for breaking off all negotiations. These orders arrived just at the time when that minister had, to all appearance, accommodated every difference between the contracting parties, and the Spaniards were on the point of delivering up the Infanta.

A. D. 1624. Philip was far from being surprized at this sudden change of sentiments in the British court: he was no stranger to the disgust of Buckingham; and believing him a man capable of sacrificing to his own ungovernable passions the dearest interests of his king and country, he suspected his unbounded ambition would be employed to foment a quarrel between the two nations.

The pope's dispensation had reached Spain soon after the departure of Charles and Buckingham; and the Infanta immediately assumed the title of princess of Wales. Philip was therefore very unwilling to break off the treaty, especially as he foresaw that a rupture between the two crowns would be the inevitable consequence; and he determined that nothing on his part should be wanting to complete the marriage, and maintain the harmony that now subsisted between Spain and England. He accordingly sent a written promise to the earl of Bristol, engaging to procure the restoration of the Palatinate, either by treaty or force of arms. But when he found that this concession was disregarded, he ordered the Infanta to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, and to drop the study of the English language, which she had been very assiduous in learning. At the same time, persuaded that the court of England would not stop at the violation of the marriage treaty, he ordered the necessary preparations to be made in every part of his dominions, for carrying on a war with that kingdom.

As soon as the people of England were informed that the treaty of Spain was at an end, they celebrated the rupture with bonfires, and other public demonstrations of joy. Buckingham, by giving a partial, and in many instances, a false account of the negotiation, easily inflamed those minds which were already prejudiced against Spain. Eulogiums were poured upon him as one of the best of subjects; and he acquired the epithet of Deliverer of his Country.

James, who wanted firmness of mind to resist the impetuosity of the nation, was swept away with the torrent, and obliged, contrary to his natural principles, to follow those violent resolutions that led inevitably to war. He assembled a parliament, in order to obtain supplies. In his speech to the two houses, he dropped some hint of the causes of complaint he had

against Spain; and graciously condescended to ask their advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair as the marriage of his son. The commons promised to assist him in revenging the affront put upon him by Spain: for Buckingham, by laying before a committee of both houses a long and partial account, which he pretended was a true and complete narrative of all the steps taken in the Spanish negotiation, had intirely gained the confidence of that assembly. It contained so many contradictory circumstances, that they were sufficient to open the eyes of every reasonable man, notwithstanding the artful veil which was thrown over the whole proceedings. But the narrative concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the parliament, that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it as a truth that could not be disputed. Charmed with having at last the opportunity, so long and so ardently desired, of going to war with papists, they thought not of future consequences, but immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the restitution of the Palatinate.

The parliament, having thus given their voice for a war, presented a petition to the king, that he would cause the laws against Romish priests and jesuits to be strictly executed: that he would issue orders for seizing the arms of popish recusants, and obliging them to retire from the capital; that he would revoke all licences granted to such recusants, and put a stop to the great concourse of people who resorted to hear masses in the chapels of ambassadors; that he should deprive all the papists of the posts they enjoyed under the government, and not relax the laws made against popish recusants on any account whatever.

James returned a very gracious and condescending answer; but declared himself an enemy to all persecution on account of religion, from a thorough conviction that it always injured the cause it was intended to promote; according to the received maxim, "That the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." At the same time, he condemned an intire indulgence to the catholics; and strongly hinted, that a middle course ought to be chosen, as the most political, and at the same time the most humane.

It being now determined to pursue hostile measures, the king repaired to the parliament house, where he declared, in a speech to that assembly, his resolution of humbling the pride of Spain, provided they would engage to support him. He began his harangue with lamenting his misfortune, in being obliged, in his old age, to exchange the blessings of peace for the inevitable calamities attendant on war. He represented to them the prodigious expence requisite for maintaining military armaments; and demanded a vote of six subsidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper flock before war was declared against Spain. He mentioned the large debts he had contracted, principally to support the Elector Palatine and his family; but declared, he insisted not on any supply for himself; the honor and security of the kingdom was all he was desirous of supporting. He even so far forgot his prerogative, which he had hitherto so strenuously supported, that he made a dangerous and unexpected concession, that the sums granted should be vested in a committee of parliament, and be issued by them without being intrusted to his management.

Nothing could be more agreeable to the commons; they readily accepted the offer, but voted much less than was demanded; three subsidies and three fifteenths were thought a sufficient sum for the present occasions of the state, nor did they take the least notice of that part of his speech which regarded his own

necessities, though he had made a concession much greater than they could have expected.

Though the commons were so parsimonious in their supplies, they took advantage of the present agreement between the king and the parliament, to make fresh attacks upon the prerogative. James had abolished all the monopolies so loudly and so justly complained of; but this did not satisfy the commons; they passed an act, by which it was declared, that all monopolies were contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. By the same statute it was enacted, that every man enjoyed an entire freedom with regard to his own actions, provided he did nothing detrimental to any person; and that no other authority but that of the laws should stop this unalienable right; a principle which served as a basis for the civil liberties of England.

Buckingham, who was become the professed enemy of the earl of Bristol, had, since his arrival from Spain, threw out many scandalous reflections against that nobleman both before the council and the parliament. Orders were now sent to the earl to leave the court of Madrid; on the receipt of which he applied for an audience, that he might properly discharge the ceremonial of his departure. Philip expressed the highest regret that Bristol's services should meet with so unworthy a reward; and that his claims should have so far prevailed, as to inspire prejudices into his master and his country against a minister who had so faithfully performed his duty to him. He endeavoured to prevail upon him to engage in his service, promising to bestow upon him every advantage of rank and fortune he himself could desire. But Bristol, though he expressed the utmost gratitude for this generous offer, refused every thing, and determined to return immediately to his own country, not doubting but the torch of truth would soon expose the falsehoods of his enemies in their genuine colors. Philip could not even prevail upon him to accept of ten thousand ducats, though his circumstances rendered such a present necessary. The monarch used every intreaty in his power to prevail, and told him that neither James, nor any one else would ever know he had received it. "There is," answered the virtuous minister, "who will be privy to the whole transaction; it is the earl of Bristol, and he will certainly reveal it to the king of England."

The parliament being prorogued on the eighth of May, it was thought necessary to make some preparations for opposing the warlike armament sent by the court of Spain, and also to assist the court Palatine. Eight citizens of London were appointed treasurers for the money raised by parliament, and these were assisted by ten other persons from the king's council of war. Without a warrant from them no money could be issued, nor even by the king on any other account than to defray the expence of the war, as they were accountable to the commons in parliament. It was computed that the tax of the last session would be sufficient to send twenty thousand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an English general. Six thousand more, however, raised, and sent into Holland to the army of the States, commanded by the prince of Orange; while another army, under count Matruco, was to penetrate into the Palatinate.

During these transactions the earl of Bristol, English ambassador at the French court, was informed by James that Lewis XIII. was inclined to his overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta Maria. James, with the offer, appointed the earl of Buckingham to Paris in order to assist the earl of Bristol in the negotiation. Accordingly, count Matruco was appointed to treat with the English ambassador.

the English monarch was so desirous of terminating this affair, that the marriage articles were signed at Paris on the tenth of November, and were nearly the same in substance with those which had been before concluded with Spain. For as Lewis required only the same conditions which had been granted to the catholic king, James made no scruple of complying. And as the prince, while in Spain, had given a verbal promise, that the Infanta should be intrusted with the education of her children till they were ten years of age, the same article was inserted in this treaty: and to that condition is generally, and perhaps justly ascribed, the misfortunes that afterwards attended the Stuart family.

In the mean time count Mansfeldt came over to England, where he was received with extraordinary marks of respect, and lodged in apartments, fitted up for his reception, in the palace. After some conferences, it was agreed, that Mansfeldt, at the head of twelve thousand men, should carry on the war in the Lower Palatinate. The French ministry, during the negotiation for the marriage, made large promises, but always couched in general terms, not only of granting the English a passage through France, but also of re-inforcing their army with considerable bodies of troops during their march to the Palatinate; but on the arrival of the English, under the command of Mansfeldt, before Calais, they found that no orders had been sent for their admission. This occasioned many dispatches; but the French ministry insisted that they had entered into no positive agreement; and that the granting the count a free passage through France was a matter of too much importance to be hastily admitted. This delay was fatal to the expedition. A pestilential disease broke out among the troops, and swept away great numbers of them; and those that remained were so weakened by sickness, and discouraged by misfortunes, that it was thought imprudent to lead them into the Palatinate. Such was the shameful issue of this expedition, which reflected the highest disgrace on the English ministry, who had been weak enough to consider French professions as solemn engagements!

Though James had laid a solid foundation for putting an end to the troubles in Ireland, he had not been able entirely to complete his plan. The Spaniards still maintained a constant intelligence with the infected papists, and kept the English government in continual alarms. The earl of Tyrone having been received into favour by James, and obtained a full protection, on condition of not relapsing into his former rebellious practices, lived, for some time, in great submission to the government; but neglecting all the marks of favour he had received to him, and more than the effects of fear, he had the boldness to petition the king for a toleration in the catholic religion. This request being refused, he incited the earl of Tyrconnel, and other chiefs of the papists; and a desperate confederacy was formed for animating the lord deputy and the council, and for raising all the English in the kingdom of Ireland. This confederacy was happily discovered by a letter intercepted in the council chamber; and Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other principal conspirators, in consequence of the accident, fled to France, and afterwards returned, where the archduke gave them a noble establishment, and settled on them large pensions by express orders from the court of Spain. Soon after Tyrone's return, he endeavoured to excite another rebellion, and sent, with his friends, into Ireland, but the rebellion was discovered before it was ripe for execution. The chief who had engaged in the conspiracy were all executed.

At this time James was now hastily advancing

towards the period of his existence. The habit of his body, like the state of his kingdom, was declining. He had long addicted himself to those pleasures which he could not taste, that he might banish from his mind the reflections which he could not bear. He had accustomed himself to the use of sweet wine, and to ride hard, both before and after drinking. This irregular method of living had occasioned several severe fits of illness, which the physicians had rather palliated than removed; for James was too impatient in sickness to submit to any troublesome regimen, in order to obtain a cure. Infirmities therefore increased upon him with age, and the distracted state of his mind facilitated the illness of his body. He was highly provoked at the behaviour of Buckingham; he imputed to his headstrong passions all the misfortunes that now surrounded him. He was desirous of humbling that haughty minister, but he wanted power to execute his design. Finding that all attempts, in the present situation of affairs, would be in vain, he composed himself with a sullen kind of resignation, meditating how to take the first opportunity of a proper revenge on his pettishious favourite.

Such was the king's situation when the marquis of Hamilton, who hated Buckingham, and who was as likely as any man to serve James in his distress, died suddenly, not without strong suspicions of poison. James considered the death of that nobleman as a sure prelude to his own. "If the branches are cut down," (said he) "the stock cannot long stand." From that moment he became pensive and melancholy. He was seized, in the beginning of March, with a tertian ague; and when encouraged by his courtiers with the old proverb, that this distemper, during that season, was health for a king, he replied, "that the proverb was meant of a young king." The counsellors of Buckingham, and some other ladies, who had no great opinion of regular physicians, but thought that life might be rendered immortal by the secrets of empirics, attended James, whose impatience for health drove him into the same fatal error. Buckingham had, some time before, been cured of a tertian ague by an emetic, a plaster and a posset drink, which James now insisted should be administered to himself. Buckingham used every argument in his power to dissuade him from taking any thing that was not prescribed by his physicians. But all his reasonings were in vain: James sent for the medicines, and they were given him, according to his request. Every symptom of his disease was immediately augmented, and it was soon evident that he could not long survive. James was himself very sensible of his approaching end, and met the king of terrors with amazing fortitude. His preparations for death were extremely fervent, and he was chiefly assisted in his devotions by lord keeper Williams. When the prince of Wales was admitted to his presence, to receive his last advice, he exhorted him to maintain a tender affection for his wife, but at the same time to preserve a constancy in religion, to protect the church of England, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the Palatine. In his last moments he declared that he died in the religion of the church of England, and expired at his favourite seat of Theobalds on the 27th of March, in the 59th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign.

The character of James has been variously handled by different historians, most of whom appear to have wrote under the influence of favourable prepossessions or extreme prejudice: some represent him as the perfect pattern of a good king, others have loaded him with reproaches by aggravating his failings. The reason of this diversity proceeds from the history of

his reign being penned at a time when the animosity of parties was at a great height; therefore the character of this prince must not be formed either on the praises of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon the manner of his governing, upon his speeches and actions; and this our readers will be perfectly able to do for themselves, by recollecting the principal circumstances of his reign: we shall therefore, only observe, that nature had delineated on his mind the outlines of many excellent qualities, and several virtues; but leaving her work unfinished, it was shaded by the pencil of vice. His generosity was blended with profusion, his learning with pedantry, his pacific disposition with pusillanimity, his wisdom with cunning, and his friendship with boyish fondness and folly. He was certainly a great dissembler: this failing accompanied him even in the most common transactions of life, and made him pass for a worse man than he really was; he frequently missed a favourite point by his duplicity, which he might have secured by openness and resolution. His too great aversion to war, which has from some got him the reproach of want of courage, was certainly a defect productive of very happy consequences to the nation he governed; the people were blessed with a most profound peace, which no troubles interrupted; they were enriched by an extensive commerce, which few taxes oppressed; and, freed from the care of foreign affairs, they had leisure to attend to their own concerns, and secure their liberties by many excellent and wise regulations.

James had seven children by his consort, Anne of Denmark; but only two of them survived him, namely, Charles, who succeeded him on the throne; and Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine.

The most remarkable occurrences that happened, during the reign of James, were as follow:

His accession gave rise to the word *Sacred* being added to the title of *Majesty*, in the stile of the kings of England.

In his first year the officer, called "The master of the Ceremonies," was first appointed at the English court.

In his second year there happened a remarkable instance of the punishment of pressing to death inflicted on those who refuse pleading to their indictment. Hugh Calverly, of Calverly in Yorkshire, having murdered two of his children, and stabbed his wife in a fit of jealousy, being arraigned for his crime at York assizes, stood mute, and was thereupon pressed to death in the castle of that city.

In his third year an act of parliament was passed, whereby one shilling was levied on every person found absent from church on Sundays.

In his fourth year there was so great an inundation in some parts of Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, (owing to the overflowing of the Severn) that the water rose above the tops of the houses, insomuch that there perished by this fatal accident no less than eighty persons, and the damage done, upon the whole, was estimated at 20,000l.

His sixth year is remarkable for the first planting of mulberry trees in England.

In his seventeenth year was invented the art of making tapestry in England; the first manufactory for which was established at Mortlake.

In his 20th year a fatal accident happened at the house of the French ambassador in Black-frars, during the evening Vespers. Three hundred persons being assembled in an upper room, while a Jesuit was preaching the floor gave way, and the priest, with above an hundred persons of the congregation, were buried in the ruins, not any of whom were taken out alive.

SECTION II.

CHARLES I.

AS soon as the death of James was notified, the council immediately issued orders for proclaiming Charles, prince of Wales, his only surviving son, king of England. The ceremony was accordingly performed at the usual places in London and Westminster; and the new monarch was received by the people with universal acclamations.

A few days after Charles's accession he issued out writs for calling a new parliament; but he was obliged to postpone the opening of the session on account of the arrival of the princess Henrietta, whom he had espoused by proxy. The nuptial ceremony was performed by cardinal Richieu, on the first of May,* in the church of Notre Dame at Paris; soon after which the young queen set out on her journey towards England, accompanied by her mother the queen dowager, her brother the duke of Orleans, the duke and

duchess of Chevreuse, and a brilliant train of English nobility, among whom were the duke of Buckingham, and the earls of Carlisle, Holland and Montgomery. After staying two days at Amiens, they proceeded to Boulogne, where an English fleet of twenty-one ships had been some time waiting to take her on board. On the thirteenth of June she was met by the king at Dover, and the same evening the marriage was consummated at Canterbury. The days after their majesties made their public entry into London, but the pomp and ceremony usual on these occasions were almost wholly laid aside, owing to the plague, which at this time raged with great violence in the metropolis.

The royal marriage being celebrated, Charles directed his attention to the welfare of his kingdom. The parliament, (which had been postponed during

* On the 7th of the same month were celebrated the funeral obsequies of the late king. The body was carried from Somerset-house (to which place it had been conveyed from Whitehall) to Westminster, where it was interred in St. Peter's church with

great pomp and solemnity. Charles himself performed the office of chief mourner, though contrary to the custom of crowns heads; but he rather chose to curtail his dignity, than to be seen deficient in filial affection.

on that account,) assembled on the 18th of June, when the king opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he displayed great candour and cordiality. He slightly mentioned the occasion he had for a supply; but employed no intrigue to influence the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to mention any particular sum which might be expected by him. Secure (as he thought) of the affection of the commons, he was resolved that their bounty should be entirely their own deed; unasked and unsolicited.

The commons affected to be highly pleased with his majesty's speech; and the supply was the first business taken into consideration. But though they knew that all the money granted by the last parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments, and that very large anticipations had also been made on the revenues of the crown: though they were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a large debt contracted by his father; that the public revenues were hardly sufficient for supporting the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government; and that the present war, against the whole power of the house of Austria, had been undertaken by their importunate applications and intreaties; yet they thought proper to grant their young monarch no more than 112,000*l*.

It is probable that this extraordinary resolution of the parliament was occasioned by the libertine principles of the duke of Buckingham, who was now become odious for his vices. The marriage of the king with a catholic princess had also too much displeased the puritans to render them indulgent to the court. Independent of these motives, the principal members of the lower house extended their views to future times. Persuaded that the power of the crown had been increased at the expence of the liberties of the people, their object was to confine it within narrow limits. Their right to grant or refuse the necessary supplies was considered as an infallible means of gaining the most important concessions.

These proceedings of the commons greatly disconcerted the hopes of Charles. He had formed the warmest expectations of receiving the most convincing proofs of the love of his subjects; but found that the supplies they granted him were rather a mockery of his wants than a serious design of supporting him in a war which might justly be styled their own.

The plague continuing to rage with the most dreadful violence in London, Charles adjourned the parliament to Oxford, where he flattered himself with receiving farther assistance from the commons. But the change of place made not the least alteration in their sentiments. Determined to carry their favourite point with regard to the prerogative, they absolutely refused to make any addition to the supply they had voted: even the trifling sum of 40,000*l*. was refused; though the parliament well knew that a fleet and an army were lying at Portsmouth, in great want of pay and provisions; and that Buckingham the admiral, and the treasurer of the navy, had advanced, on their own credit, near 100,000*l*. for the sea service. In vain were all the arguments of the courtiers to prevail over the obstinacy of the commons. Governed by a set of men of the most uncommon capacity, formed into a regular party and united by fixed aims and projects, it was impossible to change them from their purpose. They persevered in their former resolution, though the honor of their country among the potentates of Europe demanded a more liberal conduct.

Charles, who had imbibed the lofty notions of monarchical power, considered the refusal of the commons as of a criminal and traitorous nature; and he reflected that the supplies asked were purely

to support a war entered into at their particular request, their behaviour appeared cruel and deceitful. A discovery, however, was now made, which not only furnished the commons with a pretence for their refusal, but also inflamed them against the court in general, and the duke of Buckingham in particular.

The late king some time before his death, had promised to furnish Lewis, who was destitute of a naval force, with one ship of war, and seven armed vessels hired from the merchants, which the French monarch pretended were to be employed against the Genoese, the firm allies of Spain. Charles was now called upon to fulfil the engagement, but the French made no secret that the ships were to be employed against the Hugonots in the siege of Rochelle. Vice-admiral Pennington was on the coast of France with a squadron of men of war, and received an order signed by Charles (at the instigation of Buckingham) to employ his ships in whatever service the French ambassador should direct, after filling them with soldiers and marines, under the command of the duke of Montmorency. This was no sooner known, or rather suspected, than the ships crews murmured, and all, except the Vanguard, which Pennington himself commanded, stood to sea. The admiral, however, went on shore, and offered to go upon any service the French king should order him, but refused to receive on board any soldiers. This refusal exasperated the ambassador, and he gave him to understand, that he was a prisoner if he did not comply; and at the same time informed him, that not more than fifty or sixty Englishmen would be employed in the expedition. It was in vain for Pennington to remonstrate against the cruelty and injustice of this proceeding, and to represent the uneasiness of his sailors, who would not fail to refuse obedience to any such commands. The ambassador, however, was resolute; and Pennington thought it prudent to dissimulate his real sentiments, that he might recover his ship. The stratagem succeeded; but he was no sooner on board, than he absolutely refused to leave his ship. This produced a long negotiation between the ambassador and the admiral. Protests were taken against the latter; and, in the hearing of his own men, he was threatened with the punishment of death, as a traitor to his country. But all the menaces of the Frenchmen were in vain; Pennington refused his compliance, and received express orders to deliver up his own, and all the merchant ships to the French king. This was accordingly done; but not an Englishman, one gunner only excepted, was found mean enough to serve on board the fleet, under a French commission, and against their protestant brethren.

No sooner were these transactions known in parliament, than the commons shewed the same attachment with the sailors for the protestant religion. They even carried their zeal to a height that rendered their deliberations at once ridiculous and unjust. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, published a book, which, contrary to the rigid tenets of the puritans, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other christians, from eternal torments. It now became evident that those great men, who reasoned so forcibly on the danger of the constitution of their country from the increasing power of the crown, could not reason at all on the subject of religion. Montague was ordered to be prosecuted, a committee was appointed to consider of the proceedings against him, and the ecclesiastical, for having done an important service to the church of England, by exploding the adopted errors of her antagonists, was ordered into custody of the serjeant, and to give bail of two thousand pounds for his appearing at the next session. It is no wonder that Charles was offended at these proceedings, and that he often put them in mind that they had business

of far greater concern to engage their attention. But finding all attempts were in vain, he dissolved the parliament.

Charles, disappointed in the expectations he had formed of receiving assistance from parliament, was obliged to have recourse to unconstitutional methods for raising money. He issued privy-seals for borrowing from his subjects; but the advantages to be gained by this temporary supply were more than balanced by the disgust it occasioned. However, by means of this stratagem, he was enabled to fit out a fleet of eighty sail, on board of which were 10,000 soldiers. The command of the fleet was given to Sir Edward Cecil, who had lately been created viscount Wimbleson; and the earl of Essex was appointed vice-admiral.

It was intended that this fleet should have been sent out early in the summer; but from want of money, and other obstacles, it did not sail till the end of October. When they arrived off Cape St. Vincent, a council of war was held in order to form a plan for their future operations. The earl of Essex gave his voice for attacking Cadiz, and his proposal being accepted, the whole fleet stood towards that port. But by this time all Spain was alarmed, and so dreadful to the Spaniards was the remembrance of the English valour under queen Elizabeth, that their king was ready in person to march down at the head of a royal army to the defence of his coast.

When the English reached Cadiz, they found every thing in readiness to give them a warm reception, and the attack of fort Punta was given to the earl of Essex. He advanced with twenty English and five Dutch ships with such impetuosity, that the Spanish shipping, which consisted of seventeen stout ships and eight or ten gallees, fearing the fatal consequence of that fort's being taken, retired to Port Real. The fort, however, made a noble defence; and it was found impracticable to take it on that side where the attack was made. Upon this Sir John Burroughs, an old English officer, landed with his regiment, and driving some companies of Spanish infantry, who had opposed his landing, back to the fort, the Spanish governor thought proper to surrender. The taking of this fort was, however, of no other consequence than as it opened a passage to Cadiz itself, and commanded a large extent of villages and country round; but the raw English soldiers could not resist the temptation of the new Spanish wines; they drank to excess, and could not be brought to act with that spirit and resolution necessary for rendering the expedition successful. At the same time dissensions prevailed among the officers, and diseases among the soldiers; so that any farther stay appearing fruitless, the troops were embarked, and the fleet put to sea with a resolution of waiting for the Spanish galleons. But the plague breaking out among the seamen and soldiers, Cecil was obliged to return to England with infected crews, sickly companies, a broken reputation, disheartened officers, and national dishonour.

A. D. 1626. The failure of this expedition greatly disconcerted Charles, who found himself again obliged to have recourse to parliament. Though his authority was greatly diminished by the ill success of his enterprises, and the imprudence of the Spanish war became every day more apparent; though the increase of his necessities increased his dependence and exposed him still more to the encroachments of the commons; he was resolved once more to try that regular and constitutional expedient for supply. But the solemnity of his coronation was first to be performed, which was accordingly celebrated with great magnificence on the second of February.

Four days after the king's coronation the parliament

assembled at Westminster, and the session was opened by a speech from Sir Thomas Finch, the lord-keeper, who acquainted both houses, that as his majesty intended the session should be very short, he expected they would make all imaginable dispatch in granting the supplies. But the commons, without paying any regard to the lord-keeper's speech, began an enquiry into the national grievances, at the very point where they had left off the last session. They, however, in a few days, voted a supply of three subsidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added another subsidy; but they reserved the passing that vote into a law till the end of the session: so that if the king refused to grant them a sufficient time to finish their enquiry into the national grievances, or refused to comply with their demands, he would have little reason to expect any parliamentary assistance.

It soon appeared that the whole storm was intended against Buckingham, who was universally considered as the source of all the national grievances. His want of temper and prudence, and the uncontrollable ascendancy which he had acquired over his master, rendered him every day still more odious to the people. And during the sitting of the parliament he sustained two violent attacks; one from the earl of Bristol, and the other from the house of commons.

When the writs were issued out for summoning a new parliament, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had ordered that no writ should be sent to the earl of Bristol, whom he knew to be the most inveterate enemy to his favourite the duke of Buckingham. In consequence of this the earl of Bristol presented a petition to the lords, and intreated they would, if possible, prevail on his majesty to grant him what was his due as a peer of the realm. Upon this he was sent him, but accompanied by a letter from the lord-keeper, forbidding him, in the king's name, to attend the parliament. Bristol acquainted the lords with this command, and at the same time desired they would advise him how to proceed in so delicate an affair. The king's prohibition was withdrawn, and Bristol took his seat. Charles, enraged at such proceedings, ordered his attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason against Bristol, and to return Bristol accused Buckingham of the same crime. From the earl's defence of himself, and his attacks of the duke, the great imprudence of the latter was very evident; but, from thence, not one article could be collected, which, in the eye of the law, could render him guilty of a crime, much less could convict him of high treason.

The commons, however, pursued their attack against Buckingham with the most unwearied vigour; and having voted, "that commons had a sufficient ground of accusation by the commons proceeded to frame regular articles against the minister. They accused him of neglecting to guard the seas, inasmuch that many merchant ships had been taken by the enemy; of furnishing ships to the French king, in order to serve against the English; of being concerned in the sale of honours and offices; of procuring extensive grants of land from the crown; of obtaining many titles of honour and knighthood; of administering physic to the king without acquainting his physicians. These articles, after a long and tedious debate, appeared to be at least frivolous, if not false. The charge which seemed to be worth any notice, was that he had extorted the sum of ten thousand pounds from the East India company, and that he had employed some good, belonging to French ships, on pretence of their being the property of English subjects. As the impeachment was now nearly terminated, it is not easy for a reader to be satisfied that it was now closed, but it was at that time.

that the duke's answers to the respective articles were clear and satisfactory.

The king having ordered Sir Dudley Diggs, who had introduced the impeachment against Buckingham, and Sir John Elliot, who had also been very violent against the duke, to be committed to prison, the house of Commons declared that they would desist from all farther business, till satisfaction should be given them for such a violation of their privileges. As an excuse for his proceedings, Charles accused the prisoners of having, in their accusations of the duke, dropped some seditious expressions in regard to himself. But, upon examination, it was found that no such expressions had ever been used; the members were therefore discharged, and the commons, having, in this attempt received a new instance of the king's arbitrary disposition, were more averse than ever to any of his measures.

The house of peers, following the example of the commons, claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel, whom Charles had lately confined in the Tower, on pretence of his having consented to a marriage between lord Maltravers and the sister of the duke of Lennox. After many fruitless evasions, the king was obliged to comply with their repeated petitions, and the earl was set at liberty.

One attack which the commons made this session, had it succeeded, must have given a severe stroke to royal prerogative. They were preparing a remonstrance against the practice of levying tonage and poundage without the consent of parliament. This article, and the new duties laid on merchandize by James, composed near one half of the crown revenue; and by depriving the king of these resources, they would have reduced him to a state of entire dependence on his subjects. Charles, hearing of these proceedings, determined to dissolve the parliament immediately. When this resolution was made public, the house of peers, whose submission to the king entitled them to some authority with him, endeavoured to employ their good offices between him and the commons, and prepared a petition, intreating his majesty to let the parliament sit some time longer. But Charles would not admit them to his presence, and on the fifteenth of June dissolved the parliament.

The king, not having received any aid from the parliament, was greatly distressed for want of money: he was at war to maintain against the house of Austria, and supplying his allies with the promised succours. Putting his kingdom in a posture of defence, and his matters could not be effected with the ordinary revenues, some expedients were thought of for raising money. A commission was publicly issued to compound with the catholics, and agree to a suspension with the penal laws enacted against them. By this expedient the king at once filled his treasury and gratified his inclination of indulging his enemies; but he could not have thought of a measure which would have been so disagreeable to his good subjects.

To obtain farther assistance, Charles applied to the citizens of London for a loan of 100,000*l*. The better to advance the plan care was taken to select a list of such as had freely subscribed, in hopes that example would be an inducement to others. Notwithstanding this the subscription went on very slowly, so that the court found themselves obliged to resort to violent measures. The common people, who were to throw in their mite to the loan, were ordered to serve in his majesty's troops. Persons of rank were summoned to appear before the council, and if they made a second refusal they were committed to prison at a considerable distance from their

At the same time the council, in order to fit out a fleet, levied a distribution on all the maritime towns in the kingdom; each of which was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to provide a certain number of armed vessels. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This is the first instance of ship-money in the reign of Charles; a taxation which had been imposed by Elizabeth, but which, after being carried to much greater lengths by Charles, was productive of the most violent disturbances.

While these things were transacting, advice was received that the king of Denmark had been totally defeated by the imperial general count Tilly. Money was now wanting more than ever, as it was absolutely necessary to support a prince so nearly related to Charles, by whom he had been chiefly drawn into the war. The council, on this occasion issued a proclamation, importing, that, as the urgency of affairs admitted not the method of parliament, the most speedy, equal and convenient way of supply was by a general loan from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the last subsidy. The same sum was required, which each would have paid, had the votes of four subsidies been passed into a law. But at the same time the people were informed that the sums exacted were not to be called subsidies, but loans.

Among other articles issued in this proclamation, was the following: "If any person or persons shall refuse to pay the duties, subsidies, or imposts afore said, unto our farmers, collectors, or officers, in manner afore said, then our will and pleasure is, and we do farther grant, by these presents, unto the lords, and others of our privy-council for the time being, or unto the lord treasurer of England, or chancellor of the exchequer, now or for the time being, full power and authority to commit all and every such person and persons to prison, who shall disobey this our order and declaration, there to continue until they, and every one of them, so disobeying, shall have conformed and submitted themselves unto due obedience."

The commissioners appointed to levy these loans received articles of secret instruction; among which was the following remarkable one: "if any man shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays or excuses, and persist in their obstinacy, that they examine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt with to deny or refuse to lend, or make any excuse for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and what speeches or persuasions were used for that purpose? And that they also charge every such person in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to disclose to any one what his answer was." It is astonishing that the king could be prevailed upon to suffer so impracticable an attempt to be made by his officers. A very little reflection would have been abundantly sufficient to have convinced him that the secrecy he enjoined was impossible, and that so violent an inquisitorial power could not fail of exciting the indignation of his subjects.

The consequence of these arbitrary proceedings was what might naturally be expected. The principal leaders in the late parliament, and others who had adopted their sentiments, refused to submit to an imposition not agreed to by the legislature. Most of them were thrown into prison; the goals were filled with illustrious offenders. All who petitioned the clemency of the king were released; but five gentlemen, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edward Hambden, not only refused to solicit the clemency of his majesty, but boldly demanded their release, not as a favour from the court, but as a right derived from the laws of their country. The question was at last solemnly argued in the court

of King's-bench, when it appeared, beyond contradiction, that the personal liberty of the subject had been secured against the arbitrary power of the crown by six several acts of parliament, besides an article of the great charter itself, the most sacred foundation of the laws and constitution of England. The judges, however, thought proper to remand the gentlemen to their prisons, though they refused to enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted upon a commitment of the king or council.

Nor was imprisonment the only engine employed by the government to force the people to submit to the arbitrary orders of the court: recourse was also had to religious prejudices: the duty of unlimited obedience was preached from the pulpit. Manwaring, one of his majesty's chaplains, distinguished himself on this occasion. Among other curious passages in his elaborate discourses, the following are remarkable: "That the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects rights and liberties; but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes, without the common consent of parliament, is sufficient to oblige the conscience of the subject, under pain of eternal damnation. That those who refused to pay this loan offended against the law of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion. That the authority of parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies; and that the slow proceedings of such numerous assemblies are not fitted for the supply of the state's urgent necessities, but would rather occasion many impediments to the just designs of princes." Sibthorpe was another divine that exerted all his abilities in recommending the same slavish tenets. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, refused to license these sermons. This was considered as so heinous an offence, that the prelate was suspended from the exercise of his office, and confined to one of his country-seats. This sequestration and confinement of the first peer and prelate of England, were alarming monuments of Buckingham's power over the mind of his master. The archbishop had always acted with the greatest moderation, and was considered by the public as a sincere friend to the liberties of his country; but he could never be brought to offer incense to the favourite minister, and this marked him out as an object of disgrace.

While the people were thus harassed with precautions with regard to the loan, vigorous preparations were making for covering the seas with armaments. The duke of Soubise, who was at this time in England, received a commission from Charles for employing the ships, fitted out by the Hugonots, in his service, and for cruising against the Spaniards. This occasioned great confusion in the business of the English admiralty, it being difficult to distinguish between the prizes made by the English, and those taken by the French protestants.

The court of France was at this time in a very bad condition to support a war against England, but all the catholics in that kingdom were united, and desirous of exerting their utmost endeavours against the enemies of their religion. On the other hand the unpopularity of Buckingham, the high exertion of the prerogative, and the imprisonment of some of the worthiest men in England, rendered the interest of Charles distrustful: little could be expected from the efforts of a nation divided with itself.

A. D. 1627. At the indignation of Buckingham, Charles was persuaded to engage in a war with France at a time when he was at a loss to know how he should continue that already begun with the house

of Austria. In the spring of this year a fleet of one hundred sail, having on board an army of seven thousand men, were fitted out for the invasion of that kingdom; and both intrusted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, though he was wholly unacquainted both with the land and sea-service.

This fleet sailed from Portsmouth on the 7th of June, and on the 20th of July appeared before Rochelle. The inhabitants of that city were at this time divided into two factions, one for the French, and the other for the English. The former endeavoured to persuade the people, that if the English were admitted into the town, they would, by their great superiority at sea, seize the government, and keep possession of the place in defiance of the whole power of France. The latter, which was headed by the mother and sister of the dukes of Rohan and Soubise, opposed these assertions; declaring that the English were their friends, and were come to support their religious privileges. The French party, however, prevailed, and it was determined not to admit the English.

Buckingham, who was surprized that the gates were not opened, sent Soubise and Sir William Beecher ashore, but it was not without difficulty they were permitted to enter the city. The council was immediately assembled, and Soubise did every thing in his power to persuade them of the friendly intentions of the English monarch, and that he had made out this large and expensive armament purely for their service. The council, however, thought proper to decline the proffered assistance, under pretence that they could not determine on an affair of such importance without consulting the whole body of the Hugonots.

Exasperated at this refusal, Buckingham determined to make a descent on the island of Rhe. It had before been agreed between him and Soubise that the English should land on Oleron, a fertile and well-defenceless island, where refreshments of every kind might be easily procured, and the troops in no danger of any attack from the enemy. But the English general thought proper to alter this plan of operations, and stood immediately for the island of Re, a well-garrisoned and fortified. Had the necessities of Buckingham been equal to his personal courage, he might have acquired immortal honour to himself and his country. Thoyras the French general who commanded in the island, no sooner perceived the English were preparing to land, than he drew out his forces to oppose them; but making the first debarkation was only a feint to draw his attention to that quarter, while the main body of the English army was landed at another, less expected and imprudent to attack them, till they were by their greater numbers. Thoyras now perceived his mistake, and marched immediately to give battle, but the English volunteers jumping aboard the enemy's ships, forming wonders in their own persons, and in the foldiers, that they pressed forward with intrepidity, and put the enemy to flight, though superior in numbers.

Soubise, who was an excellent soldier, sent Buckingham to pursue his victory, and made him attack the castle of St. Martin's. Had this piece of advice been followed, it would probably have succeeded with success, but Buckingham perceived that it would be imprudent to march his army into that fortress, till intelligence could be procured of the enemy. By this dilatory method of proceeding, many days were lost to the English, and that loss was irretrievable. He also neglected to take possession of the sea, which was then but meanly garrisoned, and which, in case of accident, have afforded excellent retreat.

At length, however, the duke opened his trenches before St. Martin's, and was so confident of success, that he assured the king, by express, he would be master of the castle in eight days. This occasioned a marvellous proclamation to be published in England, encouraging people to transport themselves and their families to the island of Rhe. But Buckingham was not born to shine in a camp: though determined to take the enemy into a surrender, he took so little care to guard the seas, that the French found means to throw arms, ammunition and provisions into the place.

It was now sufficiently evident that the castle was not to be taken in so easy a manner as Buckingham had imagined: he therefore endeavoured to make himself master of fort Prie; but the garrison had been reinforced, and the attempt miscarried. The French had now in the island an army, under the command of marshal Schomberg, superior in numbers to that of the English; but Buckingham determined to make an attack upon the place, in order to put an end to the siege by one desperate attempt. He had been informed by some French deserters, that there were no more than eight hundred soldiers in the castle, and that the courtin towards the sea was but poorly fortified. It was therefore resolved to storm the courtin without attempting to make any breach in the wall. The army was accordingly divided into two bodies, one of which was to attack the castle on the land side, and the other on the sea. The latter was the principal attack, and it was proposed to mount the courtin with their scaling ladders. But the measures were so improperly taken that there were no hopes of success. The French immediately perceived their intention, and suffered them to advance to the foot of the castle, but the English soon found that their ladders were too short for scaling the wall. They behaved, however, in both attacks with amazing intrepidity, but were at last obliged to retreat with the loss of five hundred men killed, and fifty taken prisoners.

From this miscarriage it was sufficiently evident that any further attack upon the castle would be the height of impudence; and Buckingham accordingly made his march towards his ships, intending to pass by the hollow way, the only passage by which he could retreat. The French army under marshal Schomberg followed him at a distance. Buckingham perceived this, and offered the marshal battle, which he declined, and the English continued their march by the hollow way, their rear, by some strange accident, consisting only of the insignificant guard of thirty horse. When the English had advanced a considerable distance in the hollow way, they were surprised by the French cavalry, who forced the English guard to break the ranks of their own army, and there being no room for the foremost but to retreat, a general rout ensued. But they had not yet passed the hollow way, than they faced about, and once more offered the marshal battle, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained. It was too prudent to venture a general battle, he retired with his troops, and Buckingham embarked his forces, after losing near two thirds of his army.

He conducted an expedition which totally discredited him both as an admiral and a soldier; he was no longer the brave but that vulgar one of courage and bravery. If he was unpopular before, he was now detested by the people, the enemy entered the narrow seas, and insulted the English towns and harbours. The inhabitants of Rochelle, who were devoted to the English, were now in the most deplorable situation. They were threatened with immediate force from their enraged master, and were obliged to burn their provisions in subsistence. Buckingham's forces on the island of Rhe. The

deputies of that city were loud in their complaints; but so greatly was Charles infatuated with Buckingham, that all their representations, joined with the general voice of his people, could not prevail upon him to censure the conduct of his ambitious favourite.

The miscarriage of the French expedition produced a general discontent throughout the nation, and it appeared sufficiently evident that something must be immediately done to silence the clamours of the people. They believed their liberties had been ravished from them, and illegal taxes extorted. They saw their commerce daily declining, and the military honours, transmitted to them by their ancestors, shamefully stained by two ill-concerted and unsuccessful expeditions. They dreaded the calamities of a war carried on against two of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, and feared for their domestic safety from the general clamour excited in every part of the nation. These evils were solely ascribed to the obstinacy of the king in adhering to the counsels of Buckingham, whose abilities were far from deserving such implicit confidence. The only expedient that offered to relieve the government from this embarrassing situation, was that of calling a parliament. It was expected that the miscarriage of the attempt upon Rhe would be severely censured, and the duke's conduct made the subject of the closest scrutiny. Sir Robert Cotton therefore advised his majesty, that Buckingham should make a motion in the council for assembling the parliament; hoping that by his appearing to favour a measure so highly agreeable to the people, his former faults would be forgotten, and that instead of a tyrant and oppressor, he would be considered as the deliverer of his country.

A. D. 1628. Buckingham having, at the instigation of Sir Robert Cotton, made a motion in the council for the parliament to assemble, the same was unanimously agreed to, and they were summoned to meet on the 17th of March. Accordingly on that day his majesty went to the house, and opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he very pathetically enumerated the necessities of the government, and required the assistance of his parliament; but concluded with fairly telling the commons, "that if they did not do their duty in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands, in order to save that, which the follies of a few particular men would otherwise endanger." Take not this as a threatening, added he, for I scorn to threaten any but my equals, but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty, has more care of your preservation and prosperity."

As soon soon as Charles had finished his speech, the lord keeper, by the king's command, laid before the house the state of affairs in Europe, and the motives which induced the king to attempt the reduction of the dangerous power of the house of Austria, and to interpose between the French king and his protestant subjects. He observed, that the powers which used to balance the alarming greatness of the house of Austria were now otherwise employed, to wit, Turkey in an Asiatic war, and the Swedes in a war with Poland, fermented by Spain, that the king of Denmark was already stripped of great part of his dominions, and the house of Austria on the point of being master of all the sea coasts between Dantzick and Embden; that they were arming all the ships they could procure in the Baltic seas, and endeavouring to engage the Hanse Towns in their quarrel, in order to deprive the English of the Eastland trade, and make themselves masters of the sea without striking a blow; that the fleets of France and Spain were preparing in conjunction to ruin our liberty, and to render it dangerous

rous for our merchant ships to pass from one part of the kingdom to another : that a large armament was fitting out at Lisbon, in order, as there is the greatest reason to fear, to make a descent either in England or Ireland. He then strongly recommended unity, as the only means of disappointing the intentions of the enemy, and pressed them in the most earnest manner to assist the government, as the most constitutional method of imposing the necessary taxes. " This way " of parliamentary supplies, added he, as his majesty " told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, " but as the fittest; not because he is destitute of " others, but because it is the most agreeable to the " goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and " to the desire and weal of his people. If this be " deferred, necessity and the sword of the enemy " make way to others. Remember his majesty's " admonition; I say, remember it."

Notwithstanding the members of this parliament were men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed such large estates that it was computed their riches surpassed three times that of the house of peers; though they were all inflamed with the love of liberty, and many of them had suffered by the violent measures of the government; yet they entered upon business with great temper and decorum. They feared that the king, disgusted with popular assemblies, wanted only a fair pretence, offered by any incident or undutiful behaviour of the members, to govern alone with a despotic power; and should that ever happen, no remedy could be hoped for, but from insurrection and civil war; of which the issue would be extremely uncertain, and must, at all events, prove infinitely distressing to the whole nation. Decency of conduct was therefore absolutely necessary to carry on the great work of reformation in the government, and to pass some laws which might secure the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people.

Though the popular leaders had prescribed a decent conduct to themselves, they did not propose to suffer calmly the grievances under which the nation had lately groaned. They knew that the constitution of their country was at stake, and that every effort must be exerted in its defence. The cry of liberty was therefore echoed in the house of commons as it had antiently been in the Roman senate. " We are " called here by his majesty, said Sir Francis Seymour, to give him faithful counsel, such as may " conduce to his honour and dignity, and we ought " to do it without flattery. We are sent here by the " people to deliver them from their grievances, and " we ought to do it without fear. Not to be disposed " to part with life and fortune, when the interest of " our king and country required the sacrifice, were " not to be good subjects; but, on the other hand, " to suffer our property to be taken from us, inconsistently with liberty, our inclination, and the laws " of our country, this were to be slaves. While we " oppose such encroachments, we tread only in the " steps of our great ancestors, who always preferred " the public to their private interest, nay, even to " their very lives. It will be the highest injury to " ourselves, to our posterity, to our consciences, if " we forego this claim and pretension."

" I read of a custom, said Sir Robert Phillips, " among the old Romans, that, once every year, " they held a solemn festival, in which their slaves " had liberty, without exception, to speak what " they pleased, in order to ease their afflicted minds, " and, on the conclusion of the festival, the slaves " severally returned to their former servitudes. This " institution may, with some distinction, well set " forth our present state and condition. After the " revolution of some time, and the grievous suf-

ferance of many violent oppressions, we have now, " at last, as those slaves, obtained, for a day, some " liberty of speech, but shall not, I trust, be here " after slaves. For we are born free. Yet, what " new illegal burthens our estates and persons have " groaned under, my heart yearns to think of, my " tongue falters to utter."

" The grievances by which we are oppressed, I " draw under two heads; acts of power against law, " and the judgment of lawyers against liberty."

He then mentioned three illegal judgments passed within his memory; after which he proceeded as follows:

" I can live, said he, though another should have " no right, be joined with me; nay, I can live, " though burdened with impositions beyond what " present I labour under: but to have my person " which is the soul of my life, ravished from me, " have my person pent up in a goal, without access " from law, and to be so adjudged---O! impious " dent ancestors! O! unwise forefathers! I am " careful in providing for the quiet possession of my " lands, and the liberties of parliament, and at the " same time, to neglect our personal liberty, " suffer us to lie in prison during pleasure, without " redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we " of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes " about a constitution, franchises, privileges, &c. " and the like? What may any man call more " if not the liberty of his person?"

" The same evil, added Sir Thomas Wentworth, " affects the king and the people, and the same " remedy must heal it. We are to defend---we are " ---any new object?---no---our ancient, our com- " mate, our vital liberties; we must continue to " established by our ancestors; we must persevere " seal to them, as no licentious spirit has dared " break".

The whole house agreed in these noble and generous sentiments; even the court party were obliged not to pretend to offer any thing but the plain necessity in defence of the late measures pursued by the ministry, and to which the king had been obliged by the obstinacy of the two last parliaments. A division was therefore made to a vote against imprisonment, and forced loans.

But the zeal of the commons to defend their and personal liberties, did not prevent their coming to the affairs of religion. They presented a petition to the king against recusants; in answer to which he recommended them to think of a toleration of popery; and assured his parliament that he had hitherto shewn to the English papists nothing but a view to procure suitable advantages for the protestants in popish countries, in which he said he had been deceived; and promised that he saw better fruits for the future. He then renewed the laws against the papists, to a more severe degree than was craved in their petition.

This answer had the desired effect. Pleased with the assurance, his majesty's council they immediately proceeded to the supply. Five subsidies were immediately granted him, with which, though much inferior to what he declared himself well satisfied, and attended by Cook by how many voices it had been voted, he told him, " by one;" at which Charles's countenance. " Sir," added the speaker, " his majesty hath herein the greater cause to be satisfied, the house was so unanimous as to make one voice."

The supply, however, thus voted was not put into a law, and the commons demanded for the interval in providing some further taxes and liberties. Forced loans, burthensome

without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers in private houses, and the imposition of martial law, were the grievances complained of, and against these a permanent remedy was to be provided. After some debates, a committee was appointed to draw up a state of the national grievances under the title of "The Petition of Right," which they purposed to lay before the lords for their concurrence; that having obtained the sanction of both houses, it might have the force of an act of parliament as soon as it should receive the royal assent.

No sooner was Charles informed of the intentions of the commons than he employed every expedient to divert them from their purpose, and sent a messenger, secretary Cook, wherein he desired both the houses clearly to let him know whether they would rest upon his promise in favour of their liberties; which promise he had given at several times, and especially by the lord keeper's speech made in his own presence. If they did rely on it, he assured them, it should be really and royally performed." This message, with several others, the commons received with seeming deference to the king's person and an insensible distrust of his promises. The peers, who hitherto had remained neutral, began to fear the commons would go too far, and therefore recommended to them to consider of his majesty's assurances and depend upon them. This occasioned fresh debates, and many reasons were urged a-new on both sides. But Sir Thomas Wentworth put an end to them by saying, "that never house of parliament, so long as they regarded themselves, trusted more than the present to the good-will of their king; but we are sensible, your majesty, that his majesty's goodness may be abused, and we are accountable for a public trust. There hath been a public violation of the law by the king's ministers; and nothing can satisfy the nation but a public reparation. Our desire to moderate the subject's right by bill, will carry us no further than what is contained in former laws, with the most ample provision for instruction, performance, satisfaction." These sentiments met with universal approbation, and were sent to Charles by the commons in answer to his message.

The king still desiring them to depend on his promise, Sir Edward Coke said, "was it ever known, that royal words were a sufficient satisfaction for the subject's grievance? Was ever a verbal declaration binding the word of the sovereign? When grievances are complained of, the parliament is to redress them."

Did ever the parliament rely on messages? Have ever put up petitions of their grievances, which the king has ever answered them. The king's word is ever gracious; but what is the law of the land? that is the question. I have no diffidence of the king's word; but the king must speak by record, and not by message. Did you ever know the king's message to a bill of subsidies? All succeeding kings will do so."

You must trust me, as you did my predecessor. You must have the same confidence in my word as you had in his. But messages of love never come into a parliament. Let us put up the Petition of Right: I distrust the king; but that I cannot give place to in a parliamentary way."

The Petition of Right being by this time finished, the commons presented it to the lords for their perusal and sanction. The lords still desiring to abate the violence of the lower house, proposed to subjoin the petition to a bill of subsidies. We humbly present this bill to your majesty, not only with a care of procuring the execution of the law, but with due regard to the honour of your majesty, and the preservation of the liberties of the subject."

The commons were by no means satisfied with this clause, which they asserted would leave their liberties in a still more precarious situation than at present, for which reason they absolutely rejected it; but not without giving the lords ample and satisfactory reasons for so doing. All obstacles being at length removed, the Petition of Right passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords for their approbation, who immediately passed the same.

This petition, which may be called the second Great Charter of England, is of such importance, and forms so essential a part of the English constitution, that we shall preserve a copy of it, as agreed to by both houses of parliament. It is as follows:

"To the King's most excellent majesty,

I. "Humbly shew unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, That whereas it is declared and enacted, by a statute made in the reign of King Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king, or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament holden in the twenty-fifth year of King Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason, and the franchise of the land; and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none should be charged with any charge or imposition called benevolence, or by such like charge: by which the statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not set by common consent in parliament.

II. "Yet, nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered to them not warrantable by the laws and statutes of this realm; and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and other, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

III. "And whereas also, by the statute called The Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. "And in the eighth and twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what state or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseized, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. "Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statute, and other the good laws and statutes of your majesty's realm, your subjects have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered to them not warrantable by the laws and statutes of this realm; and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance before your privy council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and other, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before justice, by your majesty's writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy-council; and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to law.

VI. "And whereas of late, great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed in divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. "And whereas also, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man should be fore-judged of life or limb against the form of the great charter and law of the land: and by the said great charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, under your majesty's great seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. "By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death, when and where, if, by the laws and statutes of the realm, they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. "And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forbore to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissioners as aforesaid: which commissions, and all other of like nature, were wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of your realm.

X. "They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or suchlike charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be constrained, or otherwise molested or disturbed concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to

come: and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth, to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. "All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would also be pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, That in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom."

Nothing was now wanting but the royal assent to give this famous petition the force of a law. On the 2d of June the king went to the house of commons, and being seated in the chair of state, the petition was read to him; but, to the astonishment of the whole assembly, instead of the clear, concise, and usual manner by which every bill is confirmed or rejected, he returned the following answer: "The king will that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their rights and liberties, to the performance whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as to his own prerogative."

This answer was far from being satisfactory to the parliament; and soon after both houses agreed in presenting a joint petition to his majesty, for a more full and satisfactory answer to the Petition of Right, at a full parliament.

In the mean time the commons commenced a serious prosecution against Dr. Manwaring, who had preached a sermon, which, upon enquiry, they found to be printed by special command from the king. This discourse contained doctrines subversive of civil liberty. It was therein advanced, "That the property was commonly lodged in the king, to be drawn out whenever any exigency required supply, and that it was transferred to the king; that the contrary of this was not necessary for the impoliteness of the king, and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, however irregular, which it should make upon his subjects." The commons having impeached him before the peers, they pronounced the following sentence: "That he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the peers, suspended during three years, be incapable of any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book should be called in and burnt."

Sir Edward Coke then made a motion and petition for impeaching the duke of Buckingham, as the author of many of those grievances under which the commons laboured. But Charles resolved to put an end to these proceedings, and accordingly sent a message to the commons, acquainting them that he desired a few days to put an end to the session, and that they would not enter upon new business, or make any assertions on his government, and that the commons, enraged at this message, were ready to rise upon as pretending to them their necessities, and proceeding paid no regard to it, and a violent tumult was ready to break out. In order to prevent this, the king the next day graciously then withdrew with regard to the petition.

Right. For this purpose he came to the house of peers on the seventh of June, and pronouncing the usual form of words: "Let it be law as is desired," gave full sanction and authority to the petition.

This assent was received with loud acclamations in the house, and public rejoicings were made throughout the kingdom. The commons immediately passed the bill of subsidies; but they were far from being satisfied by the important concession which Charles had made. Their ill humour had been so much heightened by the king's frequent evasions and delays, that it could not be presently appeased by an assent, which he allowed to have been extorted from him. Though they had granted the king this aid, yet they still retained a pledge in their hands, which they imagined, would insure the success of all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully concealed their intention of attacking that branch of the revenue, till the royal assent had been given to the Petition of Right, which they justly considered as of the utmost importance. They then openly asserted that the levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient privileges of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right so lately granted.

They next resumed the censure of Buckingham's conduct and behaviour, and against whom they had conceived a most implacable hatred. They drew up a remonstrance to the king, in which they recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumstance, which could render the whole administration despicable and odious. In the conclusion of this remonstrance they asserted, "the excessive power of the said duke, and the abuse of that power, to be the principal cause of all the evils and dangers therein maintained; and therefore they humbly submitted it to his majesty's wisdom, whether it might be safe for himself, or for his kingdom, that so great power both by sea and land, as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one subject whatever."

This remonstrance was presented to the king on the 13th of June. Charles received it with the utmost regard, and informed the house of commons that he should soon put an end to the session. Upon which they immediately applied themselves to the finishing of the remonstrance against tonnage and poundage. Buckingham was highly incensed when he heard of this substance; and well knowing what the event would be, if completed by the commons and resolved by him, he resolved to cut the session short before it could be perfected: for this purpose on the 15th of June, while the remonstrance was passing in the lower house, he came unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sending for the commons, closed the session on the twentieth of October.

Charles, being now freed from the embarrassment of parliament, turned his attention to foreign affairs, which he was equally unsuccessful as in those at home. Rochelle had for some time been invested by Richelieu's taking the conduct of the war upon himself, that he intended to exterminate the Hugonots, whose whole dependence was upon the English. Charles was sincerely desirous to assist them, and for that purpose dispatched Denbigh to the command of the earl of Denbigh, who followed to the duke of Buckingham. This fleet consisted of ten ships of the line, and about thirty smaller vessels, most of them transports, carrying on board two hundred soldiers. As soon as they arrived at Rochelle, Denbigh found means to gain the confidence of that city, that he was come to defend them, and desired they would place light on the fortifications of the mouth for which they

had still provision; but no such signals appearing, it was concluded that they were already in the greatest want of necessaries. The English admiral found the entrance into the harbour guarded by a great number of French ships; and promised the Rochellers, that he would, upon the return of the tide, attack the fleet of the enemy. During the night, a battery of nine pieces of cannon was erected at the mouth of the harbour, and played furiously on the English; and before noon the next day, the French ships were filled with troops; an army of land forces was drawn up upon the shore to oppose their landing, and all the necessary dispositions were made for a vigorous defence, in case any attack should be made by the English. These difficulties did not, however, intimidate the English admiral; he prepared to relieve the place, and to sink the French ships that guarded the passage into the harbour; but the wind changing, he was obliged to lay aside his design. Three days after, he attacked the French ships on one side, while the Rochellers cannonaded their land forces on the other, and brought up four of their largest vessels, which had been purposely built to draw as little water as possible, in order to pass the bar; but found the attempt impracticable, not only for want of water, but also from the dispositions the French had made to defend the passage. A few of the smaller ships, however, passed the bar, but were so warmly opposed by the French artillery, that they were obliged to return. Upon this miscarriage, a council of war was held; where some of the English captains were of opinion, that the relief of the place was impracticable, and that the Rochellers had deceived them with regard to the facility of entering the harbour. This opinion was, however, by no means unanimous; for the English vice-admiral, and one captain Carr, exclaimed against the pusillanimity of the rest; and the few small ships in the fleet, belonging to the French protestants, offered, by the assistance of four merchantmen well armed, with three fire ships, and a proportional number of land forces, to throw a quantity of provisions into the town. The earl of Denbigh, however, refused the offer, notwithstanding the Rochellers agreed to pay for all the English ships that might miscarry in this attempt. But neither this offer, nor the tears and prayers of the deputies of Rochelle, could prevail upon Denbigh. He returned to England, where he was loaded with calumny and disgrace.

The failure of this expedition tended further to prejudice the minds of the people against the duke of Buckingham. The enemies of that noblemen had industriously circulated the remonstrance of the commons against him in every part of the kingdom. He perceived his situation, and found the verge of royal authority, broad as they were, too narrow to shelter him from the dreadful storm raised against him by the parliament. He plainly saw that no efforts of his own, no concessions of his enemies, could recover his credit, and that nothing less than the sword could satisfy his enemies. He therefore threw aside all other considerations, and resolved, if possible, to regain himself, and recover the favour of the people. However he might stand with the parliament, and well knew, that nothing could be so likely to relieve the distressed Hugonots, Rochelle. He accordingly issued ten bills of a particular form and peculiarly adapted to pass the bar, to be built with the utmost speed, and made the necessary dispatches for sending to relieve that place, now reduced to the last extremity. But a fixed gloom settled on his countenance, he appeared abroad with men of a different complexion, his usual cheerfulness, his dark complexion, his usually recommending his wife and children, but now he appeared solitary, and his countenance was

his reflections on the tender ties of nature, and the soft endearments of life, which he was just going to leave behind him, sufficiently declared that he feared something of the most alarming nature. The fleet being ready to sail, he repaired to Portsmouth, with a resolution of relieving Rochelle, or perishing in the attempt. But before he could set out on his expedition he met with that fate from the hand of an assassin, which, had he lived much longer, he would in all probability have suffered from the general resentment of the nation.

This assassin was one John Felton, (a man of a good family, but of a gloomy, enthusiastic disposition) who had served in the station of lieutenant under the duke, in his late expedition to Rhe. His captain being killed in the retreat, Felton applied to Buckingham for the company; but being refused, he threw up his commission, and retired, discontented, from the army. The remonstrance of the commons roused at once both his resentment and enthusiastic fury: he was now convinced, that it would be a meritorious service in the sight of heaven to murder Buckingham, whom the parliament had accused as the author of all the misfortunes of his country. Filled with these ideas, he repaired to Portsmouth, fully determined to put his bloody design into immediate execution.

On the 23d of August Buckingham received some advices, informing him, that a small convoy of provisions had got safe into Rochelle. This intelligence he communicated to the duke of Soubise, and other French gentlemen in his train, who insisted, with great vehemence, that the whole was false, and calculated only to retard the sailing of the fleet. During these allegations, the duke drew towards the door; and turning himself in the passage, to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was stabbed by an unknown hand, over Sir Thomas's shoulder. The knife, with which the wound was given, reached his heart; and, without uttering any other words, than "The villain has killed me," he drew out the knife, and immediately expired.

As no person had seen the hand that gave the blow, it was conjectured that the murder had been perpetrated by the French gentlemen, whose angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been understood by the people. Some were for putting them to death immediately, but were prevented by the more considerate part, who thought it highly reasonable they should undergo a lawful trial. In the midst of this confusion, a hat was found near the door, on the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing three or four lines of the remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom. All were now convinced that this hat belonged to the assassin; but there was sufficient reason to think he had escaped far enough, during the tumult, not to be found without a hat. They were, however, mistaken; Felton never attempted to fly from justice, and he was soon perceived walking very sedately before the door with his hat. He was immediately seized, confined to the murder, and seemed to triumph in the action. The enraged soldiers drew their swords, and were for attacking him immediately on the spot. Then they had recollecting on Felton, he readily expected to be all to their swords, and seemed willing to be a present victim to their rage. Then fury was, however, prevented, and the assassin was secured. Some gentlemen, instead of finding whether Felton had any accomplices, hinted that Buckingham, though apparently wounded, was not dead, and that there were great hopes of his recovery. Felton smiled at this, and replied, "I am, indeed, very expressive of his condition." "I know that," said he, "and here for I had the foresight to run a wooden ball into the blow."

Being questioned with regard to the persons by whose instigations he had performed the horrid deed, he told them, that their inquiries were useless; that no person upon earth had credit sufficient with him to have disposed him to undertake such an action; that the living was privy to his purpose; that the deed proceeded wholly from the impulse of his own conscience; and that if his hat was found, his guilt would sufficiently appear; for, thinking he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them.

Charles was at church when the news reached him of his favourite's death: but he was so absorbed in his devotions, that no discomposure appeared in his actions, nor alteration in his countenance. The service however, was no sooner over, than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to his sorrows in a flood of tears. During his whole life, he expressed regard for Buckingham by a series of manifestations towards his widow, his children, and his friends, some of the council, and bishop Laud in particular, threatened Felton with the rack, if he did not own himself an accomplice. But this had no effect upon the assassin, he calmly replied, "that if he was put to the rack, he did not know whom he might name in the agony of anguish, perhaps the bishop himself." The king, however, being consulted, declared, that the practice had been formerly common, notwithstanding the laws of England, could be put to the torture. Reflection and confinement had more effect on the enthusiastic spirit of Felton than all their threats. He seemed, in some measure, to recover from his delusion, expressed remorse for what he had done, and suffered death with composure and resignation.

Thus fell, in the 37th year of his age, the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham. His rise was sudden, his promotions rapid, and his fall untimely. Notwithstanding the load of public calumny heaped upon this great favourite, and error there is reason to believe that he meant well to his master and his country; and that his misfortunes proceeded from jealousy in other persons. He thought the great and extensive power he wielded dangerous to the rights of a free people. It is probable, if he had lived a few years longer, he might have seen through the temptations of greatness, and have proved as great a pillar of the state as any of his predecessors. He was of a most noble and generous disposition: he seldom studied to conceal his sentiments, either of love or hatred; in the former he was immoderate, in the latter he was not far from it, but once offended, he never could forget. His rage was great, but it sometimes manifested itself in fear, for if he had a little yielded to the times, and drawn from those storms, he could neither resist nor allay, he might, perhaps, have founded a new state.

Though the death of Buckingham greatly grieved Charles, yet it did not extinguish his desire of relieving Rochelle. He gave the command of the fleet to the earl of Lindsey, and repaired in person to Portsmouth, in order to hasten the sailing of the fleet. His presence had such effect, that it was done in ten or twelve days, than in almost six weeks before. It was, however, the eighth of September, before the fleet sailed from Portsmouth, when the vast armada of Richelieu had been at work, thought impossible to be executed in so short a space of time: this was a mole of near six hundred in length, carried across the mouth of the bay, in the bottom of an ocean, and by means of which the fleet by sea was cut off. On the eighth of October the fleet reached the road of Rochelle, and a calm coming on, it was the twentieth before the fleet approached the mole, when a violent storm



White delin

White sculp



began, and continued for two hours, without any great loss on either side. Next day the cannonading continued, but with less vigour; though it was known, by a gentleman who had found means to escape from Rochelle, that the inhabitants, unless relieved in two days, must surrender. But even this intelligence produced no effect on the English captains, who appear to have been destitute of experience, and some of them courage. The duke of Soubrise offered to attempt the mole with the French ships, provided the English would promise to follow him; but this proposal was rejected in a council of war, by a majority of the English captains. The count Laval next proposed, with the help of artificial mines, contrived in three ships, to attempt to blow up the mole; but this was also rejected, and the time was spent in fruitless cannonading. At last it was determined, in a council of war, to make one general and decisive attack upon the mole; but before the design could be carried into execution, the besieged were obliged to capitulate. Of fifteen thousand persons who had been shut up in the town, four thousand only survived the fatigues and famine they had undergone. A more shocking scene of calamity was never beheld than Rochelle presented at the time of its surrender. The living were not sufficient to bury the dead, so that vermin and birds of prey devoured the mangled bodies in the streets. Many carried their remains into the church-yards, to lie down in them, never more to rise: and the few inhabitants who survived appeared rather as spectres and skeletons than men.

The disgust which the failure of this expedition occasioned in the nation made Charles think it improper to let the parliament meet according to their adjournment, which was in October. He therefore farther prorogued that assembly to the twentieth of January.

A. D. 1629. The parliament being met on the 12th appointed, the grand committee were very busy and active in traversing whatever views they thought the council might have adopted. They pretended that religion was much injured by the growth of popery and arminianism. Buckingham, the great object of their hatred, being now removed, their resentment was directed with double rancour against Laud, bishop of London, who, as the king's spiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a superstitious ecclesiastic, chief of the Arminian sect, by whose interest Montague, Cozens, Sibthorpe, and Manwaring had been promoted, and even promoted to bishoprics, or rich benefices; and they exclaimed against him as an impostor, not only to the puritans, but also to the people of his country.

While the committee were thus employed in examining religious grievances the rest of the house were busy in their enquiries concerning civil affairs. Though the remonstrance against tonnage and poundage had not been presented to the king, it was made public, and, by it, the people could easily see what were the sentiments of the commons. On this foundation several merchants refused to pay duty to the king, among whom were Rolles, Vassal, and Vassal. Rolles was a member of the commons, notwithstanding which, on his refusal, his house was sealed up by the officers of the customs, and Vassal and Vassal were condemned by the lords of the exchequer, who ordered them to be detained. The affair of Rolles was, by the commons, adjudged a breach of the privilege of the commons, and the customs house officers were ordered before the house to answer their misdemeanor. But Charles supported his officers, and therefore he sent to the commons, informed

them, that what these men had done was only in compliance with his orders. This heightened the quarrel between him and his parliament. A motion was made in the house to impeach Sir Richard Weston, lord treasurer; and the king began to entertain thoughts of finishing the session by a dissolution.

The commons now resolved to proceed to a remonstrance against the subsidies of tonnage and poundage being levied without consent of parliament. The king, finding them thus refractory, adjourned the parliament to the twenty-fifth of February, and afterwards to the second of March. At their meeting the same business was again brought on the carpet. Sir John Elliot had framed the intended remonstrance, and offered it to the clerk to read; which he refusing, he read it himself. The question being then called for, Sir John Finch, the speaker, said, "that he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no questions," and immediately left the chair. This occasioned a violent uproar in the house. The speaker was forced back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by two of the members, till the following short protestation was drawn up and read.

I. "Whosoever shall bring in an innovation of religion, or by favour seek to introduce popery, or arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

II. "Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying, of the subsidies tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall likewise be reputed a common enemy to the commonwealth.

III. "If any man shall voluntarily yield to pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, shall be reputed a betrayer to the liberties of England, and an enemy to the commonwealth."

This remonstrance was passed by acclamation rather than by vote, while many of the members, thinking the leaders had gone too far in their opposition, expressed their dislike of the whole proceeding, and the greatest indecencies, even to blows, were committed. The king sent the gentleman usher of the house of lords, but the doors were locked, and he could obtain no admittance till the remonstrance was finished. As soon as the door was opened, he, by the king's order, took the mace from the table, which put an end to their proceedings; and a few days after the parliament was dissolved.

This violent rupture between the king and his parliament alarmed the nation, but Charles took no care to make use of lenient measures, which might perhaps, have effected a reconciliation. On the contrary, he inflamed the discontent of the people by acts of severity. Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, John Selden, esq; William Cornton, Walter Long, and William Strode, were committed to prison, on account of the late tumult in the house, which was called sedition, and with great difficulty, after several delays, they were released. Sir John Elliot, Denzil Holles, and Benjamin Valentine were summoned to their trial in the king's bench, for seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament; but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct, as being members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find sureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the former in a thousand pounds each, and the latter in five hundred.

A. D. 1630. Charles, deprived of all hopes of supply, was now forced to conclude a peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto carried on a war, begun without necessity, and prosecuted with-

out glory. The crown of France, though victorious over its protestant subjects, was greatly weakened by civil dissensions which prevailed among the princes of the blood: it was alarmed by the greatness of the house of Austria, and on the point of engaging in a war with Italy. In short, Lewis wanted a peace as much as Charles; and it was accordingly agreed, that the Venetians should interpose their good offices for a peace between the two crowns. The articles were therefore soon adjusted; but contain nothing remarkable. Charles could not, in his present circumstances, pretend to insist on any terms for the Hugonots: they were left to the mercy of their own sovereign.

The Spaniards, having been very unfortunate in Italy for above two years, listened to the advances made by Charles for a peace. The articles, however, had nothing advantageous, either to Charles or his allies; nothing was stipulated in favour of the prince palatine, except a promise from Philip III. to use his good offices in order to restore him to his electorate.

While these things were transacting, Charles was studying the means of raising money, and establishing his own authority by punishing all who dared to oppose it. Among other methods of filling his coffers was that of appointing commissioners to compound with those, who, though summoned at his coronation to receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward the second, an old custom was enacted into a law, importing, that every man who possessed twenty pounds a year in land should be knighted; and most of the succeeding monarchs had carried this law into execution. Charles, considering the value of money between that reign and the present time, summoned those only whose yearly rent amounted to forty pounds; yet even this mitigation was considered as a hardship; because, the value of twenty pounds in the time of Edward was equal to four times that sum in the reign of Charles. A great number had therefore refused to obey the mandate, and these were now fined for their disobedience.

These proceedings occasioned many complaints, which were greatly encreased by the king's giving orders for levying the tonnage and poundage with the utmost rigour. The officers of the customs were empowered to enter houses, and break open warehouses, chests, and closets, to search for goods which had not paid duty: and under pretence of searching they committed innumerable acts of fraud and oppression. This encreased the popular clamour to an enormous height, and the council, in order to prevent any dangerous insurrection, issued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, from a persuasion that their appearance would sufficiently intimidate the populace; while they were, on the other hand, amused with public orders for putting in execution the laws against papists. At the same time the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting exclusive privileges for the sale of various species of commodities and provisions, to the unspeakable prejudice of trade and manufactures.

Charles was better pleased to govern by his prerogative alone, than in conjunction with his parliament; and lest the hopes of relief or protection from the commons might encourage opposition, he issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That whereas for several ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged, though his majesty has shewn, by frequent meeting with his people, his love to the use of parliaments; yet the late abuse having, for the present, driven him unwillingly out of that course, he will account it presumption in any one to prescribe to him any time for the calling that assembly." This was generally considered as a declaration that, du-

ring this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be summoned.

A. D. 1631. The eyes of the English were now turned toward their beloved object the queen of Bohemia; and the king was very desirous of procuring some relief for his unfortunate sister and her family. He joined his good offices with those of France, who mediated a peace between the kings of Poland and Sweden, in hopes of engaging the latter to protect the oppressed protestants of the empire, and restore the elector palatine to his dominions. This was the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, whose military genius seconded by the wisest policy, rendered him, in a short time, the most distinguished monarch of the age, and rendered his country, formerly unknown and neglected, of great weight in the balance of Europe. To encourage and assist him in his projected invasion of Germany, Charles agreed to furnish him with six thousand men; but, at the same time, to preserve the appearance of neutrality, he made use of the marquis of Hamilton's name, a nobleman devoted to the crown. Hamilton entered into an engagement with Gustavus, and after enlisting these troops in England and Scotland, at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe. The decisive battle of Leipzig was fought soon after; where the conduct of Tilly and the valour of the imperialists were overcome by the superior conduct of Gustavus, and the superior valour of the Swedes. What remained of this heroic war was one continued scene of victory; for which he was less beholden to fortune than to those personal endowments which he derived from nature and from industry. That rapid progress of conquest which we so much admire in ancient history, was here renewed in modern annals; and without that cause to which in former ages it had been owing. Military nations were not now engaged against an undisciplined and unwarlike people, nor heroes set in opposition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the most celebrated generals of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany was over-run in an instant by the victorious Swedes. This rapid series of conquests brought at last the elector palatine to Munich. That unfortunate prince now saw himself on the point of being restored to his dominions, and even to the crown of Bohemia by the hand of the conqueror: when in the second battle near Leipzig, fought in the plains of Lutzen, Gustavus was slain in the midst of a victory he had almost gained.

The death of Gustavus proved fatal to Freedom who now despairing of any further resource, was seized with a violent fever, occasioned by his late grief, which, in a few months, but a very short life filled with perpetual crosses and disappointments.

A. D. 1632. Charles, since the dissolution of the last parliament, had brought over to his interest several of the principal leaders who opposed in the last parliament. One of the most distinguished among these was Thomas Wentworth, now become so zealous a defender of the royal authority, that the king made him president of the council of York. This council had been erected, after a rebellion in the north, by patent from Henry VIII. without any sanction of parliament, and this exercise of power, like all others, was indulged by that arbitrary monarch. The council of York had long acted chieflly as a court, but besides some innovations in the laws of James. Charles thought proper, on Wentworth being made president, to extend its jurisdiction, and to give it a large civil jurisdiction, and to invest it with a discretionary power. Possibly the intention in this was nothing more than to give the inhabitants of the northern counties, who the

expense, and fatigue, of attending the courts at Westminster. But it soon appeared that the inhabitants were, by this means, deprived of the protection of the ordinary law, and subjected to an arbitrary authority. And accordingly some irregular proceedings in that court were now complained of, and tended to exasperate the people still more against the government.

When Wentworth was gained over to the court party, Sir Dudley Digges was made master of the rolls, Noy attorney-general, and Littleton solicitor-general. All these were leading men in the house of commons. But it soon appeared, that the same abilities which are sufficient to perplex a court by their opposition, are not capable of effectually serving it by their compliance. Charles flattered himself, that by engaging these eminent leaders in his service, his government would meet with no more opposition, and that a calm tranquillity would be established in his kingdom during the remainder of his reign; but his own upright intentions to make the virtues of his ministers supply the laws of his country fatally deceived him. Laud pursued the puritans with unremitting fury, and was fond of introducing new ceremonies into the church, and of carrying to the utmost height the power of the priesthood.

A. D. 1633. Charles had been for some time desirous of visiting his antient kingdom of Scotland; and as there was no parliament now sitting, he determined to embrace this opportunity of gratifying his inclinations. He accordingly set out for that kingdom about the middle of May, and was attended by the whole flower of the English nobility, who vied with each other in the splendor of their equipages. It was the fifteenth of June before he reached Edinburgh; and on the tenth of the same month he was crowned in that city, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. On the 20th the parliament met, and granted the king a larger subsidy than had ever been given to any other monarch of that realm.

Charles inherited his father's design of bringing the religion of Scotland to a conformity with the English church; and Laud, bishop of London, accompanied him in this journey to facilitate the execution of his scheme. As a preparatory step, two acts were passed in the Scottish parliament, the first entitled "Concerning the king's prerogative, and the abuses of the clergy." This was no other than the continuation of another statute enacted in the preceding reign, empowering the king to give what orders he should think proper, with regard to the dioceses of the clergy. The other ratified and improved all the laws which had been made concerning the liberties and franchises of the true church. But these acts met with great opposition from the presbyterians. They considered the first as a prelude to the use of the furze, which they looked upon as an abomination; and the words "at present professed," they considered as an equivocal expression, calculated to restore episcopal government. Their church was governed by national synods, and general assemblies, but the king still subsisted, though without the least political influence. The bill was, however, passed, and occasioned great heats and discontents among the people.

Scotsmen, entertained by the Scotch religionists were excluded. The king's real intention was to reduce the rites of the English church, and re-establish episcopacy in all its former power and splendor.

Bishop Laud preached in the royal chapel at Glasgow the benefit of conformity, and the last testimonies of the church. He proposed to the English bishops, that the English liturgy should be used in Scotland. They objected to this pro-

posal, as such a step could not fail of alarming the nation, as the reception of the English liturgy would be considered as the fore-runner of English laws, and an encroachment on the independency of the kingdom. They therefore requested that another form might be composed for the use of the Scottish church, that should be the same in substance, but different in some particulars of little consequence. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud. He was himself jealous of the independence of his native kingdom; and accordingly appointed a select number of the Scottish bishops to form a new liturgy for their own service. At the same time he erected Edinburgh into a bishopric, created the archbishop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom, and admitted several other prelates to seats in the privy council, and in the college of justice: a very unreasonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy, while the bishops by this promotion incurred the hatred and envy of the nobility, who, though they respected them in their ecclesiastical capacity, could not bear to see them in civil stations to which they thought themselves better entitled.

Charles, having partly succeeded in his attempt to restore episcopal government in Scotland, returned to London, and immediately bestowed the archbishopric of Canterbury (vacant by the death of Abbot) on his favorite Laud, who, by this accession of authority, was now enabled to support ecclesiastical discipline with the greatest vigour.

On the elevation of Laud to the archiepiscopal see, Dr. Juxon was placed in the see of London, and at the same time was made lord high treasurer. He was a person of great integrity, mildness, humanity, and understanding; but all his virtues could not procure him the friendship of the puritans. He was a lover of hunting, and other sports of the field; a sufficient reason, however eminent in virtue, to procure him the hatred of those whose religion admitted not of the least relaxation.

Charles was very desirous of introducing a cheerfulness into the national religion. He renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday, after the service was over, to such as attended the public worship; and ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. This tended greatly to widen the breach between the church and the dissenters, and promote that ill humour and discontent already too predominant in the nation. The queen, though strictly virtuous, was immoderately fond of pleasure, particularly the entertainments of the stage; and her example was followed by the whole court, and the greatest men in the nation.

In the midst of this dissipation, William Prynne, a puritanical barrister of Lincoln's inn, published an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, intitled, *Historie Maltys*. Its professed purpose was to decry stage plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing, and other diversions of that kind; but he also took occasion to declaim against hunting, public feasting, Christmas keeping, bonfires, and may poles. The author tells us, in his preface, that he was excited to write against these enormities by observing that plays sold better than the choicest sermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than even the Bible itself. He maintained that most of the players were papists, and all of them desperately wicked, that the play houses were Satan's chapels, the headquarters of their little better than devils incarnate, and every step in a dance was a step to hell; that the principal crime of Nero was that of frequenting and acting

acting of plays; and that those who conspired his death were chiefly excited to it by their indignation at that enormity. This publication gave so much offence to the court, that Prynne was indicted before the star-chamber, where his behaviour was remarkably obstinate and petulant, which tended to increase the rigour of his sentence. He was condemned to pay a fine of 5000*l.* to the king, to be put from the bar, and rendered incapable of his profession; to be excluded from the society of Lincoln's Inn, and degraded in Oxford; to stand on the pillory in Westminster and Cheapside, to lose an ear at each place, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.

The distinguished severity of this sentence raised the government many enemies, and greatly augmented the members of the puritan party. It was thought extremely hard that an invective against plays should merit a punishment proper only for the greatest criminals. But it must be observed, that this satire against the diversions in vogue, though the pretended, was not the real crime for which Prynne was condemned. He had severely censured the practices of the new hierarchy, and the ceremonies introduced by Laud; a crime which that imperious prelate could not forgive.

A. D. 1634. Fresh troubles now arose in consequence of the Dutch, who were become the most distinguished rivals to the English in point of commerce. James had made several attempts for hindering them from fishing on the coast of England, but all his prohibitions were in vain; the Dutch, after various pretences, at last asserted they had a right to fish upon the British coasts, which right, they said, was founded on immemorial possession. The states of Holland, however, disavowed this plea of their commissioners; but at the same time declared, that however unjust, and however contrary to the rights of sovereignty in the crown of England their practice of fishing on the British coasts might be, it was so absolutely necessary to the very existence of their state, that they dared not give it up, or pay any acknowledgment for it, lest their people should rise in open rebellion against them.

This was an argument not to be answered by reason, and Charles was determined to drive them by force from the British coasts. Vigorous measures were, therefore, begun in several parts of the kingdom; but these could not be carried on without proportional revenues; and those of Charles were only barely sufficient for maintaining the splendor of the court, performing his engagements with foreign princes, and defraying the necessary expences of his government. Noy, the attorney-general, was therefore desired to project ways and means for fitting out a fleet sufficiently powerful to execute his purpose. Noy fell upon the expedient of ship-money, grounded upon obsolete usages and records, which justified a tax upon the people for furnishing a certain number of ships for the defence of the seas.

In consequence of this, writs were immediately issued, with which were given instructions and directions from the lords of the council for the assessing and levying the ship money. These instructions were directed to the sheriffs of the several counties; and the respective officers appointed to gather the tax were invested with the most arbitrary powers. Those who refused to pay their proportion were to be distressed, and their goods sold for payment, without any respect of persons. The writ being served upon the lord-mayor of London, he immediately summoned a common-council, when it was agreed to present the following petition to the king:

"To the king's most excellent majesty,

"The humble petition of your faithful subjects,

"the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of your city of London, most humbly sheweth,

"That whereas your majesty, by writ bearing teste 20 Octobris last, commanded your petitioners, at their own charge, to provide seven ships of war furnished with men, victuals, and all warlike provisions, to be at Portsmouth by the first of March next, and to continue from that time during the space of twenty-six weeks in your majesty's service, upon the defence of the seas, and other causes in the said writ contained:

"Your petitioners do, in all submissive humbleness, and with acknowledgements of your sacred majesty's favours unto your said city, inform your majesty, that they conceive, that by ancient privileges, grants, and acts of parliament, which they are ready humbly to produce, they are exempt, and are to be freed from that charge.

"And do most humbly pray,
"That your majesty would be graciously pleased, that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the said privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing of the said ships and provisions."

Charles, however, notwithstanding this opposition of the capital, proceeded with as much violence as if ship-money had always been an established tax, and as if he did not expect to meet with any opposition to his arbitrary proceedings. Noy, the attorney-general, dying about this time, left the affair unfinished; but the necessities of Charles increasing he resolved that ship-money should be extended to the inland as well as the marine counties. But in order to this, it was necessary to employ proper persons, and to invent plausible pretences. Sir Robert Heath, lord chief justice, had, in many respects, been found untractable, and was accordingly removed from his office, and his place supplied by Sir John Finch a lawyer of great eloquence, and a firm friend to the court; and Sir John Banks was made attorney-general. It was, probably, owing to the opinion of these lawyers, who were far inferior in abilities to Noy, that Charles made ship-money a general tax, lest this attempt did not alarm the nation so much as was expected. The merchants, who generally take the lead on these occasions, were too well acquainted with the advantages of commerce to risk themselves in opposition which might have given the court a pretence for imposing heavier duties upon goods, as the tax proposed fell more heavy on the trade than the trading interest of the kingdom, they did for some time, consider it as a stretch of absolute power. This acquiescence gave the court a great security. Charles endeavoured to still the fears with apprehensions, that the Dutch and the Danes having entered into a new alliance, would soon attempt to make themselves masters of the seas; and a proclamation was accordingly published commanding all English seamen and shipwrights who were in foreign services, to return home immediately.

A. D. 1636. In the spring of this year a fleet of sixty sail of large ships was fitted out, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, and a proclamation was issued, strictly forbidding any person not the natural born subjects of these kingdoms, from fishing on the British coast, without proper licence from the king, who farther declared, that he intended always to keep a strong squadron at sea, to prevent all such encroachments for the future, and protect those ships of his friends and allies, which take out licences. The earl of Northumberland sailed in the month of May, and commanded some of the Dutch ships, he sunk all that he met, and leave the coasts, and discontinued their fisheries.

This spirited conduct struck a terror into all the maritime powers of Europe; even the haughty Richieu himself, who had formed a design of rendering the Dutch the rivals of the English on the ocean, was obliged to abandon his project. The Dutch themselves applied to Charles in the most earnest manner; and at last consented to pay thirty thousand pounds for a licence to fish during the remainder of the year, when it was hoped a proper regulation would be made for fixing an annual tribute for the necessary licences.

A regular distribution was now drawn up of ships adapted to the several shires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and monthly expence; together with the sums charged upon the respective corporate towns in each county. And Charles, that he might proceed with more safety, and remove the several objections that had been started against paying the tax, procured the opinion of the judges, "that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the nation in danger, the king might lawfully levy a tax for fitting out such a number of ships as shall be necessary for the defence of the nation; and that his majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how it is to be prevented."

Charles took particular care to publish and circulate this decision of the judges. He seemed satisfied that he had not acted contrary to the laws, and determined to punish, with the utmost severity, all who should, for the future, dare to oppose his royal pleasure. It is little to be wondered at that the people paid this tax with the greatest reluctance; but they had no recourse to avoid submitting to the prostitution and perversion of the laws of their country. Their usual asylum, the courts of law, were shut against them, and there was no medium; they must either submit, or have recourse to violence, an expedient which no wise man would chuse. A chosen few, however, were still in reserve; men who dared to think with justice, and act with intrepidity; who, armed with the principles of civil and natural liberty, were determined to support the cause of their country, and not tamely submit to the arbitrary power of the crown. Strong reasonings, bold elocution, deep learning, and upright intentions, were not, however, sufficient to sustain this dreadful combat; a leader must be found, who, besides all these accomplishments, had intrepidity sufficient to stand forth in the cause of his country. Such a man was John Hambden, a gentleman possessed of a considerable estate, and descended from an ancient family in Buckinghamshire; which, being an inland county, afforded him the better pretence for refusing to pay the tax of ship money. His share did not amount to more than thirty shillings, yet he absolutely refused payment, and determined to venture a trial, the event of which would clearly point out to the whole kingdom, whether arbitrary power was to prevail over justice.

After many pleadings and traverses, the case was argued, during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, every circumstance of this celebrated trial. It will be easily conceived, from the opinion of the judges, that the great question in this cause was, Whether the kingdom was in such imminent danger, that the king had a right to oppress his subjects, without waiting for the necessary forms of parliamentary proceedings? It was confessed in all hands, that both public and private dangers may be so great, that all property may cease, while the people are providing for their own safety. But one of the crown lawyers pretended, that the danger of the kingdom was then so pressing, as to give the king a right to the property of the subject; and the

small portion of Mr. Hambden's assessment was no argument for his paying it, unless they could prove it to be according to law. Whether the king was, or was not, the sole judge of the public necessity, was strongly debated, but greatly to the disadvantage of the court; since nothing could be more obvious than this, that when public danger becomes so pressing as to confound all property, the case will be notorious, and self-preservation becomes the common principle with both prince and people.

Notwithstanding the arguments used by Hambden's council were much more forcible than those of his opponents, yet the event was what had been long foreseen. The prejudiced or prostituted judges, four of them excepted, gave the sentence in favour of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety, and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy, and became fully sensible of the danger to which their liberty was exposed. These national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently it appeared to many, that liberty was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom. Slavish principles, it was said, concurred with illegal practices; ecclesiastical tyranny lent assistance to civil usurpations; iniquitous practices were supported by arbitrary punishments; and all the rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the feet of the monarch.

A. D. 1637. We have already observed how desirous Charles was of establishing in Scotland the discipline and worship of the church of England. He was fond of episcopacy, and invested the bishops with an authority which he thought equally advantageous to religion and government. He loved church ceremonies, and wanted to have them received as essentials in divine service. Without reflecting how much all men are attached to their particular mode of worship, Charles, confident of his own power, now sent down canons for the government of the church of Scotland, and a new liturgy for regulating the manner of worship. The people were far from being disposed to receive them. The nobility, from a jealousy of power, and the dissenting clergy from principles of equality, were enemies to the hierarchy; and their universal hatred of the church of Rome made them abhor whatever had the least resemblance to the method of its worship. On the sixteenth of July, public intimations were given from the pulpits, that on the following Sunday the new liturgy would be introduced into the principal churches. Both the bishop and dean of Edinburgh attended to give the greater solemnity to this new form of worship. The latter, dressed in a surplice, began the liturgy. But he had not proceeded far in the service, before the people cried out, "A Pope! a Pope! stone him!" The bishop, however, mounted the pulpit, and attempted to appease the tumult. But his endeavours were in vain: they threw a bench at his head, and it was with the utmost difficulty that both him and the dean escaped with their lives.

The period was now approaching which was to decide the fate of the established religion in Scotland. The spirit of opposition to the new liturgy daily increased among the common people, and the repeated commands of the court to introduce it proved at once ineffectual, and dangerous to the bishops. The magistrates of Edinburgh, where these disturbances chiefly prevailed, were, in secret, enemies to the liturgy; but, in public, they expressed the utmost abhorrence of the notorious proceedings of the populace, and frequently assembled in order, as they pretended,

to concert measures for putting a stop to those alarming attempts of the multitude. They even promised to assist the king to the utmost of their power to appease the tumultuous populace, and introduce the new liturgy. But in the mean time a breach ensued between the bishops and ministers of Scotland, and soon after another between the bishops and the nobility of that kingdom. The counsel of the moderate bishops, who had always opposed the violent methods of introducing the liturgy, was disregarded by the new prelates promoted by Laud, and who were persuaded that the interest of their patron with the king was abundantly sufficient to support them. This induced them to disregard not only the advice of their more moderate brethren, but also that of the nobility, who took advantage of this neglect to withdraw their countenance entirely from the proceedings of the clergy.

The people, animated by the countenance of their ministers and the nobility, began to unite, and to encourage one another to oppose the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women, as is common in every religious disturbance, joined with great violence in the opposition: the puritan ministers declaimed vehemently against popery; and the pulpits resounded with the most violent invectives against anti-christ. In a word, fanaticism mingling with faction, and private interest with the spirit of liberty, soon produced the symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1638. Neither the defection of the nobility, nor the threats of the vulgar, made any impression on Charles: he seemed to despise both, and fully determined to persevere in this religious enterprize. The primate of Scotland, a man of great temper, wisdom, and religion, always averse to the introduction of the new liturgy, represented to his majesty, in faithful colours, the state of the nation. The earl of Traquair, lord treasurer, repaired to London, in order to lay the matter more fully before the king. But all their representations were in vain: Charles was inflexible. He had, however, nothing to oppose to so violent a combination of the whole nation but a proclamation, wherein he promised pardon for all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. But this was so far from producing the desired effect, that it was immediately opposed by a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindesay. This was the crisis of the opposition: the insurrection which had been gathering by degrees, now broke out at once; the standard of rebellion was displayed, and the sword of civil discord on the point of being sheathed in the bowels of that unhappy country.

A new order, or rather a new administration, now took place; a sufficient indication that this disturbance had been secretly fomented by persons in a station far exalted above the common people. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh: one consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burghesses; and in the hands of these four tables was placed the whole authority of the government. One of their first, and, at the same time, the greatest act they performed, was that of the Solemn League and Covenant. This celebrated compact consisted, first, of a renunciation of popery formerly signed by James in his youth, and composed of many invectives calculated to inflame the minds of the people. Then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers bound themselves to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatever: "And all this for the

greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country."

All ranks and conditions, young and old, of both sexes, flocked to their subscription of this covenant. Few there were who disapproved of it, and the small number that did were afraid openly to condemn it. The king's ministers and counsellors themselves were seized with the general contagion: and it was thought that none but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, would withdraw themselves from so holy and pious a combination.

Charles was so alarmed at these proceedings, that he offered to suspend the introduction of the liturgy, provided they would retract the covenant. Their answer was, that they would sooner renounce their baptism. He then relaxed in other matters, and permitted a general assembly to be summoned at Glasgow. By this unadvised measure the whole war was finished. The laity, whom the presbyterians admitted, and who formed the strongest part, began with impeaching the bishops, whom they charged indiscriminately with all sorts of crimes. They afterwards declared all acts with regard to ecclesiastical matters, made since the advancement of James to the crown of England, null and void. Thus the use of the liturgy, the court of high commission, and the episcopacy itself, were abolished in Scotland at one stroke.

A. D. 1639. As the Scots knew that Charles would not easily submit to such flagrant breaches of the constitution, they put themselves in a posture of defending by arms, what they despaired of obtaining by favour. Cardinal Richieu, who had from the beginning fomented the troubles in Scotland, supplied the covenanters with money; and they invited home many commanders of their own nation who had distinguished themselves under the famous Gustavus, in the wars of Germany.

These precautions being taken, they seized on the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and several other places of strength; took Dalkeith, and converted it to their own use all the arms and ammunition deposited there. They chose Alexander Leslie, an experienced officer, to be captain-general of their arms, to whom all who took arms solemnly swore obedience, and he, in return, swore to execute his charge with fidelity.

In the mean time the greatest expedition was made to repair the fortifications in different parts of the kingdom. Besides the persons who were hired for this purpose, great numbers of volunteers, and even the nobility, assisted in the work, and considered a most abject employment as dignified by the sanctity of the cause. Nor were the women idle spectators, even those of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, and the decorum of their station, were intermingled with the lowest rabble, and carried on their shoulders the rubbish and other materials necessary for completing the fortifications.

Though Charles was fond of peace, and of a quiet country, yet he could not avoid raising troops to reduce his rebellious subjects to reason, and to subvert the refractory spirit of the Scots. By his order he had raised two hundred thousand pounds, and the queen, by her influence with the catholics, engaged them to grant the king a considerable supply. The English fleet was very formidable, and was provided with every necessary. Five thousand land forces were embarked on board this squadron, the command of which was given to the marquis of Hamden, who had orders to sail to the Firth of Forth, to cause a diversion in the forces of the rebels. An army of near twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse was levied, and commanded by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but little

neither as a soldier nor a statesman. The earl of Essex, a nobleman extremely popular, and of great military abilities, was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horse. On the twenty-ninth of May, the king himself joined the army, and summoned all the peers of England to attend him. Few disregarded the summons; so that the English army resembled rather the court of an eastern prince than a military expedition against an enemy.

The forces of the mal-contents were little inferior in numbers to that of the English, but almost destitute of cavalry. The infantry consisted, indeed, of an undisciplined and ill-armed rabble, but animated with a religious fervour, which, in some measure, supplied the want of discipline, and rendered them very formidable. The declamations of the clergy had greatly assisted the officers in gaining recruits, by wandering out anathemas against "all who went not out to help the Lord against the mighty." But the leaders of the mal-contents did not omit the more safe and prudent method of negotiation. They knew that a defeat must be fatal; and however their troops might be inspired with an enthusiastic fury, they were unable to stand the regular attacks of disciplined forces. They therefore immediately sent very submissive messages to the king, in which they begged leave to be admitted to a treaty in order to restore tranquillity to their native country, and sheathe the destructive sword of civil discord.

Charles, who was desirous of terminating a war in the very bowels of his kingdom, listened to the convenancers, and concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots should dismiss their arms within eight and forty hours; that the king's forts should be restored to him; his authority acknowledged; and that both a general assembly and parliament should be immediately summoned in order to adjust all differences.

The Scottish deputies were at a loss how to appease their principals with regard to these articles, which were short of what their sanguine hopes had taught them to expect. Accordingly, the earl of Cassils, and several other noblemen and heads of the mal-contents, loudly exclaimed against a pacification, which was to disarm them, and leave them, in that condition, to the mercy of the court. No abolition of the laws, nor acknowledgment of the assembly at Glasgow, had been stipulated, as they had been led to believe; and the drawing off the English from the coast was of little importance, because they might return whenever his majesty pleased. On these considerations, that Charles, in one of his answers he had given to the deputies, had actually dissolved the assembly at Glasgow, nor would he consent to any thing farther than to refer civil matters to parliament, and ecclesiastical affairs to a general assembly, both of which he could call or dissolve at pleasure.

The English exclaimed against the peace with no vehemence than the Scots; and there seemed little hopes that it would be of any long continuance: the seeds of disaffection were sown in Scotland, and it was no easy task to prevent their growth.

In the mean time an incident happened on the coast of England, which seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. The firmness of Charles in preserving his neutrality disconcerted Richelieu for attacking the sea coast of Flanders; and d'Estades was sent to conclude a new treaty of subsidy with the prince of Orange, in order to induce the Dutch to attack Antwerp, while the English were to besiege St. Omer's. But the success

of those attempts are foreign to this history. It will be sufficient to observe, that these dispositions induced the court of Spain to fit out a strong squadron at Corunna, consisting of fifty ships, under the command of Don Antonio Doguendo, a celebrated sea officer. Twelve thousand foot were embarked on board this squadron, which was designed to join another fleet of Spanish ships at Dunkirk. Richelieu gave immediate notice of the sailing of this fleet to the prince of Orange, who soon after discovered that the Spanish admiral was ordered not to fight, if he could possibly avoid it; but put himself under the protection of the English, and land his men upon the coast of Flanders. This armament, and the fear of its being joined by the English fleet, greatly alarmed both the French and Dutch; and extraordinary efforts were made to put their fleets to sea, in order, if possible, to render any attempt of the Spaniards abortive. A small squadron of Dutch, then at sea, fell in with, and attacked the Spanish fleet, but with considerable loss to themselves. Soon after, the Spanish admiral came to anchor near Dover, where he thought himself safe under the protection of the English. But the ambitious Richelieu had no regard to the rights of neutrality, when they opposed his views. He ordered d'Estades to lay before the prince of Orange, "the glory that would attend his defeating the measures of two great monarchs, and of crowning all his noble exploits in war by a victory over the fleet of Spain under the protection of the English, and, perhaps, actually assisted by their ships." He added, "that such an action would infallibly lay Flanders open to the united forces of France and Holland."

The prince of Orange, fond as he was of glory, especially when acquired against Spain, was startled at the thoughts of committing so gross an insult on the English flag; and asked d'Estades, with some emotion, "Whether Richelieu was in earnest?" D'Estades assuring him he was, the prince sent orders to Van Tromp the Dutch admiral, to harass the enemy, but by no means to venture a general engagement, till he was joined by admiral Evenfon. As soon as this junction was performed, Tromp was ordered to send a message to the English admiral, acquainting him, that having received orders from his masters to attack their enemies wherever he found them, he requested that the English ships might leave the Spanish squadron, because he was commanded not to attack them, unless they assisted the enemy, and in that case his orders were to attack both without distinction. Charles was in the utmost perplexity how to behave on this alarming occasion. The haughty republicans were now at the height of their power: their fleet, when united, consisted of one hundred and fifty sail of ships of war, commanded by the best sea officers in the world; they were highly exasperated against Charles for refusing them the liberty of fishing on the British coasts, and wished for an opportunity of revenging the affront, by destroying his fleet. At the same time, the public were persuaded that the Spanish fleet was either intended to conquer England, or assist the king in subduing his rebellious subjects. Charles, therefore, knew that he could not trust to the fidelity of his seamen, even if the Dutch should violate their neutrality. At the same time, he knew that the Spanish fleet, which consisted of fifty seven large ships, was in want both of cannon and ammunition, while the Dutch were liberally supplied with both from Calais, and other sea port towns in France. It was some time before the whole Dutch fleet appeared, and made the proper dispositions for attacking the enemy. During this interval, the Spanish minister presented repeated memorials to Charles, for his protecting the Spanish fleet, which was now riding at anchor under

under the guns of the English castles near the South Foreland, while the Dutch remonstrated strongly against any English ship being employed in the Spanish service. Charles knew not how to behave in this critical conjuncture, but at last determined to observe a strict neutrality; and immediately issued orders, that no English ships should take any Spaniards on board, or pass from London below Gravesend, without a licence. At the same time, he acquainted the Dutch ambassador, that he could not, without the highest dishonour, refuse the Spaniards that protection on his coasts they had a right to demand from the law of nations; and that he had sent orders to Sir John Pennington, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four sail of English men of war, to join that fleet which should be first attacked. This declaration lessened the ardour of the Dutch, and the Spanish admiral found means to send twelve large ships and four thousand men to Dunkirk. Charles was, however, fearful of the consequences; and sent the earl of Arundel to persuade the Spanish admiral to slip away the first fair wind, as he could not be answerable for the success of an engagement, if the Spaniards were attacked by the Dutch. Doguendo would gladly have followed this advice, but could not, on account of contrary winds: and the Dutch fleet being now completely reinforced, Van Tromp sent a letter to Pennington, demanding the benefit of his neutrality, under pretence of the Spaniards violating their privilege of protection, by firing on the Dutch admiral's barge, and killing one of his men. Tromp accordingly attacked the Spanish fleet with the utmost fury, forced them to cut their cables, and drove twenty-three ships ashore, of which three were burnt, and two sunk. The *Theresa*, mounted with an hundred brass guns was burnt, sixteen were taken, and sent to Flushing, with four thousand five hundred prisoners, and fourteen ships were lost near Boulogne; the Dunkirk squadron, under Doguendo, only escaping. The victory was complete on the side of the Dutch, though it was not obtained without some loss; ten of their ships perishing in the action.

Charles did not fail to represent this conduct of the Dutch as an insult upon the British flag; and made use of it as a argument for enforcing the payment of ship-money, in order to be able to keep a sufficient fleet at sea, to curb the insolence of those republicans. New writs were accordingly issued, and sent to all the counties of England and Wales for collecting the tax.

Notwithstanding this, and other acts of despotic power, were daily exercised, the people discovered no remarkable uneasiness at the neglect of parliaments, and the unconstitutional measures of the government. Peace and plenty reigned in the kingdom, and the wars that raged in other nations of Europe made England the repository of riches from every part of the world. This greatly tended to render the people almost passive in their present situation. They knew, indeed, their rights; they murmured at them being violated; they publicly proclaimed their grievances; they protested against illegal executions; but this was nothing more than forming a rope of sand; a parliament was wanting to give their complaints strength and consistency.

The patriots were highly pleased with Charles's conduct with respect to Scotland; and the dispositions of the Scots were equally favourable for bringing matters to the crisis they desired. The nobility and persons of consequence in that kingdom, were persuaded they had sufficiently guarded against all resurrections of church revenues by exacting a promise from Charles to call a free parliament and an assembly of the clergy. They would willingly have waited the result of both, and that great point, the only one

they dreaded, being gained, they would equally have concurred and acquiesced in every dutiful measure towards the crown. But they found the people untractable: they refused to stop till episcopacy was totally abrogated, and the principles of civil liberty founded on a more solid basis than at present. This scheme might have answered the just expectation of men of property, and, at the same time, if not have fully satisfied the wishes, have calmed the spirit of the people; but the whole was defeated through a want of moderation on the part of government. The marquis of Hamilton laid before Charles the destructive consequences that must attend his not acting with sincerity, by leaving the approaching parliament and assembly in Scotland at free liberty to gratify the people, with regard to every thing that had been understood to have been granted by the late pacification. By this he meant the total abolition of the episcopal order, both in church and state; but he perceived by the manner in which the king received his representation, that this would not be granted. He therefore resigned the office of high commissioner in Scotland, and the earl of Traquair was appointed in his stead.

Charles, who had been for some time at Berwick, sent an order to Edinburgh, commanding fourteen of the chief covenanting lords to attend him, in order to consult the proper measures for settling the affairs of Scotland. The people were alarmed at this message, and openly declared, that it had been proposed by their own leaders in order to elude the force of the covenant. This so greatly intimidated the noblemen, that three only of the fourteen lords could be prevailed on to obey his majesty's orders. Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, were the persons who despised the fury of the populace when it tended to prevent their obedience to the king. The business of Charles was serious and important: he was desirous of learning the whole design of the covenanters, and what they intended to demand in the approaching parliament and assembly. Montrose was one of those noblemen who thought the king had done enough to satisfy all his Scottish subjects, who had no other or fanatical views. His two companions, particularly the earl of Loudon, were of the same opinion; they wished to have security for the performance, and that they thought could only be effected by some additional bulwarks to the liberties of their country, established in a full and free parliament.

These noblemen laid before Charles the measures they expected would be redressed in the next parliament; the first of which was, that the garrisons of their garrisons being given to James and Charles had, indeed, broken down the partition wall between the two kingdoms, and the Scots had poured by multitudes into England, and they enjoyed a great number of offices, civil and military. But the wisest men in both kingdoms condemned the partiality in favour of the country of their prince; and even the gentlemen of the Scots themselves were dissatisfied with the arrangement many of their great men met with in Scotland, which induced them to spend both their money and estates in that country. The English, and powerful people, had far less to apprehend from the Scots than the Scots from them. The cities of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were already secured by the English; and it was always easy for the navy to destroy the commerce of Scotland. The Scots therefore thought it reasonable that their should be entrusted with the government of their own affairs, unless by the advice of the English. The heritable jurisdictions of Scotland, even by the natives themselves, to be divided, could they created too great a dependence on

inferior people on particular families. They demanded, therefore, that no commission of justice or lieutenant might be granted, but for a limited time. Lastly, they excepted against the precedency of the lord-treasurer and the lord privy-seal, as not being warranted by any positive law. This exception was, probably, intended to prevent arbitrary promotions, which might eclipse the lustre of their ancient nobility, and create too powerful an influence of the crown in parliament.

These were the demands intended by the Scots to be made in the ensuing parliament; and, possibly, if Charles had acted with sincerity, they had stopped there; but he could not be prevailed upon to consent to the abolition of episcopacy. The covenanters saw this, and were convinced that all concessions made by the king must be forced, and that he would retract them the first favourable opportunity. Their chiefs, therefore, thought they had no safety but in uniting more closely than ever, and openly opposing the power of the crown itself. Though their army had separated on the conclusion of the late treaty, they continued still in large bodies; the fortifications of Leith were continued; they issued commissions for purchasing large quantities of arms and ammunition abroad, and Lesley still kept up the character and title of general.

No sooner did Traquair receive his commission, than he repaired to Edinburgh, where both a parliament and an assembly were held. They immediately passed a bill for abolishing episcopacy, and another for removing the grievances already mentioned. The king was greatly exasperated at these precipitate proceedings, and Traquair received orders to prorogue both the parliament and assembly; but his authority was disregarded; they continued their session, and sent the bill they had passed to Charles for the royal assent, pretending that no prorogation could take place without the consent of the estates of the kingdom in parliament assembled.

The assembly were no less violent in their proceedings in the parliament. They voted episcopacy to be a scandal in the church of Scotland: the king was voted to allow it contrary to the institution of that church. They stigmatized the bishops and canons as papists: he agreed simply to their being abolished. They denominated the high commission tyranny: he was voted to let it aside. In short, both the parliament and assembly were determined to oppose the wishes of Charles; on which account, recourse was had to arms, and it was now supposed the sword must determine the dispute.

A.D. 1640. As Charles had disbanded his army on the signing of the late pacification, a very considerable sum of money was necessary for raising another. The council were greatly perplexed to discover necessary ways and means for that purpose. The only constitutional method (by summoning a parliament) was thought a dangerous experiment, as the officers of the crown were to pressing, that they determined to summon that assembly. It was, however, thought, that there was a necessity for striking a bold, speedy, and effectual blow, to intimidate the nobles, and that the parliamentary supplies would be too slow and uncertain to answer the purpose.

The earl of Strafford, therefore, proposed a petition, and generously opened it with twenty thousand pounds. The young duke of Richmond followed his example, and subscribed the same sum. These examples influenced many of the nobility, and so that a large sum was soon subscribed, in consequence of which the king to oppose his rebellious subjects.

A parliament met on the thirteenth of April, 1640. The lord keeper Finch informed them, that the

king had been able to assemble and support his army, not by any revenue he possessed but by means of a large debt, amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, which he had contracted, and for which he had given security up in the crown lands. He represented, that it was necessary to grant supplies for the urgent demands of his military armaments; that the season was far advanced, the time precious, and that none of it must be lost in deliberations; that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhausted by unnecessary pomp, sumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence; that whatever supplies had been levied from his subjects had been employed for their advantage and preservation; and, like vapors arising out of the earth and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in sweet and refreshing showers on the same fields from which they had, at first, been exhaled; that though the king desired such immediate assistance, as might, for the time, prevent a total disorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them of their right to enquire into the state of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the relief of their grievances; that as much as was possible of this season should be allowed them for that purpose; that as he expected only such supplies at present as the current service absolutely required, it would be necessary to assemble them again next winter, when they should have full leisure to conclude whatever business had been left imperfect and unfinished; that the parliament of Ireland had twice put such trust in his good intentions, as to grant him, in the beginning of the session, a very large supply, and had always experienced good effects from the confidence reposed in him; and that in every circumstance his people should find his conduct suitable to a just, pious, and gracious king, and such as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between prince and parliament.

But these topics, however plausible, produced not the desired effect. The leaders of the discontented party began to foresee the consequences of the Scottish insurrection, and to hope that the time so long wished for was at hand, when royal authority must become wholly subordinate to popular assemblies; and when public liberty must acquire the full ascendancy. A reasonable compliance with the measures of the court was now considered as slavish dependence; a regard for the king, servile flattery; a confidence in his promises, shameful prostitution. It was hoped, that by reducing the crown to necessities, the king would be pushed into violent measures, which could not fail of serving their purposes; and that by multiplying these necessities, his prerogative, undermined on all sides, must at last be overthrown and rendered no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people.

Full of these sentiments, every measure that had a tendency to preserve the government in its present form was zealously opposed by the popular leaders. Instead, therefore, of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for a supply, the house entered immediately upon grievances, and a speech made by Pym upon that subject was much more attended to than the language delivered by the lord keeper in the name of their sovereign.

In consequence of Pym's speech the house divided the public grievances into three classes, namely the infringement of parliamentary liberties, innovations in religion, and grievances against property and the common liberties of the kingdom. Each of these branches was referred to a proper committee; and it was determined to apply themselves to remove the grievances of the nation, before they granted any supplies to his majesty.

Charles was highly displeased at this perverse behaviour of the commons; but he was more particularly exasperated on hearing they intended to abolish ship-money, and all the other branches of the revenue. Determined, however, to prevent any attempt of that kind, he went the next morning to the house of lords, and, having sent for the commons, dissolved the parliament.

During these transactions in England, the Scottish covenanters were not idle; they proceeded in their preparations with a spirit far above their strength. The noblemen and gentry of that party stripped themselves of every luxury, and the ladies of their jewels and ornaments, in order to support the necessary expences of what they termed a holy war. Some of the fortifications of Edinburgh having fallen down, the covenanters not only refused to suffer them to be rebuilt, but openly opposed an order sent by the king, for throwing in stores, provisions, and soldiers, to reinforce that fortress. Men, women, and children, worked with amazing alacrity on the fortifications of Leith; and the covenanters having demanded that the castle of Edinburgh should be delivered into their hands, declared Ruthven, the governor, a traitor, for refusing to deliver up the fortress.

As Charles had not received any assistance from his parliament, he was now reduced to the necessity of calling upon his friends for their subscriptions; and such was their ardour, joined with that of the public, that in a few weeks no less than three hundred thousand pounds were brought into the exchequer. This sum, with the assistance he expected from Ireland, both of men and money, enabled him to purchase arms, erect magazines, and levy forces in every part of England. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and Conway general of the horse. According to the original plan of this campaign, an army of twenty thousand horse was designed to act on the borders of Scotland near Berwick; ten thousand foot and five hundred horse were to be landed from Ireland, and to take possession of the town of Aire, in Scotland; ten thousand foot and five hundred horse were to be sent into the north of that kingdom; and a fleet of ships, having a considerable number of soldiers on board, were to sail into the Firth of Forth.

In the mean time the Scottish covenanters were very assiduous in modelling their church, their state, and their army, according to their own pleasure, without the least regard to the royal authority. They had blocked up the castle of Edinburgh, imprisoned several noblemen who were friends to the king; and a resolution was taken, in a meeting at Edinburgh to march their army into England, under the command of Lesley their former general. Their parliament met on the seventh of June, pursuant to their former prorogation, and though an order was sent down from the king to prorogue it for a longer time, the king's message was disregarded, under pretence of its being defective in form. They endeavoured to evade this proceeding in a letter to the secretary of state, but added the severest menaces, if the king did not order Ruthven to deliver up the castle of Edinburgh, and withdraw his ships from their coast, where they did infinite prejudice to their commerce. They considered the dissolution of the late parliament in England, as a proof of their strength in that kingdom, and looked upon the queen, Laud, and Strafford, as the only enemies in the nation. This opinion, however unjust, gave them infinite spirits, and it is astonishing with what alacrity the gentry, the citizens, and even the lower ranks of people, threw their plate and money upon the table of the cove-

nant, taking only the bonds of the chiefs for their security.

Notwithstanding the great assistance Charles had received from his friends, yet it was manifestly evident that the sums already brought into the exchequer were very insufficient to answer the expences of an offensive war against Scotland. Recourse was, therefore, had to a cabinet-council; the fatal result of which was, to employ the whole force of the prerogative in raising money. All the various oppressive methods already enumerated were accordingly employed in the most execrable manner. The feudal grievances were revived, knight-money was exacted, the tenants who held of the king in capite were unreasonably taxed for men, horses, and arms. Privy-seals were every where circulated for a loan; ship-money was rigorously exacted; cart and conduct-money for the soldiers was levied, under the empty promise, indeed, of re-payment. It was with great difficulty that Charles was dissuaded by the merchants from seizing all the bullion in the Tower, and to content himself with forty thousand pounds. Commissions were renewed for compounding with recusants: patents and pardons of all kinds, were sold for money, and great quantities of India goods were purchased upon credit by the king's officers, and sold at a vast discount for ready money. But what was of still worse consequence to the royal cause, an order was issued, commanding the city of London to furnish four thousand men with cart and conduct-money for the expedition against Scotland. The lord mayor and aldermen were also summoned by the council to give in the names of such citizens as were best able to lend the king two hundred thousand pounds; and, upon refusal, Sir Nicholas Rainton, and the aldermen Soams, Atkins, and Geere, were sent to the Tower.

It is little to be wondered at that these violent measures should produce an universal disgust. The very soldiers caught the infection, and repined unwillingly to the several places of rendezvous in the north, that in some of the towns they marched to murdered their commanders, and in others were guilty of the greatest disorders. Notwithstanding this, an army of twenty thousand men was raised, and continued their march to the northward. In the meantime the earl of Northumberland was taken dangerously ill; and Strafford being luckily recovered from a very alarming distemper, was unable to join the army; so that the active part of the command devolved on lord Conway, who was by no means equal to the task.

Though the Scots army was much more numerous than the king's, yet it was looser, ready to desert, and they were now advancing with great alacrity on the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, besides their general knowledge of the situation of the kingdom, lord Saville had for, and in the name of six noblemen, the most considerable in England, in which the Scots were near their then neighbours in procuring a redress of their grievances. But notwithstanding these wretched pretences, the covenanters still made use of the most proud and submissive language; and entered England, they pretended, with no other view than that of obtaining access to the king's presence, and having done him an humble petition for the redress of their grievances.

When the Scots army reached Newbottle on the Tyne, they were opposed by a detachment of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of lord Conway, who seemed determined to obstruct them the passage of the river. The Scots halted, and treated them with great civility, not to stop their march to their gracious sovereign; but being

they attacked them with such fury, that they gained the passage, and drove the English from their intrenchments. A panic now seized the whole army, and the forces left to defend Newcastle fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Durham; but not yet thinking themselves safe, they left that city, and retreated into Yorkshire.

The Scots, after their success at Newborne, marched immediately to Newcastle; and though sufficiently elated with their victory, they preserved an exact discipline; well knowing, that if they acted otherwise, the people would become their enemies. join the king's army, and drive them back into their own country. They also dispatched messengers to the king, who was now arrived at York; and were particularly careful, after the advantage they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person; and even made apologies for their late conquest over the English.

Charles was highly exasperated at the proceedings of his Scottish subjects, but he was in no condition to chastise their insolence. Surrounded by counsellors whom he dared not trust; his exchequer empty, his spirits low, and his cause disliked by the people, to what side could he turn for advice? When he mentioned war, and the chastisement of the rebels, he met with coldness in every look of his peers, more expressive of disapprobation than the most violent debate. Such sullenness forced him to ask counsel of his faithful Strafford, who frankly confessed he was for fighting the rebels. This advice was, doubtless, the best that Charles could have pursued at that critical juncture. Notwithstanding the coldness of his peers, and the dislike many of them entertained against Strafford, the English would have gladly revenged upon the Scots the insult of invading their country. The refinements of the great had not reached their interiors, and every man who could see or feel was tormented with the indignity suffered by the English. The emptiness of the exchequer was no argument against fighting, because the two armies might have met in a few days, and the contest have been soon decided. Should the attempt have been unsuccessful, Charles even after the loss of a battle, could not have been more distressed, or reduced to a more deplorable situation; on the contrary, it would, in all probability, have so exasperated the English, that they would have forgot, at least for a time, their hatred of the court, and exerted all their efforts to take a dreadful revenge on their insulting enemy. The marquis of Hamilton retained still his pacific sentiments; he trembled for the danger of his native country should the king be victorious; and for his personal situation, should the Scots succeed. He was therefore very earnest for concluding a treaty; and was so well seconded by the rest of the council, that Charles determined to embrace pacific measures. While these things were transacting in the English camp, the Scots actually gave themselves over for the heads of the army held several consultations on the most eligible measures to be pursued in the ensuing crisis. It was even proposed to throw themselves entirely upon the king's mercy, and to give up the names of the English, who had not only engaged but invited them to invade their country. They were, however, diverted from this resolution, by advice received from their friends in the English camp, but it was not without difficulty they were persuaded to continue in their present situation. They began to conciliate the friendship of the English by some slight acts of kindness. They sent a very affectionate letter from Newcastle to the commons and aldermen of London, inviting them to conclude the Newcastle trade, and assuring them of all possible assistance. This was a very prudent and

successful measure, and induced the citizens to send a petition to his majesty for calling a parliament; and soon after, twelve noblemen presented a petition to the same purpose. As these petitions seemed to express the sense of the whole nation, Charles issued writs for the meeting of the parliament on the third of November.

In the mean time Charles summoned a great council of the peers at York. They met on the 24th of September, when the king opened the assembly with a speech, in which he demanded their advice with regard to two particulars of the utmost importance. What answer was proper to be given to the rebels, and in what manner they were to be treated? And what methods must be used for raising money till a parliamentary supply could be obtained? After various debates, it was resolved to name commissioners for treating with the Scots; and fourteen noblemen, all of them professed friends to moderate measures, were named as commissioners. It was first proposed, as most consistent with the king's dignity, that the conferences should be held at York; but the Scots, not so much from any real apprehension they entertained of danger, as to increase the popular odium against Strafford, refused to meet in a place where he had any power, and Rippon was accordingly appointed for that purpose. With regard to the king's second question, it was proposed to borrow two hundred thousand pounds of the city of London; but this loan could not be obtained till the peers assembled at York joined in the request.

When the conferences were opened at Rippon, the Scots commissioners, after proposing some insolent preliminaries, demanded 40,000*l.* per month for the subsistence of their army during the treaty. Charles would very gladly have consented to the disbanding of both armies, but could not prevail, and soon perceived that nothing advantageous to him could result from the conference at Rippon. He therefore made another attempt to remove the meeting to York, where the great council of peers were still sitting; but was again disappointed through the obstinacy of the Scots. Some of the English noblemen, exasperated at their insolent behaviour, advised Charles to break up the conference, and fortify himself in York, where he might be able to let his enemies at defiance, and, in all probability, render their expedition abortive. This was, indeed, the only expedient Charles could have taken to support his own authority; but the majority of the council were of a different opinion, and it was therefore rejected.

Though the conferences still continued at Rippon, yet they were carried on in so languid a manner, that the commissioners seemed to meet rather to consult measures than to settle differences. The Scots, who were very assiduous in catching the English, solemnly protested, that they intended nothing more than to concert with the parliament in limiting the prerogative, in encumbering the high claims of the clergy, in chastising the insolence of the papists, and in settling the constitution of the two kingdoms upon free and equitable principles. Nothing but the facility of the English commissioners could have given the Scots such considerable advantages on this occasion, though it must be admitted they behaved with great address. They had treated Wainman and other English officers taken prisoners at Newborne with the utmost politeness; and after giving them the highest ideas of their courage, resolution, discipline, and good intentions, sent them back to the English camp. This behaviour was of the utmost consequence to their affairs, which were far from being in so promising a condition as the public imagined. The count of Montrose had kept up a secret correspondence

with the king; and one of his letters, either through accident or treachery, fell into the hands of Lesley, the Scottish general. This affair was at once both alarming and delicate. The Scots were particularly desirous of carrying on their designs with an air of candour, in conjunction with their English friends; but the reputation of Montrose, the most able officer they had, together with the sense of his services, which were far superior to those of any other nobleman, rendered him dear to the whole army. His correspondence with the king, after the many professions of loyalty the Scots had made for his majesty's person, could not, with any appearance of justice, be deemed treasonable; but, at the same time, the heads of the covenanters were convinced that he had abandoned their cause. Montrose soon perceived that his correspondence was discovered, by his being no longer admitted to the private consultations and councils of war held by the other general officers; but he took no pains either to conceal or excuse the fact: he openly avowed and justified it. Lesley was for bringing him to a court-martial, and putting him to death; but the other noblemen were more cautious: they knew that the soldiers loved Montrose, and the loss of their leader might make such a division in their army as might prove their ruin.

Charles was reduced to so unfortunate a situation, that he could take no advantage even of this favourable incident. His own commissioners pressed him to remove the conferences from Rippon to London, and he was obliged to comply, though he was very sensible of the great advantages the Scots would receive from it. A cessation of arms was also agreed to, by which the Scots were assured of maintenance for their army, and the river Tees was made the boundary between both parties.

The above cessation was signed on the 26th of October, and the next day Charles repaired to London, in order to attend the new parliament, which, according to appointment, assembled on the 3d of November. The king opened the session with a speech from the throne; but this was little regarded by the commons, who were determined to listen only to measures for redressing national grievances, and restraining the royal prerogative. They forgot the respect and submission due to the sovereign, and determined to establish a new system of government, under the specious pretence of restoring the ancient constitution. Interest, ambition, cabals, and, above all, fanaticism, united then formidable influence with that patriotic zeal, which, while it was contending for liberty, threw the whole nation into a flame.

The earl of Strafford was too much devoted to the interests of his master, too vigilant, and too firm in his administration, not to be universally hated by the popular leaders. Pym began the attack against him in a long studied speech, divided into many heads, wherein he enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and inferred from a complication of such oppressions, that a deliberate plan had been laid for changing entirely the form of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "Could any thing (said he) increase our indignation against so enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the best of princes, the constitution has been endangered by the worst of ministers, and that the virtues of the king have been seduced by wicked and pernicious counsels. We must enquire (continued he) from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow: and though, doubtless, many evil counsellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprise,

and capacity, is entitled to the first place among the betrayers of his country; I mean the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York, who, in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been intrusted with authority, has raised ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a survey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary council." He proceeded to enumerate some particulars of oppressive actions and expressions; and then entered on a more personal attack of that minister, and endeavoured to expose his whole character and manner. At last the orator concluded, that it belonged to the house to provide a remedy proportioned to the case, and to prevent further mischiefs, which might otherwise be justly apprehended from the influence he had acquired over the measures and counsels of their sovereign.

Pym was not the only one who spoke with the greatest vehemence against Strafford; several others harangued to the same purpose; and it was at length moved, that the minister should be impeached of high treason. This motion was received with universal applause; nor was there a single person who spoke in his favour. Lord Falkland alone, well known to be his enemy, modestly desired them to consider, whether it would not be more conformable to the gravity of their proceedings, to commit, by a committee, many of those particulars that had been mentioned, before they ventured to send an accusation against him to the lords. But as he was over-ruled, the accusation was voted, and chosen to carry up the impeachment, and was carried by the greater part of the commons. Strafford was in the house of peers when Pym brought up his impeachment. The lords seemed almost as prejudiced against him as the commons, but the favour he could obtain was to be heard in his defence. He urged how unreasonable it was, upon a general charge, unsupported by evidence, to deprive of liberty, which was in itself a punishment, a man whose crime had been proved against him; and how dangerous a precedent to the peerage itself it would establish, by admitting such precipitate measures. But these considerations, however just, had little weight with the house: the earl was committed to the custody of the black rod, till a more particular charge should be exhibited against him.

The commons having been thus satisfied with a man who was considered as their enemy, they proceeded to consider more particularly the grievances of the nation, which they reduced to the following heads: Privilege of parliament; liberty of religion; and liberty of the subject.

Under the first head were reckoned, 1. Restraining the members of parliament from speaking. 2. Forbidding the speaker to put a question. 3. Imprisoning divers members for matters done in parliament. 4. Proceeding against them in matters touching the same. 5. Enjoining them good behaviour, and committing them in prison till death. 6. Abusing the members of parliament.

Under the second head were mentioned, 1. Suspension of the laws against persons professing popish religion. 2. Then placed of nobles in the common wealth. 3. Then the members of parliament, and the court, to communicate with the king and his council, and to execute the order of the king.

Under innovations in religion were reckoned, 1. Maintenance of popish tenets in books, sermons, and disputes. 2. Practices of popish ceremonies, countenanced and enjoined, as altars, crucifixes, images, &c. 3. Discouragements of protestant

prosecutions of the scrupulous, for things indifferent; no vice being considered so great as non-conformity.

4. Encroachment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Under the third head were classed the grievances.

1. By tonnage and poundage unduly taken. 2. Compulsion for knighthood. 3. The unparalleled grievance of ship-money. 4. Enlargement of the forests beyond due bounds. 5. Selling of nuisances, by compounding for them. 6. The commission for building. 7. The commission for depopulation. 8. Unlawful military charges, by warrant of the king, letters of the council, and orders of the lieutenants of the counties, and their deputies. 9. Extra-judicial declarations of judges, without hearing counsel or argument. 10. Monopolists countenanced by the council-table, and justices of the peace required to assist them. 11. The star-chamber court. 12. The king's edicts and proclamations lately used for maintaining monopolies. 13. The ambitious and corrupt clergy preaching divine authority, and absolute power in kings to act as they please. 14. The interference of parliaments.

From these heads it appeared sufficiently evident, that a total alteration in government was intended, and this intention was supported by speeches enforced by all the learning and eloquence of that age. Almost every county in England had its peculiar grievances, which were presented to the house by members, many of whom were afterwards the firmest friends to the king, and suffered deeply in his cause. Those who were the warmest asserters of the king's legal prerogative, inveighed with the greatest vehemence against its abuse. Among others, Mr. Capel, who afterwards fell a victim to his loyalty, expatiated in the warmest manner on the grievances of the county of Bedford, which he represented in parliament. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon, and Falkland, were also in this number: but in their ultimate views and intentions, they differed widely from the majority, though they were equally desirous of removing the grievances of the nation, and of placing proper bounds to the royal prerogative.

The proceedings of the commons were highly countenanced by the lords. Among others, lord Digby inveighed with great warmth against the operations of the court. But other matters, for some time, engaged the attention of parliament. Sir Thomas Rowe having made a report concerning the treaty with the Scots, it appeared, that a contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day had, for a very considerable time, been levied on the inhabitants of the north, and they had petitioned his majesty for redress in the most affecting terms. From these complaints, it was suspected, that they were unable to bear this heavy contribution; and it was known that the Scots had declared, they should consider the cessation of payment as an infraction of the treaty; that they should be then at liberty to pass the river Tyne, and advance farther into the heart of Eng-

land. From this short state of the case, the lord-keeper, in conference between the two houses, endeavoured to prove, that as the lords commissioners were the party that advised the cessation of arms, the miseries of the country, in consequence of that measure, could be attributed to the king. This being premised, he admitted the necessity of providing for the Scottish army, but at the same time, enlarged on the absurdity of suffering that of the king to starve, or be disbanded; because Yorkshire, and several of the best counties in England, would, by that means, be exposed to the ravages of an inveterate and desperate enemy. The commons, however, were of very different opinion, they had already shown some of their expression in his majesty's speech at the

opening of the session, in which he had termed them traitors, and had called one of their own members to the bar of the house for making use of the same expression. They were even so far from censuring the lords commissioners at Rippon, that it was resolved upon the question, "That this house doth approve of the persons of those lords that were commissioners in the late treaty of Rippon, to be commissioners now to treat with the Scotch commissioners; with this declaration, that no conclusion of their's shall bind the commons without their consent in parliament." The house could not, however, with any appearance of decency, refuse to provide for the royal, as well as for the rebel army. But it was sufficiently apparent, that the former was not an object of their favour. They appointed a committee to consider the state of the king's army, and what commanders, or other inferior officers, were papists; to consider of the state of the northern counties; and how the money, after being raised, might, with convenience and dispatch, be sent into the north.

In the mean time the Scottish commissioners were arrived in London, where they were received as the guardian angels of the rights and liberties of the people. They were attended by Henderfon, and other fanatical preachers; and the church of St. Antholin was appointed for the place of their devotions. It was amazing to see the propensity of the public for this new religion: multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. Those who were so happy as to find access early in the morning, kept their places the whole day; and others, who were excluded, clung to the doors and windows, in hopes of catching at least some broken murmurs of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests of the nation, was attended to with much less avidity than these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and ignorance.

The commons were now very assiduous in providing for the subsistence of the two armies; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the city on the security of some particular members. Two subsidies, a very small sum, not more than an hundred thousand pounds, were at first voted, the intention of this supply being only to indemnify the members, who by their private had supported public credit.

From the conduct of the Scotch commissioners it soon appeared that they came rather to consult measures with their friends, than to finish the treaty. It was sufficiently evident, that the Scots had proceeded much farther than they originally intended, which was nothing more than that of forming and securing the constitution of their country; but this was rather owing to the arts of the mal contents in England than their own. The great aim of the popular leaders was to protract the treaty, though that could not be effected but at the enormous expence of maintaining at least forty thousand men in a country already exhausted. The commons, indeed, made no secret of retaining these invaders of their country till all their enemies were suppressed, and all their purposes effected. "We cannot spare the Scots (said Strode plainly in the house) the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us."

The commons appointed a committee to consider of the state of the nation, and the members were to be directed in their proceedings by the petitions against grievances, sent up by different counties. Religion was one of the principal ingredients in the composition of the remonstrance intended to be drawn up by this committee, and it was resolved to accu-

Windebank of high-treason, for the many services and favours, which he, as secretary of state, had conferred on priests and papists. Windebank saw their intention; but affected such a firmness of resolution, that the commons imagined he would make a stand against all the power of their indignation; but being interrupted by a message from the lords, when they were on the point of declaring him a traitor to his country, he took the opportunity of leaving the house, and made his escape to the continent.

Several violent representations were made against the usurpations of the clergy; and it was resolved to purge the army of papists, to present the names of recusants, to examine the high commission courts of Canterbury and York, and to enquire into the proceedings of the late convocation, or, as the clergy themselves had termed it, the holy and sacred synod. These resolutions were hardly finished when alderman Pennington presented to the house, a petition subscribed by above fifteen hundred persons in the city of London, against the hierarchy and government of the church of England, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and arch-deacons, praying the house, "that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, might be abolished; and all laws in their behalf made null and void." A schedule was annexed to this petition, consisting of twenty-eight articles, in which were contained all the common-place objections to the episcopal hierarchy, whether founded on the pretended unlawfulness of the order itself, or the abuses and vices of those who composed it.

Four days after the above petition was presented, the house came to the following resolutions:

1. That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation, or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatsoever, in matter of doctrine, discipline or otherwise, to bind the clergy, or laity of this land, without the common consent of parliament.

2. That the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, passed with the consent and approbation of his majesty, in the last synod, do not bind either the clergy or laity of this kingdom.

3. That these canons and constitutions ecclesiastical established with the king's consent in the last synod, contain in them many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliaments, and to the property and liberty of the subject, and also matters tending to sedition and dangerous consequence.

4. That the several grants of the benevolence, or contribution, granted to his majesty by the the last synod, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy."

These resolutions were followed by several severe speeches against Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, particularly one by Mr. Grimstone. He accused the primate of having introduced the earl of Strafford to his majesty, and procuring the post of secretary for Windebank, whom he termed "the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon." He upbraided him for having advanced Montague, Manwaring, and other prelates, suspected of popery; and lastly, he accused him of being the main spring and promoter of all the detestable projects and monopolies that had proved so oppressive to the subject. Several others spoke nearly to the same purpose, and it was at last voted, that Mr. Hollis should go up to the lords with a message, "To accuse William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury of high-treason, in the name of the commons of England, and to desire he might be immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed; and that the house, in a convenient

time would offer particular accusations against him.

The request of the commons was immediately complied with, and the primate was ordered to withdraw; but he requested to be heard a word in his defence. This being complied with, he began with protesting his innocency, and added, that he was persuaded there was not a member in the house of commons who believed, in his heart, that he was a traitor. He was called to order for that expression by the earl of Essex, who observed, that the primate had severely reflected on the house of commons, by affirming he had brought him in guilty of a charge, which they themselves did not believe. Laud was desirous of retracting this indiscretion, which had escaped without mature deliberation; but the peers were little favourable to his cause, that they refused to grant him even this small indulgence. He was immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed to the Tower.

The next grievance the commons took into consideration was that of ship-money, when several immoderate speeches were made on the occasion, and was resolved, "that the charge imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, for the providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising money for that purpose, commonly called ship-money, are against the laws of the realm, the natural right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right." This resolution was followed by others, which condemned the extra-judicial determination of the judges upon ship-money, published in the star-chamber, and writs issued for paying that obnoxious and arbitrary tax.

From the minute inspection of the commons into national grievances, it was apprehended by some of the members that the king might be prevailed on to dissolve the parliament, crush their proceedings, and attempt to reduce England into a despotic government. To prevent this, no measure was thought proper as some positive, constitutional act might render the calling of parliaments less frequent, and more frequent. Many specious arguments besides those drawn from the circumstances of this important crisis, were urged with great force and consequence. Parliaments, in former times, were met once a year, and it could not be any reasonable concession in the crown to bring the matter so far back to its full principles, as to pass annual triennial parliaments. This bill was strongly opposed by lord Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, who appealed for the truth of what he urged to the contents of the petition of right, which had been passed through the discontinuance of parliaments. "Let his majesty (said he) hear our complaints even so passionately; let him purge away our grievances so efficaciously; let him punish and expel our enemies so exemplarily; let him make choice of his officers so exactly; if there be not a way to preserve and keep them good, the nation will grow again like Sampson's locks, and pile our house upon our heads.

"The people of England (continued he) will open their ears, their hearts, their mouths, and their purses to his majesty, but in parliament they will neither hear him, acknowledge nor give him aid. This bill, Mr. Speaker, is the sole way to open the way to their reciprocal endeavours, and must make and perpetuate the happiness of this nation and kingdom. Let no man object any thing from the king's prerogative by it; we only propose a bill, it must be made a law by our votes. The king's honour and his power will be as conspicuous as mandating at once, that a parliament shall be summoned every third year, as in commanding a parliament

assemble this or that year : there is more majesty in ordaining primary and universal causes, than in the actuating of subordinate effects.

"I do not doubt but that the glorious king Edward III. when he made those laws for the yearly calling of parliaments, did it with a right sense of his dignity and honour : the truth is, the kings of England are never in their glory, their splendor, their majestic sovereignty but in parliament. Where is the power of imposing taxes ? Where is the legislative authority ? In the king, Mr. Speaker, but how ? In the king, encircled and environed by his parliament. Out of the parliament the king has only a limited power, a circumscribed jurisdiction ; but, waited on by his parliament, no monarch of the east is so absolute in dispelling grievances. In chasing away bad ministers, we do nothing more than dissipate clouds that may gather again ; but in voting this bill, we shall contribute, as far as is in our power, to the perpetuating our sun, our sovereign, in his vertical, in noon-day lustre."

These were the sentiments of that great man, lord Digby, who thought the preservation of liberty far from being incompatible with that of loyalty ; that a king of England could be great only by ruling over a free people ; and that the people could be no longer free than the king was great. But he believed, and believed with reason, that Charles had imbibed false notions of royal greatness, and that he sought to make that personal which was only political. That a king of England can do no ill was an allowed maxim in the constitution ; but that his ministers may, and that they may be punished for it, was equally allowed. Charles, while he was able to keep the seat of power, supported the first of these maxims, but was willing to evade the latter. He endeavoured to screen his ministers, and by this preposterous conduct, at last, received in his own breast that popular resentment which was originally aimed at those whom he had so injudiciously protected, and which at last brought him to an unhappy exit.

The more the commons proceeded in their inquiry into grievances, the more they multiplied. The truth is there was a party in the house of commons, who looked assiduously to discover grievances, and fought rather to propagate than extinguish them. Every unthinking court divine, every busy officer, and every imprudent person who was honoured with a commission in the army or navy, who spoke with authority for ceremonies in religion, or despotism in politics, were called before the commons, and then faced on offences obliquely charged upon the court. Servants of the high commission court, the star chamber, and other officers, where illegal or other arbitrary measures had been pursued, were condemned to make satisfaction to the injured parties, and sometimes corporally punished. By these, and other measures, the anger of the house against the court was kept up perpetually, without allowing a calm hour for reflection, or making the allowance for natural infirmity, mistakes, or precipitations.

On a back violent proceeding, the king remained very passive. The few servants who continued faithful to him were seized with astonishment at the progress made by the commons in power and prestige, and were glad, by their inactive and unresisting behaviour, to compound for impunity. He called both houses of parliament to attend at Whitehall, where he complained strongly of the proceedings, and recommended to them the support of the two armies, the Scots and the Irish. He protested, in very earnest terms, his belief in the necessity of the reformation they had proposed, but at the same time wished them not to

make any alteration in the established government. "You have (said he) taken the whole machine of government to pieces ; a practice frequent with skillful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may again be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so that not a pin be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons ; they were persuaded that the machine was incumbered with many wheels and springs which retarded and crossed its operations, and prevented its utility. Happy would it have been for themselves, and happy for the kingdom had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented with their present plenitude of power, to remove such parts only as might justly be deemed superfluous and incongruous.

The petition presented by alderman Pennington against the government of the church had hitherto lain dormant ; the attempt was thought too dangerous, and the leaders of the opposition determined to proceed with caution. They accordingly introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen from exercising any civil office. One of the consequences of this bill would have been a deprivation of the bishops of their seats in the house of peers ; but it was soon discovered, that though this measure was very acceptable to the zealous commons, who observed, with regret, the firm attachment of that order to the crown, it was not generally approved ; for when the bill was presented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority. This was the first check the commons had met with in their popular career ; and sufficiently informed them of the opposition they must expect to meet with from the upper house, whose inclinations and interest could never be totally separated from their sovereign.

The commons now brought in a bill for granting his majesty the duties of tonnage and poundage for a limited time ; but they took the utmost care, in the preamble, to assert their own right of bestowing this gift, and to divest the crown of all independent title of assuming it. And that they might increase, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and subjection of the king, they voted these duties only for two months ; and afterwards renewed their grant, from time to time, by very short periods.

Charles readily passed the bill for tonnage and poundage, but it was not without manifest reluctance he gave the royal assent to that for triennial parliaments. By this bill it was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was bound under severe penalties, failed to issue writs by the third of September, every third year, any twelve or more of the peers should be empowered to exert this authority : in default of the peers, the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. should summon the voters ; and, in their default, the voters themselves should meet, and proceed to the election of members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown : nor could the parliament after it was assembled, be dissolved in less than fifty days. As this act, however necessary to prevent the abuse of parliament, retrenched some of the noblest and most valuable prerogatives of the crown, it is no wonder that the king was unwilling to pass it into a law ; especially as these assemblies had lately established it as a maxim, to carry their supremacy into every part of government. But finding nothing less would satisfy the house of commons, he came to the house of lords, and gave it the royal assent. Solemn thanks were returned to his majesty by both houses for this mark of condescension, and the greatest rejoicings were made in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1641. The earl of Spaldford was still in custody

custody, and Charles, ever since his imprisonment, had laboured incessantly to save his life. He attempted to mollify, by every indulgence, the rage of his most inveterate prosecutors, and was willing to make almost any sacrifice to obtain his wishes. But he laboured in vain: The reputation of that nobleman for experience and capacity was so well established, that the members of the opposition were persuaded, if he escaped their vengeance, he must regain his ascendancy in the administration; and consequently, that his death was the only security for the establishment of their present power, and for success in their future enterprises. They therefore pushed on his impeachment with the utmost vigour; and after long and solemn preparations, it was brought to a final issue.

Westminster-hall was formed into a spacious court of judicature for this important trial; the earl of Arundel presided as high steward, the peers sat in their robes as judges, the commons appeared as accusers, and therefore it was determined that the impeachment should be managed by commoners. Accordingly, George lord Digby, an Irish peer, John Hambden, John Pym, Oliver St. John, Sir Walter Earle, Geoffrey Palmer, John Maynard, and John Glynn, were appointed a committee for this important office, and Whitlock was chosen their chairman. The bishops, agreeable to the precepts of the canon law, which forbid their assisting at any trial for life, withdrew; being unwilling, by any opposition, to irritate the commons, who were already too much prejudiced against them. At the upper end of the hall was a chair and cloth of state for the king; and on each side a close gallery, in which the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial, sat in private.

The trial began on the twenty-second of March; and the articles of impeachment, which consisted of twenty-eight in number, were exhibited against him with all the virulence of the most inveterate malice, supported by the united efforts of the three kingdoms. But though the earl stood alone against this formidable combination, unassisted by counsel, and discountenanced by authority, yet such was the capacity, genius, and presence of mind, which this magnanimous statesman displayed on the occasion, that while argument, reason, and law, had any place, he obtained an undisputed victory. And he perished at last by the open violence of his unrelenting enemies.

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days, and Strafford, in his replies, was obliged to preserve a respect for his most implacable enemies, the Scottish nation and the Irish parliament. The managers divided the several articles among them, and attacked the prisoner with all the weight of authority, with all the vehemence of rhetoric, with all the accuracy of long preparation. Strafford, on the contrary, took only a very short time to recollect himself on each article, yet he alone, without the least assistance, mixing modesty and humility with firmness and vigour, foiled all their attempts, and baffled all their proceedings.

Nothing had hitherto appeared against him to justify the charge of treason. Indeed, the charge itself was founded on a kind of accumulative or constructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in a very trifling degree, might, when put together, subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law.

But notwithstanding the commons endeavoured to support their accusation on this new method of proceeding, they well knew that the famous statute of Edward III. had enumerated every kind of treason, and that every other crime, except such as are there

expressly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that denomination. They, therefore, under pretence of defending liberty, were endeavouring to reverse a statute the best calculated for the security of that valuable blessing.

The speech which Strafford made on this occasion does honour to human abilities; nor perhaps can history produce any performance equal to it, in the perspicuity of language and strength of reasoning, in stating, clearing or evading controverted evidence, and facts, in extenuating some charges, in contesting others, and in following a subtile adversary through all the mazes of a long and complicated impeachment. In all the argumentative part of this speech, the earl confined his language only to facts themselves; but when he came to reply to the arguments of the commons to make the bill an act of treason, he gave himself a much greater latitude, and displayed such an amazing strength both of memory and reasoning, as at once astonished and affected the audience.

“Where, said he, has this species of guilt and long buried, during so many centuries, that smoke should appear, till it burst out a fire to consume me and my children? Better were it to live under no law at all, and by maxims of common prudence, to conform ourselves, than to be can, to the arbitrary will of a master, than that we have a law on which we can rely, and that at last, that this law shall inflict a punishment as decent to the promulgation, and try us by a law unheard of, till the very moment of the promulgation. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor, in case there be no buoy to give warning, the party shall pay me damages, till the anchor be marked out, then is the ship lost, it at my own peril. Where is the mark for this crime? where is the token by which I can discover it? It has lain concealed under a law, and no human prudence, no human industry could save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened.

“It is now full two hundred and forty years, since treasons were defined; and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent upon this crime, before myself. We have seen our lords, happily to ourselves at home, venture their glorious abroad to the world, let us be content with what our fathers have left us; let us not endeavour carry us to be more learned than our fathers in these killing and destructive arts. Our defence will be in your lordships, and your wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of old laws, and constructive treasons, as the primitive doctors did their books of curious arts, and bet themselves to the plain letter of the statute, where you where the crime is, and point out the path by which you may avoid it.

“Let us not, to our own destruction, search for sleeping lions, by taking up a comprehensive record, which have lain for so many centuries wall, neglected and forgotten. To do more, let us add not this, my lords, the most pernicious any; that I, for my other sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a pernicious to the laws and liberties of my country.

“However, these gentlemen at the bar, who speak for the common wealth, and they believe yet, under favour, it is I, who in the past, speak for the common wealth. Proceedings those endeavoured to be established against me.

" must draw along with them such inconveniences, and miseries, that in a few years the kingdom will be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV. and no man shall know by what rule to govern his words and actions.

" Impose not, my lords, difficulties unsurmountable on ministers of state; nor disable them from serving, with chearfulness, their king and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable; the public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste, and no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils.

" My lords, I have now troubled your lordships much longer than I should have done. Were it not for the interest of these pledges, which a saint in heaven left me; I should be loth"—Here he pointed to his children, and his tears stopt him.—" What I forfeit for myself is nothing; but I confess, that my indiscretions should forfeit for them, it wounds me very greatly. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmities. Something I should have said, but I see I shall not be able, and, therefore, I shall leave it.

" And now, my lords, I thank God I have been, by his blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I submit clearly and freely to your judgment; and whether that righteous doom shall be to life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence, in the arms of the great author of my existence."

The commons were now sufficiently convinced that it would be impossible ever to attain their purposes against Strafford by any legal prosecution. But his death was considered of too great importance to be left unaccomplished. A bill of attainder was therefore introduced into the lower house, immediately after the conclusion of these pleadings, which passed that house on the twenty-first of April, after very warm debates, fifty-nine votes only dissenting, and was immediately sent up to the lords. On the first of May the king went to the house of peers, and, in a speech, earnestly requested both houses that they would not carry their prosecutions against the earl of Strafford to the utmost extremity; declaring upon his conscience, that he could not condemn him of high treason, but assured them, that for his misdemeanors he should never serve him, or the kingdom, in any manner of trust, " no not so much as a constable."

His speech was highly offensive to those who hated the blood of Strafford; and they were so in the pursuits of their designs, that the commons voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the house. At the same time they employed their emissaries with orders to disperse, in different parts of London, containing the names of the fifty-nine members who voted against the bill of attainder. Those names were all fixed up at public places under the animation of Straffordians and betrayers of their king, and thus exposed to the fury of the multitude, who were arrived to such a pitch of madness, that, at the end of May, great numbers from the city appeared at Westminster, armed with swords and crying out for justice against the earl of Strafford, and such as were supposed to be the friends of that unfortunate nobleman were afraid to appear in

about eighty peers had constantly attended the trial of Strafford, but so much were they intimi-

dated by the popular tumult, that only forty-nine were in the house of lords when the bill of attainder was introduced, yet even nineteen of these had the courage to vote against it; a strong proof that, had liberty of debate been allowed, the bill would have been rejected by a great majority.

A discovery, which was made about this time, greatly heightened the fury of the people, and hastened the fate of the devoted Strafford. Some principal officers of the king's army, partly from their attachment to the crown, and partly from an aversion to the parliament, had formed a plan for engaging in the king's service the troops under their command; with this view they entered into an association, bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and maintained a close correspondence with the king's servants. The form of a petition to the king and parliament was drawn up, to which they resolved to procure the subscription of the army. In this petition, after representing the great danger to which the antient constitution of the kingdom was subject, by the insolent proceedings of certain factious and turbulent spirits, the army offered to come up and protect his majesty and the parliament. " So shall the nation," as they express themselves in the conclusion, " not only be vindicated from precedent innovations, but be secured from the future which are threatened, and which are likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former." The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was, unhappily, prevailed on to counter-sign it, as a mark of his approbation. One of the association, named Goring, imagining the affair could not long remain a secret, discovered the whole to the lords Newport and Dungarvon, and they to Pym, who immediately imparted it to the house. This discovery could not fail of exciting the most violent indignation among the people. It was now reported that a scheme was concerted between the court and the army, to cut the throats of the parliament, and of all those who stood up for their liberties. To convey more speedily their terror and indignation at this plot, the commons voted, that a protestation should be signed by all the members, to maintain the protestant religion against popery, to defend the king's person, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject. This protestation was sent up to the lords, and signed by all of them, except Southampton and Roberts; and then the commons, by their sole authority, issued orders that it should be signed by the whole nation. Alarms were every day given of new conspiracies, and these of such a nature as to keep up the rage of the misguided multitude, and animate them in their demands of justice against the unfortunate Strafford.

A bill was now brought into the house for continuing the parliament, which should not be prorogued, adjourned, or dissolved, without the consent of both houses, until the grievances should be redressed. This was on the fifth of May, and the same day the commons sent to the king, desiring access to him, which being granted, they attended in the Banqueting house, where they presented to him the bill of attainder against Strafford, and that for the continuance of the parliament. Charles told them they might expect his answer on the Monday following, and so dismissed them.

The king came to the house of lords according to his promise, and assured them of his firm resolution, for which he offered them any security, never again to employ Strafford in any public affairs; but at the same time owned himself entirely dissatisfied with regard to the circumstances of treason, and on that account declared his dissidence in giving his assent to the bill of attainder, which he thought was framed with an intention of condemning a man whom he could

not, in his conscience, deem guilty of the crime laid his to charge.

The populace now flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice upon Strafford with the most shameful and open menaces; and the whole nation was thrown into so violent a ferment, as seemed to threaten some great and alarming convulsion. Wherever the king turned his eyes he was presented with a gloomy and frightful prospect: he perceived no resource, no expedient, no security. All his servants preferred their own safety to that of their master, and even declined interposing with their advice between him and his parliament. The queen, terrified with the appearance of such alarming insurrections, pressed him with tears to satisfy his people with regard to his minister, as it was hoped that his death would restore that tranquillity which had for some time forsaken the kingdom. Juxon alone, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, despised the menaces of the populace, and boldly told the king, that if in his conscience he thought the bill against Strafford unjust, by no means to pass it.

While Charles continued in this dreadful situation of mind, Strafford took a step which demonstrated that his soul was a stranger to fear. He wrote a letter to the king, in which he intreated his majesty to prefer the peace and safety of his kingdom to the life of an unfortunate, though innocent man; and quiet the tumultuous populace, by granting the request they made with so much vehemence. "In this, added he, my request will more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury. And by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness, of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul; so, Sir, to you I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness, in the just acknowledgment of your many and exceeding favours."

This letter greatly astonished the king: he knew the soul of Strafford was not easily terrified, but he thought him not endued with such magnanimity. It tended, however, but little to remove the doubts of Charles: he could not bear the thought of putting to death a man whom he loved, esteemed, and believed to be innocent.

At length, however, after the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles granted a commission to four noblemen, empowering them to give the royal assent to the bill. Carleton, secretary of state, was sent to inform Strafford that the bill of attainder was signed, and that his execution was appointed for the 12th of May. On receiving this fatal news, he rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation." He, however, soon recollected his spirits, and prepared himself to suffer the fatal sentence. Three days only were allowed him; nor could the king, though he sent a letter by the prince of Wales to the parliament, obtain any longer respite.

The unfortunate earl was attended, in his last moments, by archbishop Usher; and in passing from his apartment to Tower hill, where the scaffold was erected, he stopped under the window of archbishop Laud, with whom he had long lived in the most intimate friendship. The aged primate appeared dissolved in tears; and on Strafford's begging the assistance of his prayers in those awful moments which were so nearly approaching, the prelate pronounced, in a broken voice, a tender blessing on his departing friend, and sunk into the arms of his attendants. This affecting scene of tender friendship drew tears from the eyes of the unfortunate Strafford, but could not shake the magnanimity of his soul. With a mind superior to his fate, he marched on with an air of

greater dignity than that which usually attended him. His behaviour on the scaffold was noble and decent. "I fear, said he, it is an ill omen for the projected reformation in the state, to begin with shedding innocent blood." After bidding adieu to his brother and friends who attended him, and sending a blessing to his wife and children who were absent, he said, "I have now almost done. One stroke will make my wife a widow, and my dear children fatherless, and deprive my poor servants of an indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends!" As he was laying his head upon the block, he said, "I thank God I am not afraid of death, nor am I daunted with any terrors; but I as cheerfully lay down my head at this time as ever I did when going to repose." After making this short declaration, the executioner, with one blow put a final period to his life.

Thus died, in the 49th year of his age, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, one of the greatest men that ever appeared in England. Though he was not irreproachable, yet he certainly merited a much better fate, and whatever advice he might give his majesty when dangers rendered desperate methods necessary, yet he often repeated to his master this memorable and noble maxim: "That if ever necessity obliged the sovereign to violate the laws, it ought to be done with great reserve; and that, as soon as it was possible, reparation ought to be made to the laws for what they had suffered by such violation."—It is remarkable, that a few weeks after Strafford's execution the parliament, as if conscious of the iniquity, or at least illegality, of his sentence, passed an act for restoring his children in blood and honour, and vesting them with the possessions of their father's estates.

The same commissioners, who signed the bill against Strafford, signed also another more fatal to royal authority. By this act it was declared, that the parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without the consent of both houses. The king considered not the consequence of this statute. Absorbed in grief at the loss of his favourite, he gave his assent to an act that rendered him the slave of his oppressors.

The commons having, by the death of the earl of Strafford, removed, as they pretended, the great obstacle to the reformation of the state, proceeded to prosecute their projected plan with the utmost industry and vigour, fully resolved to annihilate all the remains of arbitrary power. They attacked the court of high-commission and the star-chamber, whose jurisdiction, almost without rule or bounds, put shackles on civil liberty. A bill unanimously passed the house to abolish these courts; and, in them to destroy the principal and most dangerous abuses of the king's prerogative. The breach made in the power of the crown by this abolition was the greater as the star-chamber took cognizance of all the petitions of the royal proclamations. The right of making ordinances was, from that time, in a great measure abrogated, as the king no longer had it in his power to carry them into execution.

The marshal's court, which took cognizance of offensive words, and was thought not laboriously limited by law, was also, for that reason, abolished. The flannery courts, which exercised jurisdiction over the miners, being liable to a similar objection, went a similar fate. The abolition of the Council of York, and the Council of Wales, followed on the same principles: and the authority of the Council of the Market, to whom the care of a general supply of the weights and measures throughout England was committed, was transferred to the mayor, aldermen, and ordinary magistrates.

Thus did the commons abolish every

arbitrary power; and made the rigid maxims of law and equity the sole rule of their conduct. No courts of judicature now existed but those of Westminster-hall; and though the means they made use of to procure these great advantages to posterity often favoured of artifice, sometimes of violence, yet it should be remembered, that it is, perhaps, impossible to effect a revolution in government, merely by the force of reason and argument. Upon the whole, therefore, if we except that complication of cruel iniquity, that effected Strafford's attainder, it must be owned that the transactions, during the first period of this memorable parliament, were productive of very great advantages to the nation, by fixing the liberty of the subject on a firm and solid foundation.

The treaty with the Scots being now brought to a conclusion, Charles permitted the parliament of that kingdom to assemble, and declared his intention of assisting at it in person. The commons suspecting, that under pretence of visiting Scotland, he designed to put himself at the head of his army in the north, demanded a conference with the lords, when a proposition was made that both armies should be disbanded before the king's departure. This being unanimously agreed to by the lords, both armies were accordingly disbanded at the same time, and the Scots returned home with the greatest seeming satisfaction.

The king set out for Scotland on the 10th of August, attended by several of the principal nobility; among whom were, the duke of Lenox, lately honoured with the additional title of duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and lord Willoughby. He was received at Edinburgh with the greatest demonstration of affection by the people; and, in return of this reception, he not only confirmed the articles of the treaty between the two kingdoms by act of parliament, but likewise all his former concessions, together with all the particulars that had been transacted in their general assembly. At the same time, to increase more effectually their esteem, he conferred titles of honour and dignity on some, and places of trust and profit on others. Among the former the marquis of Hamilton was created duke; and general Lesley was made earl of Leven.

While Charles was assiduously employed in settling the disturbances in Scotland, he received advice that a rebellion was broke out in Ireland. The catholics of that kingdom were persuaded that they had now the most opportune opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those sources of the greatest passions, hurried them into the attempt of totally expelling the English from every part of the kingdom. It was Roger More, a gentleman descended from a very ancient family in Ireland, and highly celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity, first formed the project for expelling the English, and asserting the independency of his native country. He was indefatigable in the execution, going, with the utmost secrecy, from one person to another, and using all the arts in his power to awaken every latent principle of discontent.

He maintained a close correspondence with Maguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the most popular persons among the ancient Irish. He observed, that the rebellious factions in England and Scotland offered the most favourable opportunity for carrying their purpose; that the English planters who had expelled them from their possessions, suppressed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, seemed a handful when compared with the natives; and though the catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in some measure, the exercise of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they must not expect the government would be conducted

ed by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical parliament having at last subdued their sovereign, would, doubtless, when their power was consolidated, extend their ambitious enterprizes to Ireland, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution, to which their brethren in England were at present exposed; and that a revolt in the Irish, tending only to vindicate their native liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion, much less, during the present confusions, when their prince was, in a manner, a prisoner, and obedience must be paid, not to him, but to those who had traitorously usurped his authority.

These considerations could not fail of awakening the native pride of the Irish, and induce them to form a conspiracy against their hated masters. Plunket, a soldier of fortune, readily engaged in the undertaking, and it was agreed that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conspirators, should begin the insurrection on the same day in the different provinces, while lord Maguire and Roger More made themselves masters of the castle of Dublin. The twenty-third of October was the day fixed upon for carrying their design into execution. The scheme was at first proposed with a great deal of moderation; it was resolved not to spill any blood but in cases of necessity, and not to molest the Scots, who were very numerous in the northern parts of the kingdom. The English ambassadors at foreign courts received frequent hints of what was projecting in Ireland, and the lords justices were desired, by repeated advices, to be upon their guard; but all these intimations produced no effect, they continued in the same supine indolence and security. The castle of Dublin, by which the capital itself was commanded, contained arms for an hundred thousand men, thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportional quantity of ammunition; yet, even this important fortress was guarded by no greater force than fifty men. The truth is, there was at that time so great a similarity of interests between the English puritans and the Irish catholics, that the lords justices, who were enemies to Strafford, did not chuse to be very active against the papists. Leicester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, remained in London, and Sir Wm. Parsons and John Borlace, the chief justices, were of slender capacities, and owed their promotion merely to their zeal for the party that was now predominant. Tranquil from their ignorance and want of experience, they slumbered on the very brink of destruction. But the evening before the design was to be carried into execution, they were roused from their lethargy by the information of O'Connellly, an Irish protestant, who betrayed the whole secret to Parsons. In consequence of this, Mahone, lord Maguire, and about thirty of the conspirators were seized during the night; but More, Plunket, and some others, made their escape.

Though the English in Dublin were happily preserved by the discovery of this infernal plot, yet it was not so with those in the other parts of the kingdom. The conspirators were in arms in the respective provinces early on the morning of the day appointed, and actually massacred forty thousand defenceless protestants. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife, weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault: destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends, all connections were dissolved, and death

was

was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these monsters in human form: all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. Humanity forbids a particular enumeration. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost licence, cannot reach to such a pitch of ferocity. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortations of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcases or defenceless children of the English. Nor was the avarice of the Irish a sufficient restraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow and lingering torments. The commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children.

When Charles received advice of this inhuman insurrection, he seemed greatly affected, and immediately laid the dispatches before the Scottish parliament; at the same time earnestly requesting that they would send forces for the suppression of the rebels, and the protection of those distressed protestants who had happily escaped. The Scots were far from being averse to the complying with his majesty's request, and appointed a committee of their parliament to treat with the commons of England; but so much time was spent in negotiations, that the opportunity of chastising the rebels, and putting a stop to their inhuman ravages, was irretrievably lost; and the unfortunate protestants were denied that assistance from their brethren in England, which even the laws of nature, and the sacred ties of friendship, gave them the highest reason to expect.

As soon as the heat of slaughter was over, and cool reflection returned, the Irish trembled for their situation, and endeavoured to conceal the blackness of their crimes by the most horrid imposture. They pretended they had received authority from the king and queen, especially from the latter, for the horrid murders they had committed; and by this specious assertion, though destitute of the least foundation in truth, they deceived many of their deluded countrymen. They added, that the sole reason for taking up arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, so unjustly invaded by the puritanical parliaments of England and Scotland. To give some colour of truth to this improbable declaration, recourse was had to artifice and fraud. Sir Phelim O'Neale having found a royal patent in the house of lord Cranfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission he had forged for himself.

Charles arrived in London on the twenty fifth of November, and informed the parliament of the necessity there was for immediately sending assistance to his protestant subjects in Ireland. He flattered him-

self that the terror they had always expressed against popery, a religion that now appeared in all its terrors would sufficiently prompt them to interpose in behalf of their distressed countrymen. But he was mistaken: a real zeal for religion was not the object of the parliament; it wanted the stimulation of faction or interest to produce the desired effect. Charles was not however, wanting on his part, to rouse the parliament to revenge the blood of their countrymen. He laid before the commons all the intelligence he had received; and informed them, that the insurrection was not, in his opinion, the result of any rash and furious enterprize, but of a formed conspiracy against the crown of England. He added, that a cause so important to national and religious interests required their utmost attention, must be entered upon immediately, and pursued with vigour.

But he soon found that the parliament were more desirous of exalting their own authority upon the ruins of the prerogative, than of sending assistance to their brethren, though plunged in the very abode of distress. As soon as the particulars of this infernal massacre arrived, all the privy-counsellors in the neighbourhood of London repaired to the house of commons, and laid before the assembly the various informations they had received. The dreadful narrative seemed to rouse in the breasts of the members the tender feelings of humanity; it was immediately resolved to borrow fifty thousand pounds from the city on parliamentary security. Several committees were appointed to take care of the Irish affairs; and the house came to the following resolutions:

“That a convenient number of ships be provided for guarding the sea-coasts of Ireland. That six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, be raised with a convenient speed, for a present expedition into that kingdom. That the lord-lieutenant be desired to present to both houses of parliament the names of such officers as he shall think proper to send into Ireland, for commanding the forces intended to be transported thither. That magazines of provision be provided at West Chester, in order to be sent over to Dublin, as the occasions of that kingdom may require. That the magazine of arms, ammunition and powder, now in Carlisle, be forthwith removed to Knockfergus, in Ireland. That it be referred to majesty's council to consider of some method of offering rewards to such as shall signalize themselves in the Irish expedition: of pardoning those rebels in that kingdom who shall make their submission in a short time; and of offering sums of money as reward to such as shall bring in the heads of the principal rebels. That letters be immediately sent to the justices of Ireland, informing them how sensible this house is to the affairs of that kingdom. That the committee of Irish affairs consider how and in what manner that kingdom may make use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the affair of Ireland. That motions be given for drawing a bill for impenning men for this particular service.”

Notwithstanding the commons came to these resolutions, the preparations were carried on so slowly, that all hopes of the Irish protestants, who waited for a speedy assistance from their brethren in England, vanished. In the mean time, the commons took to alarm every part of the kingdom with the dreadful apprehensions of the horrid designs and numbers of the papists. This gave many of their friends in the house of lords a dislike to their proceedings; they began to be alarmed at their conduct to frustrate their designs. Capel (lately called the house of peers) had been very warm in the situation, and as forward as any gentleman in the kingdom for removing the real grievances of his country. The same may be said of the lord Falkland.]

Digby, Sir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde, and many others whose concurrence in the measures against the court had given great credit to the opposition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and, perhaps, farther than in duty they could require; and therefore that all opposition ought now to cease. They made no secret of these sentiments; but none, except lord Digby, had as yet the courage to break with the popular leaders in the house of commons.

It was, however, sufficiently evident, that the two parties must soon divide; and the opposition took every method in their power to strengthen themselves against the approaching rupture, and to prevent the desertion of so many powerful friends from having any effect in turning against them the current of popular favour. Nothing contributed more to this than the continual alarms they artfully spread with regard to the designs of the papists, already so much the object of general abhorrence. Accustomed, in all their invectives, to join the prelatical party with the catholics, the people immediately supposed the insurrection in Ireland to be the result of their united counsels; and when they heard that the rebels in that kingdom pleaded the king's commission for all their violences, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented, without scruple or examination, to that gross imputation, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance shocking to humanity.

The commons were far from using any endeavours to contradict a report so favourable to their designs. They did not, indeed, pretend to charge the king with this enormous cruelty, but insinuated that the Irish rebellion had been secretly planned, and was at that very time fomented by papists in great trust about the persons of the king and queen. Alarmed at these base imputations, Charles, to clear himself and his consort from all suspicions, unhappily recommended the suppression of the Irish rebellion to his parliament. Probably, the popular leaders had foreseen this, and took care to make use of the advantages they had acquired from an act of so much imprudence. Under pretence of this acquisition of trust, they assumed the power of disposing of the royal magazines, and of issuing orders for raising forces, which at that time had been understood to be lodged in the crown. In short, Charles, by thus injudiciously revolving his authority on the parliament, in some measure put his own sword into the hands of his subjects. Care was taken to publish to the whole world, that his majesty had particularly recommended the preservation of Ireland to both houses of parliament; and, at the same time, effectual measures were taken to defeat the king's prudent intention of sending over a body of Scots to suppress the Irish rebels, and to restore peace to that miserable kingdom. They had, indeed, voted, that a considerable army should be immediately raised for the service of Ireland; but no formal step was taken for carrying that vote into execution, though the rebellion was now arrived to such a height, as to call for the whole power of England. They, however, carried on the prosecution against the papists with the utmost vigour: five fellows were executed at one time: the law of nations was violated with regard to foreign ambassadors whom they suspected of harbouring priests: all the recusants, any figure or fortune in England were secured, and it was resolved that all the Irish in the Inns of Court, who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, should be expelled those societies, and rendered incapable of being again admitted. These violent proceedings alarmed the lords, who expressed a visible reluctance to proceed to such extremities, and occasioned several strong resolutions of the

commons, sufficiently indicating their intention of acting without the concurrence of the house of peers, if they continued to oppose them.

The commons were now busied in preparing a remonstrance on the state of the nation, which was soon attended with the most important consequences. It was not addressed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. It was a recapitulation of all the wrong measures embraced by the king since the commencement of his reign: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé were mentioned; the sending ships to France for the suppression of the Hugonots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for refusing to obey illegal commands; the violent dissolution of four parliaments; the arbitrary government that always succeeded; the questioning, fining, and imprisoning members, for their conduct in the house; the levying taxes without consent of parliament; the introducing superstitious innovations into the church, without the authority of law: in short, every thing which, either with or without reason, had given offence during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament.

Had all the oppressions here complained of still existed, this famous remonstrance had been the bravest and wisest measure that any parliament ever pursued, and must have rendered the memories of its conductors dear to posterity. But as the land-marks of the constitution had been replaced; as Charles had been as liberal in granting as his people had been importunate in asking; as nothing that the will of heaven could warrant, or the art of man devise, was now wanting to the security of the people; and as no recent violations of the king's concessions, or the people's rights, had been so much as pretended; what could any unprejudiced person imagine the parliament meant by this remonstrance? The answer is certainly obvious: they intended to inflame the people against the government, and throw the whole state into confusion. It is, therefore, no wonder that it met with very strong opposition in the house of commons. For more than fourteen hours the debate was supported with remarkable warmth and acrimony; and the remonstrance would possibly have miscarried, had not the uncommon length of the debate wearied out many of the king's party, which principally consisted of persons advanced in years; for it was at last carried only by a majority of eleven, there being 159 for the motion, and 148 against it.

The remonstrance was soon after presented to his majesty, together with a petition, requesting that the bishops might be deprived of their votes in parliament, that several alterations might be made in the established worship, and that the king would remove all evil counsellors from his presence.

Charles received the remonstrance with great civility and politeness; and a few days after dispersed an answer to it, in which he observed, that during the period so much and so bitterly complained of, the people enjoyed a large share of happiness, even when compared with the most fortunate periods of English history. He made the warmest professions of sincerity in the reformed religion; promised indulgence to tender consciences, with regard to the ceremonies of the church; enumerated his great concessions to natural liberty; and blamed the infamous libels, every where dispersed against his government and the national religion. "You have thrown out (said he) general reproaches with regard to pernicious councils; but ask your own consciences, have I protected any minister from parliamentary justice? Have I retained any unpopular servant, or conferred offices on any one who enjoyed not, in a high degree, the esteem of the public? But if, notwith-

“ standing this, any malignant party shall take heart,
 “ and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness
 “ of their country to their own sinister ends and am-
 “ bition, under whatever pretence of religion and
 “ conscience; if they shall endeavour to lessen my
 “ reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful
 “ power and authority; if they shall attempt, by
 “ discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the
 “ bands of government, that all disorder and con-
 “ fusion may break in upon us; I doubt not but
 “ God, in his own good time, will discover them to
 “ me; and that the wisdom and courage of my high
 “ court of parliament will join with me in their sup-
 “ pression and punishment.”

This answer had great effect on the more wise and prudent part of the nation. Even the leaders of the commons themselves were alarmed, and began to fear, that unless they could remove the bishops from the house of lords, they should never succeed in the plan they had projected. They had already attempted this without success, though thirteen of the bishops were impeached of high-treason. Nor could the committee, with all their art, draw up any charge against Laud that would affect either his life or fortune. They, however, renewed their attempts against the bishops with great violence, but without success; the peers thought it highly unreasonable to condemn them before they were proved to be guilty. Exasperated at this, and other instances of opposition they had lately met with from the upper house, particularly by their insisting on taking ten thousand Scots into their pay, the commons appointed a committee “ to prepare
 “ heads for a conference with the lords, and to ac-
 “ quaint them what bills this house hath passed, and
 “ sent up to their lordships, which much concerned
 “ the safety of the kingdom, but have had no consent
 “ of their lordships to them; and that this house being
 “ the representative body of the whole kingdom,
 “ and their lordships being but particular persons,
 “ and coming to the parliament in a particular capa-
 “ city; that if they shall not be pleased to consent
 “ to the passing of those acts, and others, necessary
 “ for the preservation and safety of the kingdom,
 “ that then this house, together with such of the lords
 “ as are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom,
 “ may join together, and represent the same to his
 “ majesty.”

This violent proceeding of the lower house produced a different effect from what it was intended, as it operated strongly in favour of the king. The commons soon perceived it; and in order to avert the consequences, encouraged the lower class of people, and persons incapable of judging for themselves, to present petitions to the house against the bishops votes in parliament. One was brought up by the London apprentices, who assembled in great multitudes before the house of lords, crying out, “ No Bishops, No Bishops.” But the principal object of the commons was that of wresting from Charles all his power over the military. He had offered to raise ten thousand volunteers for the service of Ireland; but the proposal was rejected under pretence that they were unwilling to trust the king with so large a military force; though the most dreadful accounts and pathetic petitions were every day received from the protestants in Ireland. It was in vain for Charles to endeavour to quicken the motions of the commons by repeated messages; the time was fruitlessly spent in voting money, that was never paid; in making resolutions, that were never executed; in conferences that had no conclusion; and in debates that had no meaning.

The tumults about Westminster became every day more violent and outrageous, so that even Charles himself seemed in danger from lawless attempts of the mad populace. In this scene of anarchy and confu-

sion, some reduced officers and gentlemen of the into of court offered their service to his majesty; which being accepted, they appeared as guards at Whitehall, and frequent skirmishes happened between them and the rabble. By way of reproach, these gentlemen, who supported the royal cause, stigmatized their antagonists with the appellation of Round heads, on account of their wearing round short hair; and the latter in return, gave the others the name of Cavaliers; and thus the nation, which was already sufficiently exasperated both by civil and religious quarrels, was now also provided with party names, under which the opposite leaders might range their adherents, and to realize their mutual hatred and resentment.

Notwithstanding the tumultuous assemblies of the lower class of people still continued, yet the popularity of Charles daily increased among the better sort. The common-council of London not only disclaimed having any share in those disorders, but also presented several dutiful addresses to the king, beseeching him to continue his residence at Whitehall, and assure him of protection against any who should dare to offer him the least insult. The Scots also, affected to see their king ill used by others, however conscious they had treated him themselves, informed him of the correspondence carried on between the covenanters and the principal leaders of the house of commons, both before, and during the continuance of the late invasion.

Charles unfortunately mistook this gleam of a passion for the return of lustre to his reign. He began therefore to act with more spirit and vigour, he discharged Belfour from his government of the Tower, and appointed Lansford in his place, notwithstanding the warm declarations made against him by the commons. But Charles wanted courage to support his nomination; he soon after dismissed Lansford, and gave the command to Sir John Byron. On the eleventh of December, while the house was engaged in warm debates with regard to bishops votes in parliament, the king issued a proclamation requiring obedience to the laws for establishing the union in England; and the next day he issued another commanding all absent members to attend to business in parliament. These two proclamations, published at such a juncture, gave the commons room to think that Charles was meditating some dreadful measure, and their apprehensions were increased when they saw Falkland, Culpepper, Hyde, and several others of the wisest and most popular members in the house divide against them.

A bill had been passed by the commons for pressing men for the service of Ireland, in the preamble to which the king's power of impressing, though always practised by former princes, was declared illegal, as contrary to the liberty of the subject. While this bill was debating by the peers, Charles, unwilling to submit to so considerable a diminution of power, came up to the upper house, where he, the lord, he was very willing to pass the bill with the preamble, by which means, he observed, a long-timed question with regard to the prerogative was for the present be avoided, and the parties to each party remain entire. Both houses soon rejected this precipitate measure, and declared it to be a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of the bill before it was presented to him for the royal assent.

A few days after this, Charles committed an error of commission that was attended with more fatal and dangerous consequences, and which, at least, greatly accelerated all the disorders and civil war in the kingdom was soon after involved. Charles, a person of great abilities, but of a warm and passionate disposition, shocked at the growing nature of the opposition, represented to Charles, that it